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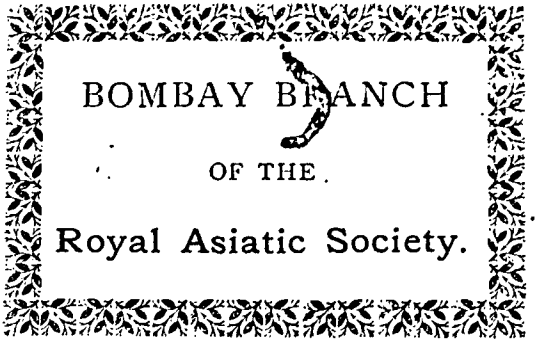

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THE

JOURNAL

OF THE

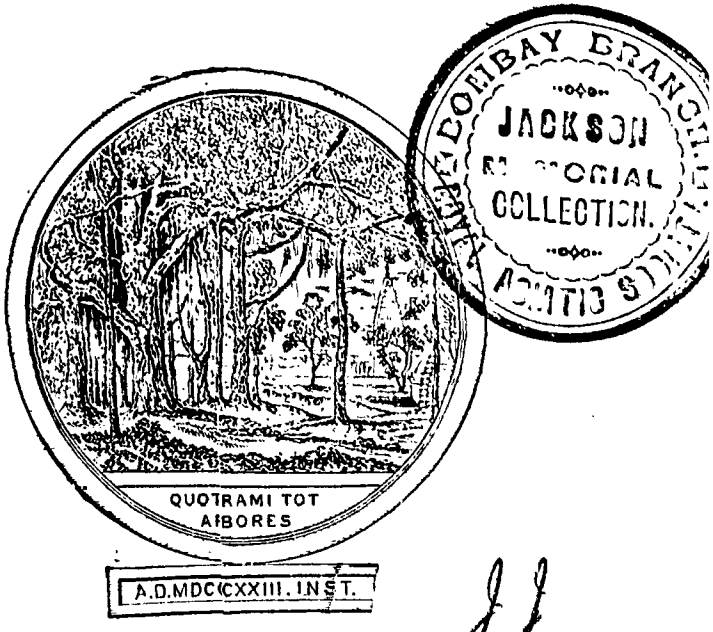
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

FOR

1904.



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THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

I.

THE DATE OF BUDDHA'S DEATH, AS DETERMINED BY A RECORD OF ASOKA.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph.D., C.I.E.

THERE is a certain rock edict of Aśōka, regarding the interpretation and application of which no final result has as yet been arrived at. That this has been the case, is due chiefly to an unfortunate initial mistake, which introduced a supposed word, taken to mean "two and a half," into the reading of a passage of primary importance which mentions a certain period of years. It was subsequently fully admitted that a misreading had been made. But the effect of that misreading remained. And, like similar mistakes in other matters, the initial mistake made here left an influence which neither the scholar who made it, nor subsequent inquirers, could shake off.

Within the limits of space available in this Journal, it is not practicable to handle the edict as fully as could be wished. I hope, however, to be able to shew, with sufficient clearness, what the purport of the record really is, and the extent to which we are indebted to previous inquiries for assistance in arriving at its true meaning.

For some of the readers of this Journal, the chief interest of the matter will probably lie in its bearing on the question,

not yet settled, of the date of the death of Buddha. But it involves also other points of leading interest, in connection with Aśōka.

The edict in question has been found, in somewhat varying versions which illustrate two redactions of it, in Northern India at Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, and Bairāt, and in Mysore at Brahmagiri, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara. The records at the last three places include also a second edict, which has not yet been found in Northern India. With that, however, we are not here concerned. Of the edict with which we are concerned, the Bairāt, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara versions are so fragmentary as to be of but little use. Of the remaining versions, those at Rūpnāth and Brahmagiri are the best preserved and the most complete. As will be seen, the Brahmagiri record is of extreme importance in more respects than one, in addition to giving us the place, Suvarṇagiri, which I shall identify further on, where Aśōka was in religious retirement when he issued the edict; and it is very fortunate that we have the facsimiles of it, and of the Śiddāpura and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara records, published with Dr. Bühler's article in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. iii, 1894–95, pp. 134 to 142, which were made from the excellent inked estampages supplied by Dr. Hultzsch, the Government Epigraphist; if we had not those facsimiles, we might still have been without an accurate knowledge of the contents of those records, and perhaps without a recognition of the point which settles one of the important questions decided by the edict. But the Sahasrām record, though considerably damaged, is of extreme value in connection with at any rate one important passage. The matter is decided by the three texts at Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, and Brahmagiri. And it is necessary to consider only them on this occasion. In respect of the Bairāt, Śiddāpura, and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara texts, it is here sufficient to say that they do not contain anything militating, in any way, against the results established by the other three texts.

It is to be premised that the edict is a lecture on the

good results of displaying energy in matters of religion. The whole text of it is more or less of interest. But it is sufficient for present purposes to give two extracts from it.

Before, however, going any further, it must be stated that, in the earliest discussions of the contents of this edict, doubts were expressed as to whether it should be understood as a Buddhist or as a Jain manifesto, and as to whether it was issued by Aśōka or by some other king. But it is not necessary to revert to those questions, except in so far as the varying opinions, as to the sectarian nature of the record, have borne upon some of the proposals made regarding the interpretation of certain words in it. It is quite certain that the edict was issued by Aśōka. And, whatever may be the religion which Aśōka professed originally, it is quite certain that he was converted to Buddhism, and that this edict is a Buddhist proclamation. This is made clear by the so-called Bhabra edict, which, addressed to the *Māgadha Saṅgha* or community of Buddhist monks and nuns of Magadha, speaks, in the most explicit terms, of the respect paid, and the goodwill displayed, by "the king Piyadasi," that is Aśōka as He of Gracious Mien, to "the Buddha, the Faith (*Dharma*), and the Order (*Saṅgha*)."

Nor is it necessary to review certain disquisitions which have been given with a view to bringing the supposed purport of the edict, particularly in the matter of two stages in the religious career of Aśōka, into harmony with the assertions, or supposed assertions, of the Southern tradition as represented by the *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa*. Those disquisitions were wide of the mark; the tradition and the record having, in reality, no chronological details in common, except in respect of the number of years that elapsed from the death of Buddha to the *abhishēka* or anointment of Aśōka to the sovereignty. And Dr. Bühler, at a later time, in cancelling the misreading on which he had acted, practically withdrew (see IA, xxii, p. 300) at any rate "one half of the historical deductions,"— though he somewhat inconsiderately did not specify exactly which

half,— which he himself had given at great length (IA, vi, pp. 151 to 154, and vii, pp. 148 to 160) in his original examinations of the Sahasrām and Rūpnāth records.

We are concerned with only the readings and interpretations of certain words in two passages in the edict. And, in giving the texts of those two passages, I of course follow, as closely as possible, the latest published readings of each version of the edict. But I supplement those readings by anything which I myself can gather from those reproductions of the originals which are real facsimiles, or can suggest with confidence in any other way.

It will be convenient to deal first with a passage which stands in the Sahasrām record near the end, and in the other two records at the end, of the edict.

Of this passage, we have the following texts. In all essential details, I adhere exactly to the decipherments of the individual syllables made by Dr. Bühler (IA, xxii, 1893, p. 303, and EI, iii, 1894–95, p. 138) and M. Senart (IA, xx, pp. 155, 156, and JA, 1892, i, p. 487). But I differ from those scholars in a detail of analysis in the Rūpnāth record, regarding which reference may be made to also page 13 below. We must not take *sata-vivāsā* as a compound. It must be taken as two separate words. The word *sata*, = *śata*, the base, means 'hundreds, centuries;' just like the nominative plural *satā*, = *śatāni*, of the Sahasrām record. And, in conformity with a common method of expression in Hindū dates, in translating which we have to supply the word 'of,' in order to obtain a grammatical rendering, the two words *satā* and *sata* are in apposition, not with only the word *duvē*, 'two,' and the numerical symbol for 200, but with the words and the numerical symbols which mean 256; though, of course, the intended purport is, not 256 centuries, but two centuries and fifty-six years. The texts are:—

Sahasrām, lines 6, 7:— Iyaṁ [cha savanē (*read* sāvanē)] vivuthēna duvē sa-paṁnālāti satā vivuthā ti 200 50 6.

Rūpnāth, lines 5, 6:— Vyuṭhēnā sāvanē kaṭē 200 50 6 sata vivāsā ta (*or* ti).

Brahmagiri, line 8:— Iyaṁ cha sāva[ṇē] sāv[ā]p[i]tō vyūthēna 200 50 6.

In the words *iyaṁ cha sāvanē, sāvaṇē*, "and this same precept," of the Sahasrām and Brahmagiri versions, and in the simple *sāvanē*, "the precept" or "(*this same*) precept," of the Rūpnāth version, reference is made to an earlier passage in the edict, of which the general tenor is:— "And to this same purpose this precept has been inculcated: Let both the lowly, and those who are exalted, exert themselves!;"[1] because, as the preceding context explains, even a lowly man, who exerts himself, may attain heaven, high though it is.

The passage with which we are dealing says, in the Rūpnāth version that that precept was made or composed, and in the Brahmagiri version that it was caused to be heard, announced, preached, or inculcated, by someone who is mentioned in the Rūpnāth version by the word *vyuṭha*, and in the Brahmagiri version by the word *vyūtha*. In the Sahasrām version, there is a reference of evidently the same kind to the precept, and to the person, who is mentioned therein by the word *vivutha*; but the word meaning 'made, composed,' or 'inculcated,' was omitted, and has to be understood. And with these statements there are connected, in the Rūpnāth and Brahmagiri versions some numerical symbols, and in the Sahasrām version both numerical symbols and words, which mean 'two hundred and fifty-six.'[2]

Of this passage there have been two main lines of interpretation, each with its separate branches.

Dr. Bühler, who first brought the contents of the edict to public notice, in 1877, maintained, from first to last, that the words and numerical symbols are a date, and that the passage means that the edict was promulgated when 256 complete years had elapsed, and in the course of the 257th

[1] It has not always been recognised that this precept is complete as given in translation above. But, that that is distinctly marked by the word *ti*, = *iti*, which stands in four of the versions in which the passage is extant, has been pointed out by Dr. Bühler in EI, iii, p. 142, 8.

[2] We need not trouble ourselves on this occasion with the exact analysis and disposal of the word *sa-paṁnālāti*, 'fifty-six.'

year, after the death of Buddha. Originally (IA, vi, pp. 150, 159 *b*), while deriving the *vivāsa* of the Rūpnāth record from *vivas*, 'to change an abode, depart from; to abide, dwell, live; to pass, spend (time),' he connected the *vivutha* of the Sahasrām record, and the *vyuṭha* of the Rūpnāth record, with *vivṛit*, 'to turn round, revolve; to turn away, depart; to go down, set (as the sun).' Subsequently (IA, vii, p. 145 *b*), he accepted the correct derivation, pointed out by Professor Pischel (see page 20 below), of also *vivutha* and *vyuṭha* from *vivas*. But he was still able to retain for *vivuthēna* and *vyuṭhēnā*, and to adopt for the *vyūthēna* of the Brahmagiri record, his original rendering "by the Departed," in the figurative sense of "the Deceased," as an appellation of Buddha. In the Sahasrām record, he took *vivuthā* as the Pāli nominative plural neuter, equivalent originally to *vivṛittāni* but subsequently to *vyushitāni*, 'passed.' In the Rūpnāth record, he read *sata-vivāsā* as a compound, and took it as an ablative dependent upon the number 256. Finding in *sata* a substitute for the Pāli *satthu*, a corruption of the Sanskṛit *śāstṛi*, which does occur freely as an appellation of Buddha as "the Teacher,"[1] he took *sata-vivāsā* as equivalent to *satthu-vivāsā*, *śāstṛi-vivāsāt*; and he rendered it as meaning "since the departure," in the figurative sense of the death, "of the Teacher," that is of Buddha. And thus he arrived at the following translations:—

Sahasrām:— "And this sermon (*is*) by the *Departed*. "Two hundred (*years*) exceeded by fifty-six, 256, have "passed since" (IA, vi, 1877, p. 156 *b*).

Rūpnāth:— "*This* sermon has been preached by the "*Departed*. 256 (*years have elapsed*) since the departure of "the *Teacher*" (IA, vi, 1877, p. 157 *a*).

Brahmagiri:— "And this sermon has been preached by "the Departed, 256 (*years ago*)" (EI, iii, 1894–95, p. 141).

[1] For instance, in the *Suttanipāta*, verse 31, "be thou our Teacher, O great Sage!," verse 545, "thou art Buddha, thou art the Teacher" (ed. Fausböll, pp. 5, 98), and in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, 1, 17, 35; 2, 20 (ed. Oldenberg, pp. 14, 16, 22), and in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (Turnour, p. 3, line 12, p. 4, line 13, p. 7, line 6).

In agreement with Dr. Bühler there was, in the first place, General Sir Alexander Cunningham. He did not attempt any independent examination of the difficult expressions in the edict. But he had detected and deciphered, before anyone else, the numerical symbols in the Sahasrām record (*Inscrs. of Aśōka*, 1877, p. 2, No. 8).[1] And he, also, recognised in them a date, reckoned from the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha.

In his interpretation and application of the passage, Dr. Bühler had the full support of Professor Max Müller, who in 1881 wrote:— "After carefully weighing the "objections raised by Mr. Rhys Davids and Professor "Pischel against Dr. Bühler's arguments, I cannot think "that they have shaken Dr. Bühler's position. I fully "admit the difficulties in the phraseology of these inscrip- "tions: but I ask, Who could have written these inscriptions, "if not Aśōka? And how, if written by Aśōka, can the "date which they contain mean anything but 256 years "after Buddha's Nirvāṇa?" (Sacred Books of the East,

[1] I would like to suggest to certain European scholars that, instead of citing Sir A. Cunningham's volume on the records of Aśōka, and my own volume on the records of the Early (or Imperial) Gupta Kings and their Successors, as "CII, vol. i," and "CII, vol. iii," meaning thereby vols. i, and iii, of the "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,"— a method of referring to them which does not indicate much, if anything, of value,— it would be more useful to cite them, by distinctive titles, as *Inscriptions of Aśōka* (or *Aśōka Inscriptions*) and *Gupta Inscriptions*, or as *Inscrs. of Aśōka* (or *Aśōka Inscrs.*) and *Gupta Inscrs.*, or, if an absolute abbreviation is desired, as "C.AI," and "F.GI." These two works are the first and third volumes, nominally, of a series which has never gone any further, and, it is feared, is not likely to do so. And it has been a matter for regret that they were ever numbered as volumes of such a series. Even the intended second volume of that inchoate series has never appeared, though, it is believed, the preparation of it had been undertaken by someone before the time when the preparation of the volume on the Gupta Inscriptions devolved upon me as Epigraphist to the Government of India, 1883 to 1886. It was contemplated that that second volume should contain the "Inscriptions of the Indo-Scythians, and of the Satraps of Surashtra" (see *Inscrs. of Aśōka*, Preface, p. 1). It was understood by me that all the materials for it, then known, had been collected; and, in fact, most of the intended Plates seem to have been actually printed off (see JRAS, 1894, p. 175). And consequently, having plenty of travelling and other work to do in connection with my own volume when I was in Northern India, I did not lay myself out to obtain fresh ink-impressions and estampages of the records of the other series, though I did secure a few such materials, in the cases both of them and of the Aśōka records, as opportunity served. I have often, since then, regretted the omission; especially because a few of the materials then extant do not now exist, except at the bottom of the sea, in the wreck of the P. and O. steamship "Indus," on the north-east coast of Ceylon (see *ibid.*).

vol. x, 1881, *Dhammapada*, Introd. p. 41, and second edition, 1898, Introd. p. 49).

And more recently he received the full support of Professor Kern, who in 1896 wrote:— "We believe also "that the figures 256, notwithstanding all objections, are "really intended as a date of the Lord's Parinirvāṇa" (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 115).

And he received also partial support from Professor Rhys Davids (*Academy*, 14th July, 1877, p. 37, and *Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon*, 1877, p. 57 ff.; see also page 14 below), and from Professor Pischel (*Academy*, 11th August, 1877, p. 145; see also pages 18, 20, below), and from M. Boyer (JA, 1898, ii, p. 486; see also page 15 below).

The other main line of interpretation starts from the point that the passage does not present any word meaning 'years;' and for the most part it takes both the words *vivuthā* and *vivāsā* as nominatives plural, in apposition with the number 256. The separate branches of this line of interpretation have been as follows:—

Professor H. Oldenberg, on the possibility of *vivutha*, *vyuṭha*, and *vivāsa*, being derived from the root *vas*, 'to shine, become bright' (class 6, *uchchhati*), with the prefix *vi*, thought that the passage might perhaps mean:— "This is the teaching "of him who is there illumined; 256 beings have appeared "in the world illumined." But he was more disposed to take the second part of the passage as meaning "256 beings "have departed (into the realm of liberation, into Nirvāṇa)," and as indicating that that number of Buddhas had, up to then, appeared in the course of world-periods. And so he rendered the whole passage (somewhat freely in respect of its second part) as probably meaning:— "This teaching was "preached by the Departed; the number of the Departed, "who have taught on earth, is 256" (ZDMG, xxxv, 1881, p. 475).[1]

[1] Being not acquainted with German, for my knowledge of the exact purport of this article by Professor H. Oldenberg, referred to again further on in connection with the other extract with which we have to deal, I am indebted to Mr. Thomas, who has very kindly supplied me with a translation of it.

M. Senart, by whom this line of interpretation has been most prominently represented, and who arrived at his conclusions independently of Professor Oldenberg, took a somewhat different view. His process (*Inscrs. de Piya.*, ii, 1886, pp. 182–189, and IA, xx, 1891, pp. 160–162) may be epitomised thus. He took the verb *vivas* in its ordinary meaning of 'to be absent, to depart from one's home or country.' From that he deduced for *vivutha*, *vyuṭha*, and *vyūtha*, the meaning of 'a messenger.' With the idea thus obtained, he compared the missionaries who in the time of Aśōka, according to the *Mahāvaṁsa* (Turnour, p. 71, Wijesinha, p. 46, and see *Dīpavaṁsa*, Oldenberg, p. 159), the Thēra Moggaliputta sent out to various countries to propagate the religion of Buddha. And he thus arrived at the meaning of 'messenger, missionary,' as denoting the persons who were charged by Aśōka with the duty of putting the edict in circulation and spreading it abroad. Like Dr. Bühler, he read the *sata-vivāsā* of the Rūpnāth version as a compound. But, like Professor Pischel and Professor Oldenberg, he took the *sata* of this compound, and the *satā* of the Sahasrām version, as representing respectively the base and the nominative plural of *sattva*, in the sense of 'a living being, a man.' He took the *vivāsā* of *sata-vivāsā* of the Rūpnāth version, and the *vivuthā* of the Sahasrām version, not as ablatives singular, but as nominatives plural. And he thus arrived at translations which may be rendered as follows:—

Sahasrām:— "It is by the missionary that this teaching "(*is spread abroad*). Two hundred and fifty-six men have "gone forth on missions" (*Inscrs. de Piya.*, ii, 1886, p. 196, and IA, xx, 1891, p. 165).

Rūpnāth:— "It is through the missionary that my "teaching is spread abroad. There have been 256 settings "out of missionaries" (*Inscrs. de Piya.*, ii, 1886, p. 196, and IA, xx, 1891, p. 165).

Brahmagiri:— "This teaching is promulgated by the "missionary. 256" (JA, 1892, i, p. 488).

Mr. Rice, in bringing to notice the Mysore records, sought

to open out a new branch of this line of interpretation, by rendering the passage in the Brahmagiri record as meaning:— "And this exhortation has been delivered by "the *vyūtha* (or ? society) 256 times" (Report dated February, 1892, p. 5). If that were really the meaning, we could only have wound up the inquiry by commiserating the individual, or the society, for having had to reiterate so often the same so short address. But we need not refer to that proposal again. As has already been pointed out by M. Senart (JA, 1892, i, p. 485), Mr. Rice's rendering was based upon nothing but the pure mistake of taking, as representing the Sanskrit suffix *śas*, 'such and such a number of times,' the *sē* of the words *sē hēvaṁ*, "even thus," which introduce the second edict in the Mysore records. And the rendering has been judiciously abandoned by Mr. Rice in handling the record again on a recent occasion, when he has presented the passage as meaning:— "And this exhortation was delivered "by the Vyūtha (or the Departed) 256 (? years ago);" to which he has attached footnotes to the effect that "the Departed" means Buddha, and, in respect of the number 256, that "no one has succeeded in discovering exactly what "these figures refer to" (*Ep. Carn.*, xi, 1903, translations p. 93).

And, finally, M. Sylvain Lévi took up the matter from another point of view in the JA, 1896, i, pp. 460–474. In the first place, he took certain words which stand at the end of the second edict of the Brahmagiri record, not as being *Paḍēna likhitaṁ lipikarēṇa*, and as meaning, according to Dr. Bühler's rendering, "written by Paḍa the scribe," but as being *padēna likhitaṁ lipikarēṇa*, and as meaning "written by the scribe in the *pada*-fashion, separating all "the words" (*loc. cit.*, p. 466); and he explained that the text sent out from the chancellor's office at Suvaṇṇagiri to that at Isila bore that indication in order to put the local writer on his guard against any fancy for pedantry. He took the words *viuṭhēna*, *vyuṭhēnā*, and *vyūthēna* as denoting any of the couriers or messengers by whom the edict was circulated from place to place (*ibid.*, p. 469 f.). Following

the reading of *sata-vivāsā* as a compound, he took *sata* as representing the Sanskṛit *smṛita*, in the sense of 'enunciated, mentioned,' and interpreted the ablative *vivāsā*, and the corresponding *vivuthā* of the Sahasrām version, as denoting the despatch or missive, the edict itself, with which the messengers were entrusted, and rendered the phrases as meaning "according to the aforesaid missive" (*ibid.*, p. 472). And, noting a habit which both the Buddhists and the Jains had, of guaranteeing the integrity of their texts by recording the number of syllables (*aksharas*) which they contained (*ibid.*, p. 472 f.), and finding an approximation to the number 256 in certain parts of each version of the edict, he explained the number 256 as indicating, not a date, but "simply the official notation of the number of *aksharas* "contained in the edict, in the form which it had received "in the royal chancellor's office of Pāṭaliputra" (*ibid.*, p. 474).

In respect of my own interpretation of this passage I have to say, in the first place, that I unhesitatingly endorse the view, originally propounded by Dr. Bühler, that the number 256 is a date.

It is true that the passage does not include any word for 'years.' And it would probably be difficult to find many such instances, in which an omitted word for 'years' is not replaced by some word meaning 'time,' in the epigraphic records of India; though M. Boyer has apparently found two such instances, referable according to the present understanding to the first century B.C., in the epigraphic records of Ceylon (JA, 1898, ii, pp. 466, 467). But the passage does at any rate not present anything which excludes the understanding that a date is meant. The *vivuthā* of the Sahasrām record, and the *vivāsā* of the Rūpnāth record, may be taken as ablatives singular, masculine or neuter, dependent upon the number 256, quite as well as nominatives plural, masculine or neuter, in apposition with that number; while, in the Brahmagiri record there is no word at all, to give any indication as to how the number 256 is to be applied. And this latter fact is particularly instructive. For,

though an omission of a word meaning 'years' is easily intelligible and can be matched, and though it is quite easy to comprehend how a simple statement of figures could be at once recognised as a date even without any word to indicate the starting-point of the reckoning, it is at least very difficult to understand, if 'persons' of some kind or another were intended, how the text could come to be left in such a form as to give not the slightest clue as to the nature of those persons, or to understand, if any such detail was intended as the marking of the number of 'syllables,' why there is no similar entry at the end of also the second edict in the Mysore records, especially as it is there that there stand the words which, according to one view, record a special feature in the verbal construction of the original text.

It is probably to Buddhist and Jain literature, rather than to any epigraphic records, that we must turn for similar instances of an omission of a word meaning 'years.' And, while it is not worth while to spend time over a special search for such cases,— inasmuch as the record has to be dealt with on its own merits, and irrespective of the question whether exact analogies can be found or not,— I will quote one instance from Buddhist literature, quite to the point, which came under my observation accidentally, in casually looking into the contents of a work which I had seen described as being of importance for the ecclesiastical history of Ceylon. The work in question is the *Sāsanavaṁsa* or *Sāsanavaṁsappadīpikā*, composed by a Burmese scholar named Paññasāmi who finished it not very long ago; to be exact, in 1861. Paññasāmi has recorded the date of the completion of his work, in the common Burmese era commencing A.D. 638, in the following verse (ed. Mrs. Bode, 1897, text p. 170):— Dvi-satē cha sahassē cha tēvīs-ādhikē gatē[1] puṇṇāyaṁ Migasirassa niṭṭhaṁ gatā va sabbasō. And the translation is:— "(*This Sāsanavaṁsappadīpikā*) verily attained completion in all respects on the full-moon

[1] The metre is faulty in this *pāda*. Pāli authors, however, seem to have never troubled themselves about irregularities of metre.

day of (*the month*) Migasira, when there had gone by two hundred and a thousand and twenty-three."

Here we have an unmistakable instance, quite to the point, of omission of a word for 'years' or 'time' in a passage recording a date.[1] To that I have only to add the following remarks. The natural appearance of the passage with which we are concerned, is distinctly that of a date. Though the other interpretations which have been proposed by MM. Senart and Sylvain Lévi, have been supported by substantial arguments, they do not present any meaning that can be recognised as following naturally, without straining. And they are distinctly wrong in taking the *satā* of the Sahasrām record as equivalent to *sattā, sattāni*, the nominative plural, and the *sata* of the Rūpnāth version as equivalent to *satta*, the base, of *satta*, = *sattva*, 'being, existence; a living or sentient being.' The word *satta*, = *sattva*, is one in respect of which the people who used the language or orthography of the Aśōka edicts, could not afford to follow the practice of reducing double consonants to single ones, or, at any rate, to use generally the word so reduced; because, unless in any such phrase as *sava-sata-hitāyē, sava-satānaṁ hitāyē*, "for the welfare of all sentient beings," the result, *sata*, would have been so liable to be confused with *sata*, = *śata*, 'hundred,' and *sata*, = *satta*, = *saptan*, 'seven,' and *sata*, = *smṛita*, 'remembered, mentioned; thoughtful.' And, as has already been intimated (page 4 above), both the *satā* of the Sahasrām record and the *sata* of the Rūpnāth record mean 'hundreds, centuries:' in conformity with a common method of expression in Hindū dates, in translating which we have to supply the word 'of' in order to obtain a grammatical rendering, they stand in apposition, not with only the word *duvē*, 'two,' and the numerical symbol for 200, but with the words and

[1] I may now add, in revising the proofs of my article, another literary instance which, also, has come to my notice casually. It is a passage in a Jain *paṭṭāvali*, which places the destruction of Valabhī and other occurrences such and such numbers (of years) after the death of Mahāvīra-Vardhamāna by the words:—śrī-Vīrāt 845 Valabhī-bhaṅgaḥ 826 kvachit 886 brahmadvīpikāḥ 882 chaitya-sthitiḥ; see IA, xi, 1882, p. 252 *b*.

the numerical symbols which mean 256; but of course the intended purport is, not 256 centuries, but two centuries and fifty-six years.

It is, in fact, an inevitable conclusion that the number 256 is a date. And, following Dr. Bühler in the second detail also, I fully agree with him that that date was reckoned from the death of Buddha. But I arrive at this result in a different way.

Now, in the first place, the passage mentions the making or composing, and the inculcation, of a religious precept by, plainly, a religious teacher, whom it specifies by the words *vivutha*, *vyuṭha*, and *vyūtha*; and it places some event in the career of that teacher, indicated by the ablatives *vivuthā* and *vivāsā*, 256 years before the actual time at which the edict was issued by Aśōka.

The allusion can only be to one or other of the two great ancient Hindū teachers, Buddha and Mahāvīra-Vardhamāna.[1] And,— even setting aside the facts, that, if tradition is true, Mahāvīra-Vardhamāna died at least 258 years before the *abhishēka* or anointment of Aśōka to the sovereignty, and that this edict was certainly not issued until long after the anointment of Aśōka,— it is certain, for a reason already mentioned on page 3 above, that, whatever may be the religion which Aśōka originally professed, it was to Buddhism that he was converted.

The words *vivutha*, *vyuṭha*, and *vyūtha*, therefore, must denote Buddha. And the word *vivāsa* must mark some event, used as the starting-point of a chronological reckoning, in the career of Buddha.

Now, Professor Rhys Davids propounded the view that, if the edict is really a Buddhist and not a Jain proclamation,

[1] The validity of my general argument would not be destroyed, even if hereafter there should be established something which, I believe, is held to have been demolished long ago; namely, that Buddha and Vardhamāna were originally one and the same person, and were differentiated by the divergence of rival sects, with the inevitable oriental concomitant of the invention of separative details of the most circumstantial kind, perhaps before, perhaps only after, the time of Aśōka. However, I do not make any assertion in that direction; I have not studied the point. I only hint at a possibility, which must not be altogether ignored even now.

it is to be understood that the starting-point of the reckoning of the 256 years was, not the death of Buddha, but his *vivāsa* in the sense of his *nekkhamma, abhinikkhamana,* or *abhinishkramaṇa,*— "the Great Renunciation,"— when he left his home to become an ascetic (*Academy,* 14th July, 1877, p. 37, and ACMC, p. 58). And this same view has been adopted by M. Boyer (JA, 1898, ii, p. 486).

But Professor Rhys Davids himself did not regard with any favour (ACMC, p. 60),— and apparently quite rightly, — the idea, entertained by someone else, that the Jains had an era dating from the *abhinishkramaṇa* of Mahāvīra-Vardhamāna, an event quite as important to the Jains as the same event in the life of Buddha could be to the Buddhists. And, even irrespective of the point that the actual departure from home would be denoted by the word *vivasana* more correctly than by *vivāsa,* whatever may be the case in the Buddhist literature in general,— whatever may be the statements which can be found there, to surround the *abhinishkramaṇa* of Buddha with so great a halo of romance as to justify our speaking of it as "the Great Renunciation,"— there is nothing in the *Dīpavaṁsa,* or in the *Mahāvaṁsa,* to indicate that the *Pōrāṇaṭṭhakathā,* the *Aṭṭhakathā-Māhāvaṁsa* or *Sīhaḷaṭṭhakathā-Mahāvaṁsa* of the Mahāvihāra monastery, the early work on which the *Dīpavaṁsa* and partially the *Mahāvaṁsa* were based (Oldenberg, *Dīpavaṁsa,* Introd. p. 2 ff.),— a work of quite possibly the time of Aśōka himself or nearly so,— attached any importance at all, as an epoch-making event, to the *abhinishkramaṇa* of Buddha. In connection with the *Mahāvaṁsa,* we must bear in mind a point, to which, it would appear, no attention has as yet been paid, but which is of importance because, in consequence of it, while we may criticise the *Mahāvaṁsa* by the *Dīpavaṁsa,* we must not criticise the *Dīpavaṁsa* by the *Mahāvaṁsa.* Mahānāman, the author of the earlier portion, really known as the *Padyapaḍānuvaṁsa* or *Padyapadōruvaṁsa,* of the *Mahāvaṁsa,* had opportunities, in consequence of the intervening visit of Buddhaghōsha to Ceylon from Magadha, and of his own

visit to Magadha which is proved by his inscription at Bōdh-Gayā,[1] of introducing into his narrative additional items of

[1] I refer to one or other of two records edited by me in *Gupta Inscriptions*, 1888, No. 71, p. 274, and No. 72, p. 278 (see also IA, xv, 1886, pp. 356, 359). The inscription No. 71 is dated in the year 269, in the month Chaitra; it mentions, in a line of Buddhist disciples of Laṅkā (Ceylon), Bhava, Rāhula, Upasēna (I.), Mahānāman (I.), Upasēna (II.), and Mahānāman (II.), a resident of Āmradvīpa, and born in the island of Laṅkā; and it records that, in the specified year, the second Mahānāman founded a Buddhist temple or monastery at the Bōdhimaṇḍa, that is at Bōdh-Gayā. The inscription No. 72 is not dated; it records the presentation of a Buddhist image by the *Sthavira* Mahānāman, a resident of Āmradvīpa.

When I edited these records, I took the *Sthavira* Mahānāman of the inscription No. 72 to be identical with the second Mahānāman of No. 71. I interpreted the date in No. 71, the year 269, the month Chaitra, as a date of the Gupta era, falling in A.D. 588. And I said in respect of No. 71:— "Its extreme interest "lies in the fact that, as the Mahānāman, whose record it is, can hardly be any "other than the well-known person of that name who wrote the more ancient "part of the Pāli *Mahāvaṁsa* or History of Ceylon, its date shews either that "the details of the Ceylonese chronology, as hitherto accepted, are not as reliable "as they have been supposed to be, or else that a wrong starting-point has been "selected in working out those details; and it furnishes a definite point from "which the chronology may now be adjusted backwards" (*Gupta Inscrs.*, 1888, Introd. p. 16; see also *id.*, texts, p. 275 f., and IA, xv, 1886, p. 357).

What I have said on the present occasion, I have said with a full knowledge of what Mr. Vincent Smith has written (IA, xxxi, 1902, p. 192 ff.) with a view to upsetting both the identification proposed by me and the remarks made by me in connection with it, and also a different identification proposed by M. Sylvain Lévi with the result of interpreting the date of the record as a date of the Śaka era, falling in A.D. 347 (JA, 1900, i, pp. 401–411).

M. Lévi's proposal, in connection with the Śaka era, is altogether unsustainable. And, for my part, I have to withdraw an alternative suggestion made by me, that the date of the record might be a date of the Kalachuri or Chēdi era, falling in A.D. 518 (*Gupta Inscrs.*, Index, pp. 320, 324). My original explanation of the date, as a date of the Gupta era, falling in A.D. 588, is the correct one.

I endorse Mr. Smith's conclusion (IA, xxxi, 1902, p. 193) that the undated inscription No. 72, of the *Sthavira* Mahānāman, is some fifty years earlier than the dated inscription No. 71. And it is, no doubt, a record of the first Mahānāman of the inscription No. 71, whom Mr. Smith has styled "the spiritual grandfather" (*loc. cit.*, p. 193) of the second Mahānāman of that record, the one to whom the date in the year 269 belongs.

For the rest, Mr. Smith's conclusions are wrong. They rest primarily upon a belief that the Ceylonese chronology is substantially accurate from B.C. 161 onwards (*loc. cit.*, p. 195, line 17 ff.). That, however, is a quite erroneous belief, which is traceable back to another initial mistake, or rather an initial unsustainable assertion, made by Mr. George Turnour (see, *e.g.*, JASB, vi, 1837, p. 721), and which can be easily exploded.

The suggestions which I put forward in 1886 and 1888 in respect of the Ceylonese chronology, are quite correct. Turnour selected, for working it out, a wrong starting-point, B.C. 543, which is not asserted by, or supported by anything contained in, either the *Dīpavaṁsa* or the earlier part of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, but was simply invented in (as far as I can see my way clear at present) the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. And we are gradually obtaining items of information from various sources, which shew that the details in the Ceylonese chronicles are not accurate in respect even of names, much less of dates.

But it is possible that the author Mahānāman should be identified with the *Sthavira* Mahānāman (roughly about A.D. 538) of the Bōdh-Gayā undated

tradition and romance which were not available to the author of the earlier work, the *Dīpavaṁsa*; and he unquestionably availed himself of those opportunities, in completing the alleged history of the period before Aśōka, and in filling in some of the asserted details of the life of Aśōka himself. And yet even the *Mahāvaṁsa* merely says:— "The Bōdhisatta was five years older than Bimbisāra; and, when he was twenty-nine years of age, the Bōdhisatta went forth" (*nikkhami*); namely, by supplying what is understood, "on his divine mission" (*Mahāvaṁsa*, Turnour, p. 10, Wijesinha, p. 8), or, let us rather say, "to acquire *bōdhi* or *saṁbōdhi*, true knowledge." While the *Dīpavaṁsa*, 3, 47, does not even specify the age of Buddha when he left his home, but simply says:— "He, Siddhattha, the leader of the world, son of Suddhōdana, having begotten Rāhulabhadda, went forth for (*the purpose of acquiring true*) knowledge" (*bōdhāya abhinikkhami*; Oldenberg, text, p. 29).

There is nothing to suggest that the Buddhists ever recognised a reckoning dating from the *abhinishkramaṇa* of Buddha, when he left his father's regal home, and went forth to acquire that true knowledge which was to qualify him to be a teacher and the founder of a faith. Nor can I detect anything to indicate that an event in his life, which would be much more likely to have served as an epoch-making event, was ever applied as such; namely, his first public appearance as a teacher, when, at the age of thirty-five according to tradition, he expounded his religion to the king Bimbisāra (*Dīpavaṁsa*, 3, 57, 58; *Mahāvaṁsa*, Turnour, p. 10, Wijesinha, p. 8).

On the other hand, there are indisputable evidences, in many directions,— in India itself, and in Ceylon, Tibet, China, Burma, and Siam,— that there was a custom, from

inscription No. 72, rather than with the second Mahānāman (A.D. 588) of the dated inscription No. 71. This, however, is a point which will have to be thought out on some other occasion, when I shall have more to say about the circumstances in which Mahānāman wrote the *Padyapadānuvaṁsa* or *Padyapadōruvaṁsa*, and about the mistake of taking him to be a maternal uncle of king Dhātusēna who is supposed to have reigned A.D. 459 to 477 or 463 to 479.

an early time, of determining chronology by placing events such and such a number of years after the death of Buddha. And, even *primâ facie*, we need not hesitate for a moment about accepting that event as the starting-point of the 256 years mentioned in the edict.

But, from what point of view, and with what meaning, does the edict present the words *vivutha*, *vyuṭha*, and *vyūtha*, to denote the great founder of the Buddhist religion, instead of exhibiting his name Buddha itself, already well established, as we know from the so-called Bhabra edict? And how did it come to present the ablatives *vivuthā* of the Sahasrām record and *vivāsā* of the Rūpnāth record, to denote his death, instead of exhibiting something answering to the familiar *nirvāṇa* or *parinirvāṇa*, well established for at any rate not much later times, or some participial form answering to the *nibbuta* or *parinibbuta* of the Pāli books?

To the understanding that the words *vivutha*, *vyuṭha*, and *vyūtha* denote Buddha, objections have been urged on the basis that these words, and the word *vivāsa*, are not to be found in Buddhist literature, but do occur in Jain literature. Thus, Professor Pischel (*Academy*, 11th August, 1877, p. 145) agreed with Dr. Bühler that the words *vivutha* and *vyuṭha* — (the form *vyūtha* was not then known) — might be taken as meaning "the Departed" in the sense of "the Deceased," though Dr. Bühler had arrived at that understanding by a false etymology; and he apparently acquiesced in the view, — at any rate, he did not oppose it,— that the number 256 is a date. But, on the other hand, he held that the record is a Jain record, probably issued by Sampadi-Samprati, an alleged grandson of Aśōka according to the Jains. He expressed the opinion that the word *vivutha* is a name of Mahāvīra-Vardhamāna. And, in favour of that view, he hazarded the conjecture that some such word as *vivāsa* must occur in a certain passage, in the Jain *Kalpasūtra*, which mentions the death of Mahāvīra-Vardhamāna. Professor Rhys Davids, however, was able to shew at once (ACMC, p. 60) that no such word occurs there. And, turning to the text, as edited by Professor Jacobi, we find (ADMG, vii,

1878, p. 67) that the word actually used is *parinibbuḍa*, equivalent to the *parinibbuta* of the Buddhist Pāli writers. So, again, Professor J. P. Minayeff, taking the same view that the edict is a Jain record, quoted (*Recherches sur le Bouddhisme*, Annales du Musée Guimet, iv, 1894, p. 78, note 1) a verse, from the *Pariśishṭaparvan* of Hēmachandra, as placing the death of the Jain teacher Jambū a certain number of years after the death of Mahāvīra-Vardhamāna by the words *śrī-Vīra-mōksha-vivasāt*, which might be rendered "after the departure into liberation of the holy Vīra." But, turning to Professor Jacobi's edition of the *Pariśishṭaparvan* (Bibliotheca Indica, 1891, p. 61, verse 61), we find that the actual word in the text is *divasāt*, "after the day of the liberation of the holy Vīra."

Thus, two attempts at any rate, to shew that the words with which we are concerned are to be found in Jain literature, have failed. And even if other attempts in that direction should be successful, what would they establish? At any rate, not that the expressions are not Buddhist also. We should think that, if any particular words are exclusively Jain, they would be the names Jina, 'the victorious one, the conqueror, the vanquisher,' and Mahāvīra, 'the great hero.' Yet these appellations are constantly applied to Buddha in the older books.[1] And even the modern Buddhist author Paññasāmi has freely used the expressions *Jinasāsana* and *Jinachakka* to denote "the doctrine of Buddha" and "the dispensation of Buddha" (*Sāsanavaṁsa*, ed. Mrs. Bode, *e.g.*, pp. 7, 16, 27, 28, 39).

As a matter of fact, derivatives from that verb *vivas* with which we are concerned, do occur in Buddhist literature. For the present, indeed, having no glossary for reference except that published by Dr. Fausböll of the *Suttanipāta*,

[1] For instance, Jina, in the *Suttanipāta*, verses 379, 697, 996 (ed. Fausböll, pp. 67, 131, 182), and in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, 1, 30, 80; 4, 10 (ed. Oldenberg, pp. 15, 20, 31), and in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (Turnour, p. 2, line 12, p. 3, line 6, p. 9, line 13, "our Vanquisher was a son of the great king Suddhōdana and of Māyā"); and Mahāvīra, in the *Suttanipāta*, verses 543, 562 (pp. 98, 106), and in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, 1, 49; 2, 52; 3, 58 (pp. 16, 24, 30), and in the *Mahāvaṁsa* (p. 2, line 3).

I can trace only the following two instances, in one of the true etymological meanings of the verb; namely, in the *Suttanipāta*, verse 710, where we have *tatō ratyā vivasanē* (ed. Fausböll, p. 132), translated by the editor himself "then when night is passing away" (SBE, x, *Suttanipāta*, p. 127, verse 32), and in the same work *namassamānō vivasēmi rattiṁ*, "worshipping I spend the night" (text p. 208, verse 1142, translation p. 201, verse 19). But we may fairly quote also the following instances of the use, in the same work, of the closely similar verb *vipravas*, 'to set out on a journey, to go or dwell abroad, to dwell away;' namely, *vippavasasi*, 'thou dost stay away,' *vippavasāmi*, 'I stay away,' and *avippavāsa*, 'a not staying away' (text p. 207 f., verses 1138, 1140, 1142, translation p. 200 f., verses 15, 17, 19). And, if a conjecture may be hazarded on my own side, it is that we shall obtain plenty of instances hereafter of the use of the verb *vivas* in Buddhist texts, and some of them in accordance with the exact meaning in which, as we shall see, the derivatives presented in the edict were used.

Meanwhile, what are the exact etymological meanings of the words *vivutha*, *vyuṭha*, *vyūtha*, and *vivāsa*? And what special characteristic of Buddha was there, to account for the use of such terms in connection with him?

The form *vyūtha*, with the long *ū* and the dental *th*, is a variant of, no doubt, *vyuṭha*, with the short *u* and the lingual or cerebral *ṭh*. And, as such, it is to be accounted for by the influences which have given us such forms as, in the rock edict No. 4, *vadhitē* (Kālsī, line 11) against *vaḍhitē* (Girnār, line 7), and in rock edict No. 1, *pāna* (Kālsī, line 3) against *prāṇa* (Girnār, line 9), and in rock edict No. 2, *Taṁbapaṁni* (Kālsī, line 4) against *Taṁbapaṁṇī* (Girnār, line 2–3), and, in rock edict No. 13, apparently *diyadha* (Shāhbāzgarhī, line 1) against *dtyaḍha* (Kālsī, line 35).

As regards the other forms, *vivutha* and *vyuṭha*, Professor Pischel has convincingly explained (*Academy*, 11th August, 1877, p. 145) that they represent the Pāli forms *vivuttha* and *vyuṭṭha* of respectively *vyushṭa* and *vyushṭa*, the Sanskṛit past

participles with *ta* of the root *vas*, 'to dwell, etc.' (class 1, *vasati, nivāsē*), with the separative, distributive, or privative prefix *vi*. He has also told us that the word *sata*, in the compound *sata-vivāsā* as was then the understanding, cannot represent, as Dr. Bühler thought it does, the Pāli *satthu* and the Sanskṛit *śāstṛi*, 'a teacher.' In this latter point, we quite accept his decision. But, for reasons already stated (page 13 above), we cannot follow him in his endorsement of Dr. Bühler's reading of *sata-vivāsā* as a compound, even though coupled with his own substitution of "since his departure from life," instead of Dr. Bühler's "since the departure of the Teacher." Nor need we take, and in fact we are restrained from taking, for the words with which we are concerned, any figurative meaning in the direction of 'deceased' and 'death,' for which no authority has been produced.

Of that verb *vivas* which has just been indicated, the actual meanings, as given in Sir Monier Monier-Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary, new edition, 1899, and as fully endorsed by the St. Petersburg Dictionary and the quotations given therein, are :— (1) to change an abode, depart from; (2) with *brahmacharyaṁ*, to enter upon an apprenticeship, become a pupil; (3) to abide, dwell, live; (4) to pass, spend (time). It is sufficient to take for our purposes the first of these meanings, from which we have for *vyushita* and *vyushṭa* the sense of 'one who has departed from home.' And we are constrained, by a passage in the Rūpnāth record itself, to take the words in their natural meaning, and in that particular one.

In the Rūpnāth record, the passage which we are considering is immediately preceded by two sentences, of which one explains the point. The first of these two sentences tells us that the purport of the edict had been engraved upon mountains "both in distant places and here,"[1] and directs

[1] The facsimiles distinctly shew :— vālata hadha cha. As will be seen immediately, there are several writer's mistakes in this part of the record. And we must correct the text into :— palata hidha cha; in which *palata* is the local form of the Pāli *paratō*, = the Sanskṛit *pāratas*, 'farther, far off.'

that it should be engraved on stone pillars wherever there may be such pillars. And it is to be incidentally remarked that the first of these clauses is instructive. The whole of this sentence, except for the words *palata hidha cha*, stands, with some slight differences, in also the Sahasrām record, after the date; and the sentence which we have to notice in the next paragraph, may have stood after it and have become illegible, or may have been omitted. But the Brahmagiri record, as also the other two Mysore records at Śiddāpura and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara, does not present either of the two sentences. And it is a plain inference that those three places were some of the "distant places," at which the edict had been published and engraved before the time when it was published and engraved at Sahasrām and Rūpnāth.

The second sentence runs thus:— Ētinā cha vayajanēnā yāvataka tupaka ahālē savara vivasētavi[ya] ti. There are several palpable writer's mistakes here. We must correct the text into:— Ētinā cha viyaṁjanēnā yāvatakē tuphākaṁ āhālē saṁvarā vivasētaviyē ti. And the meaning is then plain enough:— "And by this same suggestion, intimation, (*it is directed that*) to whatsoever extent (*there may be*) an employing, a deputation, of you, (*to that extent you*) should with active exertion, energetically, depart from home;" namely, to travel abroad in order either to engrave the edict in other places also, or in a general way to propagate the teaching of it.[1]

[1] M. Senart went nearer than Dr. Bühler to the meaning of this passage. But it is not possible to follow him in reading *savata*, for the Pāli *sabbatō*, the Sanskṛit *sarvatas*, 'from all sides, in every direction, everywhere.' The original distinctly has *savara*; and Dr. Bühler recognised that it indicated *saṁvara*, though he took it as, apparently, a nominative, and translated it by "(*learning to*) subdue his senses." In *saṁvarā*, we have the ablative, used adverbially. *Saṁvara* is given in Childers' Pāli Dictionary as meaning 'closing, restraint.' It is there explained that 'restraint' is of five kinds. The fifth restraint is *viriya-saṁvara*, 'the restraint which enables a man to make an active exertion.' And that is the sense which I take.

I have taken what seems to be here the plain purport of *āhāla* from the meaning 'employing, use,' which is given to *āhāra* in Monier-Williams' Sanskṛit Dictionary on the authority of the *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra*. There is a particular use of the word *āhāra*,— not yet explained, but perhaps to be explained in much the same

With that use of the verb *vivas* before us, in the same record, we are constrained to take something at least closely approximating to that same natural sense in our explanation of the derivatives *vivutha*, *vyuṭha*, *vyūtha*, and *vivāsa*. And we find at once the meaning that we require, by a consideration of the main characteristic of the life of Buddha.

The leading feature of the life of Buddha was that, from the time of his leaving his home, or at least from the time when he had attained that true knowledge for the purpose of acquiring which he left his home, he had no more any settled abode; he was thenceforth always a traveller, a pilgrim, a wanderer upon the face of the earth.

To this point attention has already been drawn by Dr. Fausböll, on p. 14 f. of his introduction to his translation of the *Suttanipāta* (SBE, x, 1881 and 1898), where he has said:— "What then is Buddha? First he is a Visionary, "in the good sense of the word; his knowledge is intuitive, "'Seeing misery,' he says, 'in the philosophical views, "without adopting any of them, searching for truth, I saw "inward peace.' . . . . . Secondly he is an Ascetic, "a Muni, one that forsakes the world and wanders from "the house to the houseless state; because from house-life "arises defilement."

Sometimes, indeed, Buddha was a sojourner (*viharati*, *viharitvā*), as in the Brāhmaṇ village Ēkanāḷā at Dakkhiṇāgiri in the land of Magadha, in the park of Anāthapiṇḍika in the Jētavana woods at Sāvatthī, and on the bank of the river Sundarikā in the Kōsala country (*Suttanipāta*, ed. Fausböll, Pāli Text Society, pp. 12, 17, 79), and for as long as it pleased him (*yathābhirantaṁ*) at Ambalaṭṭhikā, at Kōṭigāma, and in Ambapāli's grove (*Mahāparinibbānasutta*, ed. Childers, JRAS, N.S., vii, pp. 57, 66, 72). And sometimes he dwelt

way,— in between the mention of *ārambha*, 'exertions,' and *iṅgita*, 'commotions,' — in the *Suttanipāta*, verses 747, 748, and the prose preceding them.

It does not seem appropriate, even if practicable, to follow Dr. Bühler (IA, vi, 157, note 9) and M. Senart (*Inscrs. de Piya.*, ii, 194, and IA, xx, 164, 16), in finding in this passage of the edict a pun based on a secondary allusion to boiled rice, a viaticum, and condiments.

(*vasi*) for even a whole year at a place, as at Rājagaha during the rainy season and the winter and the summer (*Vinaya-piṭaka*, ed. Oldenberg, i, p. 79).

But the feature of his life was wandering from place to place. In describing his own origin, from among the people of Kōsala just beside Himavanta, he said to king Bimbisāra: — "They are Ādichchas by clan, Sākiyas by birth; from that family I have wandered out (*pabbajitō*), not longing for sensual pleasures" (*Suttanipāta*, p. 73, verse 423, and see translation, SBE, x, p. 68, verse 19). And to the tempter Māra he said:— "Having made my thought subject to me, and my attention firm, I shall roam (*vichariss*aṁ) from land to land, training disciples extensively" (*id.*, p. 77, verse 444, and see translation, p. 70, verse 20). And so we find, sometimes that, in the regular course of his wanderings (*anupubbēna*), he was journeying on his journey (*chārikaṁ charamānō*) to Uruvēlā, to Rājagaha, and to Bārāṇasī (*Vinaya-piṭaka*, ed. Oldenberg, i, pp. 24, 210, 289); and sometimes that, having sojourned for as long as it pleased him, he set out afresh on his journey (*chārikaṁ pakkāmi*) from Uruvēlā to Gayāsīsa, and from Gayāsīsa to Rājagaha, and thence to Kapilavatthu (*id.*, pp. 34, 35, 82).

But better than anywhere else is the nature of his life exhibited, with the motive for it, in the beautiful opening verses of the *Pabbajjāsutta* subdivision of the *Mahāvagga* section of the *Suttanipāta*, of which I reproduce Dr. Fausböll's translation (SBE, x, 1898, *Suttanipāta*, p. 66), taking only the liberty of substituting for his "ascetic" the word "wandering," more in accordance with the term *pabbajjā*, = *pravrajyā*, 'a going about, migration, a roaming, wandering about,' of the original text (ed. Fausböll, p. 71), and in agreement with his own translation of at any rate the verse, quoted above, which describes the extraction of Buddha:— "(1) I will praise a wandering life such as the clearly-seeing "(Buddha) led, such as he thinking (over it), approved of as "a wandering life.— (2) 'This house-life is pain, the seat of "impurity,' and 'a wandering life is an open-air life,' so "considering he embraced a wandering life.— (3) Leading

"a wandering life, he avoided with his body sinful deeds, "and having (also) abandoned sin in words, he cleansed his "life." And so the poem goes on, narrating the meeting of Buddha and Bimbisāra, the pilgrim and the king:— "(4) Buddha went to Rājagaha; he entered Giribbaja of the Magadhas for alms, with a profusion of excellent signs.— (5) Bimbisāra standing in his palace saw him;" and so on.

Buddha was essentially a *pabbajita*, a *paribbājaka*, a wandering ascetic teacher. And he was *par excellence*, in the eyes of the Buddhists, "the Wanderer" of his own time and of many centuries thereafter.[1] The existence of a verse in the edict which we are considering, has already been suggested by Mr. Thomas (see this Journal, 1903, p. 833). I find in the record another touch of poetry, in the selection of the words *vivutha*, *vuṭha*, and *vyūtha*, in preference to any commonplace expression, to denote Buddha as "he who left his home and became a Wanderer." And in harmony with that idea there was used, to indicate his death, the ablative *vivāsā*, "after (*his*) wandering," in the sense of "after the end of all the wanderings of his life." The ablative *vivuthā* of the Sahasrām record might, of course, be interpreted as the ablative of the neuter verbal noun *vivutha*, with the same meaning as *vivāsa*. But it seems more proper to take its base, *vivutha*, in exactly the same sense in which it was used for the instrumental *vivuthēna* in the same passage, so that its meaning is "after the Wanderer," in the sense of "after the death of the Wanderer." With this use of the appellation we may compare, in epigraphic records, such expressions as those which specify such and such a number of years elapsed *Vikramāt*, "after Vikrama" (*e.g.*, Professor

[1] I should have liked to include in my remarks something of what Professor Rhys Davids has said, in his recently published *Buddhist India*, about the teaching "Wanderers" of ancient India, as contrasted with the "Hermits" who lived in fixed abodes in the forests occupying themselves in meditation and the performance of sacrificial rites or in the practice of austerities, and about the high esteem in which the "Wanderers" were held by the people at large, and the part that they played in the development of Buddhism. But it was only after my article had gone to the printers, that I became aware of his book. The recognition of Buddha as "the Wanderer" presented itself to me independently, some time ago, as a natural result of my own inquiries.

Kielhorn's List of the Inscriptions of Northern India, EI, v, Appendix, p. 11, No. 73, p. 29, No. 202), and in literature such expressions as *Vikkamāu kālammi*, "in the time after Vikkama" (IA, xix, p. 36, No. 60), and such and such a number of years *śrī-Vīrāt*, "after the holy Vīra" (IA, xx, p. 345, line 8 ff. from the bottom). And, with these explanations, I translate thus the texts which we have been considering:—

Sahasrām:— "And this same precept (*was composed*) by the Wanderer; (*of*) centuries, two (*hundred*) and fifty-six (*years have elapsed*) since the Wanderer; (*or in figures*) [1] 200 (*and*) 50 (*and*) 6."

Rūpnāth:— "(*This same*) precept was composed by the Wanderer; (*of*) centuries, 200 (*and*) 50 (*and*) 6 (*years have elapsed*) since (*his*) wanderings."

Brahmagiri:— "And this same precept was inculcated by the Wanderer; 200 (*and*) 50 (*and*) 6 (*years have elapsed since then*)."

[1] For the insertion of these words, compare the familiar *aṅkatōzpi* of later records.

(*To be concluded.*)

II.

NOTE ON THE CONTENTS OF THE TA'RIKH-I-JAHAN-GUSHA:

OR HISTORY OF THE WORLD-CONQUEROR, CHANGIZ KHAN, BY 'ATA MALIK JUWAYNI,

with an appreciation and comparison of some of the manuscripts of this work, especially those belonging to the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

By EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., M.R.A.S.

NO event since the time of the Prophet Muḥammad has, probably, so profoundly affected the history of Western Asia as the disastrous wave of Mongol Invasion which, beginning with the first conquests of Changíz Khán at the beginning of the thirteenth century of our era, culminated in the sack of Baghdad and the extinction of the Caliphate by his grandson Húlágú Khán, in A.D. 1258.

D'Ohsson, in his great *Histoire des Mongols* (1834), enumerates the following five Arabic and Persian works as the most important Muḥammadan sources for the history of this period:—

1. The well-known *Ta'ríkhu'l-Kámil* of Ibnu'l-Athír, who died in A.H. 630 (A.D. 1232–3), under A.H. 617 and the following years of the chronicle.

2. The *Sirat*, or Biography, of that valiant antagonist of the Mongols, Jalálu'd-Dín Mankubirtí, the last of the Khwárazmsháhs, composed by his faithful secretary Shihábu'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Aḥmad of Nasá in Khurásán. This work, inspired by Ibnu'l-Athír's narrative, comprises 108 chapters, was written in A.H. 639 (A.D. 1241–2), and is characterized by d'Ohsson as "une narration simple et naturelle."

3. The *Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá* of 'Aṭá Malik Juwayní, which forms the subject of the present notice. This history

was composed in A.H. 658 (A.D. 1260), and is carried down to the death of Ruknu'd-Dín Khursháh, last Grand-Master of the Assassins of Alamút, in A.H. 655 (A.D. 1257), while a few MSS. contain an additional Appendix on the sack of Baghdad, which took place in the following year. The author, who was secretary to Húlágú Khán himself, died in A.H. 681 (A.D. 1282–3).

4. The *Kitábu Tajziyati'l-Amṣár wa Tazjiyati'l-A'ṣár* of 'Abdu'lláh b. Faḍlu'lláh, who (since he was the panegyrist of the Mongol Court) is generally called *Waṣṣáfu'l-Ḥaḍrat*, whence his history is commonly known as the *Ta'ríkh-i-Waṣṣáf*. It is professedly a continuation of the *Jahán-gushá* last mentioned (with an abstract of which it concludes), and covers the years A.H. 655–728 (A.D. 1257–1327). Undertaken for Gházán Khán, it was only completed in the time of his successor Uljáytú, to whom the author, introduced by Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh (author of the history to be next mentioned), presented it. The Preface was written in A.H. 699 (A.D. 1299–1300). It is much admired in the East for (what in our eyes is a blemish) its florid and laboured style, over-charged with every species of rhetorical ornament.

5. The *Jámi'u't-Tawáríkh*, or great universal history, of Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh, the accomplished and unfortunate Minister who was put to death on Sept. 13, A.D. 1318 (A.H. 718). It comprises three volumes, of which the *first* treats of the general history and ethnology of the Mongols, and, in greater detail, of their history from the time of Changíz Khán till the time of Uljáytú. This volume was concluded in A.H. 702 (A.D. 1302–3). The *second* volume deals with the general history of the pre-Mongol period, while the *third* treats of Geography. The history was brought down by the author to the death of Gházán Khán, while a supplement, composed by Mas'úd b. 'Abdu'lláh in A.H. 837 (A.D. 1433–4), carries it down to A.H. 736 (A.D. 1335–6).

Of these five sources, the first two, which are both in Arabic, have been published *in extenso*, while of the last three, which are all in Persian, portions only (and in the case of the *Jahán-gushá* only a small portion, in vol. ii of

Schefer's *Chrestomathie persane*, pp. 105–169) have been published.

The *Jahán-gushá* is, then, the most neglected, though by no means the least interesting, of these five important histories; nor is it interesting only by reason of its well-informed and original account of the Mongol Invasion. This, and the Rise and Development of the Mongol power down to the destruction of the Khwárazmsháhs and of the Assassins of Alamút, form the subject of the *first* volume; while the *second* and *third* volumes deal respectively with the history of the two Dynasties last mentioned. The history of the Assassins in particular is discussed with singular fulness and authority, for the author accompanied Húlágú Khán (in his capacity of secretary) on the expedition against their chief strongholds, and was able to examine and note the contents of many rare books in their well-stocked libraries, which were immediately afterwards committed to the flames. Thus it happens that this work contains many particulars concerning the history and doctrines of this interesting sect which are not to be found elsewhere, as well as much matter throwing light on the social and literary history of the period.

The public libraries of Europe contain altogether at least some fourteen manuscripts of this important work, of which I have examined eight more or less fully, viz., the British Museum MS. (Or. 155), the India Office MS. (No. 1914 = No. 170 in Ethé's Catalogue), and six of the Paris MSS., some of which (in particular a very fine one, dated A.H. 689) are remarkably good. These I shall refer to in the remainder of this article as B.M., I.O., and P^1–P^6. For an edition of the text, which I have long contemplated for my Persian Historical Text Series, P^2 (Suppl. persan, 205), the ancient MS. above mentioned, would form the proper basis, while B.M. and I.O. are both so incorrect, incomplete, and defaced by dislocations and *lacunæ*, that they might well be ignored, and I only mention them in what follows because they are most accessible to scholars in this country, and because I have myself been compelled to work chiefly at them, using the former in a transcript begun for me by a Turk named 'Árif

Bey and concluded by Mawlawí Muḥammad Barakatu'lláh, and the latter in the original, which the authorities of the India Office Library, with their usual liberality, placed at my disposal.

I now proceed to an enumeration (which makes no pretence to completeness) of the principal European MSS., adding to those of Paris a brief description, which I deem unnecessary in the case of B.M. and I.O., since descriptions of these will be found in the respective catalogues of the institutions to which they belong.

Paris.

1. *Ancien Fonds persan* 69 (= P[1]). — The MS. used by d'Ohsson, and, before him, by Quatremère in compiling his notice of the author in vol. i of *Mines de l'Orient*, pp. 220–234 (Vienna, 1809). He correctly describes it as "un petit in-folio, contenant 189 feuillets (each of 25 lines), et qu'on a achevé de copier le deuxième jour du mois de Moharrem, A.H. 938 (= August 16, A.D. 1531). L'écriture en est mauvaise, et présente un assez grand nombre de fautes de copiste." I may add that this MS. is complete, was transcribed by one named *Ḥalwá'i*, and contains many marginal notes and collations. It is written in *nasta'líq* which I should describe as fairly good.

2. *Supplément persan* 205 (= P[2]).—A beautiful old MS. dated A.H. 689 (A.D. 1290), comprising ff. 176 of 27 lines. It is a large volume (measuring, if I recollect aright, about 10 × 8 inches), and is carefully written in a fine, large, archaic *naskhí* hand, which is, however, not always easy to read.

3. *Supplément persan* 206 (= P[3]). — This MS., dated A.H. 841 (A.D. 1437–8), contains ff. 188, is written in a good *naskhí* hand, with rubrications, and is embellished with six miniatures. I did not compare its contents throughout with the other MSS., but it is incomplete at the end, and seems to lack the whole, or at least the greater part, of vol. i. There is also a dislocation or lacuna between ff. 41 and 42.

The following MSS. belonged to the late M. Charles Schefer, whose wonderful collection of Oriental manuscripts passed entire to the Bibliothèque Nationale.

4. *Supplément persan* 1375 (= P^4 = Pers. 68 of the Schefer Collection).—A fine old complete copy (ascribed by the cataloguer of the Schefer MSS. to the fifteenth century of our era), written in a clear and excellent *naskhí* hand, and comprising ff. 234. There is, however, between ff. 215 and 216, an extensive lacuna, corresponding with ff. 155*a*, l. 12–165*a*, l. 24, of P^2.

5. *Supplément persan* 1556[1] (= P^5 = Pers. 240 of the Schefer Collection).—A moderately good MS. (ascribed to the fourteenth century of our era) containing ff. 264 (220 written). The writing is rather scratchy and illegible, and the first leaf is supplied in a modern Turkish hand.

6. *Supplément persan* 1563 (= P^6 = Pers. 24 of the Schefer Collection).—A quite modern MS., dated A.H. 1259 (A.D. 1843–4), comprising ff. 199 of 17 ll., the text written in a good, clear *ta'liq*, the verses cited in large, clear *naskhí* and in red or blue ink. This ends early in vol. iii with the Proclamation announcing the destruction of the Assassins' stronghold of Alamút, omitting the whole account of the Isma'ílí sect which should follow this. On f. 168*a* (the end of vol. ii, here wrongly called the end of vol. i) is a colophon stating that the MS. was copied from an original dated A.H. 659 (A.D. 1261).

In point of excellence I should place these six MSS. in the following order:—P^2, P^4, P^1, P^6, P^5, P^3.

London.

7. Or. 155 of the British Museum (= B.M.).—This is defective in several places, especially at the beginning of vol. i, where some nine or ten chapters are wanting, and there are also several dislocations, while the text is far from correct. It is quite modern (A.H. 1277 = A.D. 1860–1), but professes to have been copied from an original dated A.H. 658 (= A.D. 1260).

8. No. 1914 (= 170 of Ethé's Catalogue) of the India Office.—In this also five or six chapters are wanting at the beginning, three (including the conquest of Bukhárá and Samarqand and the revolt of Tárábí) a little further on, and the end of vol. ii and beginning of vol. iii. There are also several dislocations, the proper order of the existing portions being ff. 1–17 (*lacuna*), 93–180, 18–93, 180–236 (the end). It ends with Naṣíru'd-Dín Ṭúsí's Appendix (referred to on p. 28 *supra*), was transcribed in A.H. 1076 (= A.D. 1665–6), and is written in a slovenly *ta'liq*, with rubrications and some marginal notes and references.

OXFORD.

9. *Fraser* 154 (= No. 146 of Ethé's Catalogue) of the Bodleian, not dated, but described by Ethé as "a very old and good copy."

10. *Ouseley Add.* 44 (= No. 145 of Ethé's Catalogue) of the Bodleian, also not dated.

MANCHESTER.

11. No. 814 of Lord Crawford's Collection, which, formerly so generously placed at the disposal of scholars, has now passed into the hands of Mrs. Rylands, where it has hitherto proved inaccessible. It is said to date from about A.D. 1700.

GOTHA.

12. No. 33 Persian (= No. 28 of Aumer's Catalogue), dated A.H. 799 (= A.D. 1396–7), and described as written in a cursive hand.

LEYDEN.

13. Cod. 1185 Warner.—A modern copy made by a European, and partly collated by Warner, A.D. 1662.

VIENNA.

14. N.F. 217 (= 956 of Flügel's Catalogue). — This, containing only the first half of the work, is said to have been copied from a MS. in the Library of Sulṭán Báyezíd at Constantinople, in A.H. 1249 (= A.D. 1833–4).

CONSTANTINOPLE.

In the Constantinople Catalogues I have found mention of four more copies, viz., 'Amúja Ḥusayn Páshá, No. 359; As'ad Efendi, No. 2106; Ḥamídiyya Turbési (Lálá Isma'íl Efendi's bequest), No. 336; and Sulṭán Muḥammad Fátiḥ, No. 4316.

I shall now give, in the form of a concordance, the collation of the six Paris MSS., *B.M.*, and *I.O.*, indicating alike the headings of the chapters into which the book is divided, and the place in each MS. where each chapter begins.

VOL. I: HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS.

The work opens, as usual, with a Doxology, beginning:—

سپاس و ثنا معبودی راست که واجب الوجودست الخ

This Doxology is followed by a short introductory section, headed *Faṣl*, and beginning:—

پیش از عهد دولت و خروج جنگز خان الخ

After this follow the chapters into which the book is divided (here numbered for more convenient reference, but not so numbered in any of the MSS.), in all eighty-six, or thereabouts, whereof Nos. 1–40 constitute the *first* volume, Nos. 41–71 the *second*, and Nos. 71–86 the *third*. The titles of each section, with my ordinal numbers prefixed, are given to the right of the page, and the collation of the eight MSS. (so far as I had time to make it during my visit to Paris, for it is not complete) on the left.

	Titles of Chapters.	I.O.	B.M.	P⁶.	P⁵.	P⁴.	P³.	P².	P¹.
۱	' مقدّمه '								
۲	' فصل '					6a		6b	
۳	' ذکر قواعدی کی جنکز خان بعد از خروج نهاد و یاساها که فرمود '			8b		6 bis a		7a	
٤	' ذکر خروج جنکز خان و ابتدای انتقال دولت و مملکت ملوک جهان بدو و احوال آن برسبیل ایجاز '			11b		10a		9b	12b
٥	' ذکر ابنای جنکز خان '			13a		11b		10b	14a
٦	' ذکر استخلاص بلاد ایغور و انقیاد اِیدی قُوت '			14a	12a	12b		11b	15a
۷	' ذکر تتمّهٔ احوال ایشان '			14b	12b	13a		12a	
۸	' ذکر نسب اِیدی قُوت و بلاد ایغور بر موجب زعم ایشان '	3b		16a	14a	15a		13b	17a
۹	' ذکر احوال کوجلک و توق تغان [بقای P⁴] '	6b		18a		17a		15a	19b

Titles of Chapters.	I.O.	B.M.	P⁶.	P⁵.	P⁴.	P³.	P².	P¹.
۱۰ ' ذکر امام شهید علاء الدین الختنی '	7*b*		20*b*		18*a*		16*b*	21*b*
۱۱ ' ذکر استخلاص نواحئ المالیغ و قیالیغ و فولاد و احوال امرای آن '	10*a*		22*a*		19*b*		17*b*	23*a*
۱۲ ' ذکر سبب قصد مملکت سلطان[1] '	11*a*		22*b*		20*b*		18*b*	24*a*
۱۳ ' ذکر توجّه خان جهان کشای بممالک سلطان و استخلاص أترار '	12*b*		24*a*		22*a*		19*b*	25*a*
۱٤ ' ذکر توجّه الش [الوش P⁴] ایدی بجند و استخلاص آن حدود '	16*b*		25*a*		23*a*		20*b*	
۱۵ ' ذکر استخلاص فناکت و خجند و احوال تمور ملک '	14*a*		27*a*		24*b*		21*b*	27*b*
۱٦ ' ذکر استخلاص ما وراء النهر بر سبیل اجمال '	17*b*	4*b*	28*b*	26*a*	26*a*		22*b*	28*b*
۱۷ ' ذکر استخلاص بخارا '		5*b*	30*a*		26*b*		23*a*	29*a*

[1] Here begins the extract given in vol. ii (pp. 105–169) of Schefer's *Chrestomathie persane.*

Titles of Chapters.	I.O.	B.M.	P⁶.	P⁵.	P⁴.	P³.	P².	P¹.
۱۸ ' ذکر خروج تارابی '		11*b*	32*a*	30*a*	30*b*		25*b*	32*a*
۱۹ ' ذکر استخلاص سمرقند '		14*b*	34*a*		32*a*		27*a*	34*a*
۲۰ ' ذکر واقعهٔ خوارزم '	93*a*	18*a*	36*a*		34*a*		29*a*	35*b*
۲۱ ' ذکر حرکت جنکزخان بجانب بخشب و تُرمذ '		21*b*	38*a*		36*a*		30*b*	37*b*
۲۲ ' ذکر عبور جنکزخان بر معبر ترمذ و استخلاص بلخ '	96*a*	22*a*	38*b*		36*b*		30*b*	37*b*
۲۳ ' ذکر توجّه جنکزخان بحرب سلطان '	97*a*	23*b*	39*b*		37*b*		31*b*	38*b*
۲۴ ' ذکر مراجعت جنکزخان '	98*b*	25*a*	40*b*		38*b*		32*a*	39*b*
۲۵ ' ذکر رفتن تُربای [تورتای P⁴] تقشی بطلب سلطان جلال الدین '	99*b*	26*a*	41*b*		39*b*		33*a*	40*a*
۲۶ ' ذکر رفتن یَمه و سُبتَای [وسنتای P⁴] بر عقب سلطان محمّد '	99*b*	26*b*	41*b*		39*b*		33*a*	40*a*
۲۷ ' ذکر استخلاص تولی خراسان را بر سبیل اجمال '	101*b*	29*a*	43*a*		41*b*		34*a*	41*b*
۲۸ ' ذکر احوال مرو و کیفیّت واقعهٔ آن '	102*b*	30*a*	43*b*	42*a*	42*a*		35*a*	

P¹.	P².	P³.	P⁴.	P⁵.	P⁶.	B.M.	I.O.	Titles of Chapters.
46*b*	38*b*		47*b*	47*a*	48*b*	37*b*	109*b*	۲۹ ' ذکر واقعهٔ نیشابور[1] '
								۳۰ ' ذکر جلوس پادشاه جهان قاآن در مسند خانی
49*a*	40*b*		50*b*		51*b*	41*b*	112*b*	و دست جهان بانی '
								۳۱ ' ذکر حرکت پادشاه جهان قاآن بجانب ختای
51*b*	43*a*		53*b*	53*b*	55*a*	46*a*	116*b*	و فتح آن '
52*b*	44*a*		55*a*	54*a*	56*a*	47*b*	118*a*	۳۲ ' ذکر قوریلتای دوم '
54*a*	45*b*		56*b*	55*b*	58*a*	50*a*	120*a*	۳۳ ' ذکر صادرات افعال قاان '
63*b*	54*b*		69*b*	67*a*		66*a*	134*b*	۳٤ ' ذکر منازل و مراحل قاان '
64*b*	55*b*		71*a*	68*b*		67*b*	135*b*	۳۵ ' ذکر توراکینا خاتون '
65*b*	56*b*		72*b*	70*a*	73*a*	69*b*	137*b*	۳٦ ' ذکر فاطمه خاتون '
66*b*	57*b*		73*b*	71*a*		71*a*	138*b*	۳۷ ' ذکر جلوس کیول خان در چهار بالش خانی

[1] Here ends the extract given in vol. ii (pp. 105–169) of Schefer's *Chrestomathie persane.*

P1.	P2.	P3.	P4.	P5.	P6.	B.M.	I.O.	Titles of Chapters.
69*b*	60*b*		78*a*		78*b*	77*a*		٣٨، ذکر احوال اغوُل غایمش [غاتمش P4] و پسران او،
70*b*	61*b*		79*b*		79*b*	79*a*	145*a*	٣٩، ذکر توشی و احوال [او P4] و جلوس باتو بموضع او،
71*a*	62*a*		80*a*	77*a*	80*b*	80*a*	146*a*	٤٠، ذکر استخلاص بلغار و حدود آن و روس،
71*b*	62*a*		80*b*		80*b*	80*b*	146*a*	٤١، ذکر خیل کلار باشغرد،
71*b*	62*b*		81*a*			81*a*	147*a*	٤٢، ذکر چغتای،
No break.	63*b*		82*b*	79*b*	No break.		148*b*	*End of Vol. I.*

Vol. II: HISTORY OF THE KHWARAZMSHAHS.

P1.	P2.	P3.	P4.	P5.	P6.	B.M.	I.O.	Titles of Chapters.
72*a*	64*b*		83*a*		83*a*	83*a*	148*b*	٤٣، ذکر مبداء دولت سلاطین خوارزم انار الله براهینهم،

Titles of Chapters.	I.O.	B.M.	P⁶.	P⁵.	P⁴.	P³.	P².	P¹.
٤٤ ' ذکر جلوس سلطان علاء [قطب P⁴] الدین محمّد بن خوارزمشاه '	164b	102a	96a		96b		74b	84a
٤٥ ' ذکر مسلّم شدن ملک سلاطین غور سلطان محمّدرا '	170a	108a		96b	101a		77b	88a
٤٦ ' ذکر احوال خرمیل بعد از مراجعت سلطان '	172a	110b	102a		103a		78b	89b
٤٧ ' ذکر کزلی [کرلی P⁴] و عاقبت کار او '	173b	112a	103a		104a		79b	90b
٤٨ ' ذکر استخلاص مازندران و کرمان '	175b	114a	104b		105b		80b	91b
٤٩ ' ذکر استخلاص ما وراء النهر '	175b	114b	105a		106a		81a	92a
٥٠ ' ذکر مراجعت سلطان بار دوم بجنگ کورخان '	179a	118a	107b		109a		83a	94a
٥١ ' ذکر استخلاص فیروز کوه و غزنین '	180a	119b	108b		110a		83b	95a
٥٢ ' ذکر خانان قراختای و احوال خروج و استئصال ایشان '	18a	120b	109a	105a	110b		84b	95b

Titles of Chapters.	I.O.	B.M.	P⁶.	P⁵.	P⁴.	P³.	P².	P¹.
۵۳، ذکر بقیّهٔ احوال سلطان سعید محمّد و اختلال کار او،		124a	111b		113a		87a	97b
۵٤، ذکر موجبات وحشتی که سلطان محمّدرا با امیر المؤمنین الناصر لدین اللّه ابو العبّاس احمد افتاده بود،		136a	Lacuna of ff. 5 or 6.	115b	123a	52b	94a	104b
۵۵، ذکر استئصال سلطان سلاطین و سبب آن،	32b	137a		116a	124a		94b	
۵٦، ذکر سلطان جلال الدین،	34a	139a			125b.	54b	95a	
۵۷، ذکر احوال او در هندوستان،	39b	146a	122a	122	131a	60a	99b	110a
۵۸، ذکر حرکت سلطان جلال الدین بجانب بغداد،	42b	150a	125a		134b	63b	101b	112b
۵۹، ذکر احوال سلطان و گرجیان و قمع ایشان،	44a	152a	126b		136b	65b	102b	113b
٦۰، ذکر مراجعت سلطان با گرجستان،	47b	156b	130b		140a	70a	105b	116a
٦۱، ذکر حرکت سلطان باخلاط و فتح آن،	49a	158b	132a		142a	71b	106b	117b
٦۲، ذکر حرکت سلطان بحرب سلطان روم،	51a	161a	134a		144a	74a	108a	119a

Titles of Chapters.	I.O.	B.M.	P⁶.	P⁵.	P⁴.	P³.	P².	P¹.
٦٣ ' ذکر یمین [امین P⁴] ملک و اغراق و عاقبت کار ایشان '		166b	138a	136b	148b	78b	108b	121b
٦٤ ' ذکر والدهٔ سلطان ترکان خاتون '	56b	168b	139b		150a	80b	112a	122b
٦٥ ' ذکر احوال سلطان غیاث الدین '	57b	170a	140b		151b		112b	123b
٦٦ ' ذکر استخلاص نواحئ کرمان [و احوال براق حاجب P⁴] '	60b	173a	143b		154b		114b	125b
٦٧ ' ذکر جنتمور و تولیت او خراسان و مازندران را '	63a	176b	145b		157b		116b	127a
٦٨ ' ذکر نوسال '		179b	147b		159b		118a	128b
٦٩ ' ذکر کورکوز [کورکور P⁴] '	65a	179b	148a		159b		118a	129a
٧٠ ' ذکر وصول کورکوز بخراسان و احوال او '	69b	185b			164b		121b	132a
٧١ ' ذکر احوال امیر ارغون '	71a	188a	154a		166b		122b	133b
٧٢ ' ذکر توجّه امیر ارغون بقوریلتای بزرگ '	74a	192a	157a		170a		125a	135b
٧٣ ' ذکر احوال شرف الدین خوارزمی '	78b	197b			174b		128a	138b
End of Vol. II.			168a		182b		133b	

P¹.	P².	P³.	P⁴.	P⁵.	P⁶.	B.M.	I.O.	TITLES OF CHAPTERS.
	[135*b*][1]		185*b*			208*b*		۷٤ ' ذکر احوال سخمن و استئصال او '
146*b*	[136*a*]		186*a*		[172*a*]	209*b*	183*a*	۷۵ ' ذکر جلوس منکو قاان '
								۷٦ ' ذکر نموداری از محاسن ذات منکو قاآن بعد از استقرار او بر سریر ملک '
157*b*	147*a*		203*a*		[187*b*]	228*b*	?182*a*	
158*a*	[147*b*]		203*b*			229*b*		۷۷ ' ذکر اوکان خان '
	148*a*		205*a*					۷۸ ' ذکر تعیین کردن پادشاه زادگان بممالک عالم (P²) '
								,, ذکر حرکت پادشاه جهان هولاکو ببلاد غربی (P⁴) '
[161*b*]	150*b*		205*b*		[192*a*]	230*b*	184*a*	۷۹ ' ذکر حرکت پادشاه جهان هولاکو بفتح قلاع ملاحده '
[162*b*]	151*b*		210*b*				190*a*	۸۰ ' ذکر فتح نامهٔ الموت '
								۸۱ ' ذکر تقریر مذاهب باطنیان و اسماعیلیان و احوال جماعت مذکور '
167*a*	156*a*		Lacuna		End of MS.	244*b*	197*b*	

[1] In what follows, the brackets in which certain numbers are enclosed indicate that the section begins on that page, but has no separate title in the manuscript referred to.

P¹.	P².	P³.	P⁴.	P⁵.	P⁶.	B.M.	I.O.	Titles of Chapters.
171*b*	160*a*		Lacuna			252*a*	204*b*	۸۲ ' ذکر مخضر مهدئ مقدوح '
173*b*	161*b*		,,			255*a*	207*b*	۸۳ ' ذکر نسب حسن صباح و احوال او '
178*b*	166*b*		218*b*					۸٤ ' ذکر ولادت حسن بن محمّد بزرگ امید (P²) ' ,, ذکر احوال پسر حسن بجای پدرش و رفع تکالیف شریعت اسلام (P⁴) '
186*a*	[173*b*]		228*b*			271*a*		۸۵ ' ذکر احوال رکن الدین خورشاه بعد از وفات پدرش '
187*a*	[175*a*]		230*b*					۸٦ ' ذکر قلاع رکن الدین بعد از نزول او (P⁴) '
	[176*a*]		232*a*					۸۷ ' ذکر احوال رکن الدین و انتهاء کار ایشان (P⁴) '
189*a*	176*b*						234*a*	*End of Vol. III.*
							—236*a*	Appendix on Sack of Baghdad in I.O.

The concluding words of the text (not regarding the Appendix) are:—

. . . که بسته شد ' و ذلک ذکری للذّاکرین و کذلک یفعل اللّه بالظّالمین '

The number and titles of chapters vary considerably in the different MSS. Except when otherwise indicated, I have chiefly followed the oldest MS., P².

III.

ETRUSCAN AND DRAVIDIAN.

By STEN KONOW, of the University of Christiania, Norway.

THE remarks which follow are based on notes which I have made in reading Professor Torp's *Etruskische Beiträge*, vols. i–ii (Leipzig, 1902–3). I have never myself studied the Etruscan language, and my knowledge of Dravidian is rather limited. I was, however, at once struck by the apparent analogy of several features in both families, and I have thought it worth while to arrange my notes and make a short abstract of them. I do not think that I have solved the vexed question about the origin of the old inhabitants of Etruria. But I hope to have shown that there are many interesting points in which their language follows the same principles as that of the Dravidas, and that I have, in so doing, added something to the probability of the theory that the old Etrurians did not belong to the Indo-European stock.

There are, in the first place, a few words in the Etruscan texts which look very much like words with the same meaning in Dravidian languages. It is possible that their number might be increased by Dravidian scholars. I have noted the following cases.

The verb *ama* or *ma*, is, might be compared with the base *mā*, to be, to become, in Gōṇḍī. The conjunctive participle of this verb is *māsi* or *māsu*. Can the word *masu* on the Cippus Perusinus be translated in a similar way?

There seems to be no doubt that the Etruscan verb *turu* means 'gave' or 'having given.' A base *tara*, to give, is common in Dravidian languages. Compare Tamil *tara*, to give. If *θes* and *θuves* are derived from the same base, and mean 'gave,' we may compare Brāhūī *tis*, he gave.

Professor Torp explains the base *cer* or *ceri* in *cerixu*, etc., as meaning 'to erect,' 'to construct.' A base *kar*, to make, occurs in Brāhūī. In other Dravidian languages we find forms such as *kīā* (Gōṇḍī), *chēya* (Telugu), *śeya* (Tamil), and so on.

Cal is usually explained as 'tomb.' I do not know whether it is possible to compare Dravidian *kal*, a stone. It might further be possible to compare *tiv*, month, with Brāhūī *tūbē*, Tamil *tiṅgal*, moon; *zivai* on the Lemnos inscription, if this word really means 'dead,' with Tamil *śāvu*, Canarese *sāyu*, die.

The formation and inflexion of words is of greater importance, and it is here possible to point out several features where the Dravidian languages furnish striking parallels to Etruscan.

Professor Torp thinks that the termination *cva* or *χva* is a formative suffix (*Etruskische Beiträge*, i, 24). A suffix *gu* is quite common in Dravidian languages. Compare Tamil *nangu*, goodness, from *nal*, good; *paḍa-gu*, a boat; *kiṛa-ngu*, a root, etc. The word *Telugu* seems to be formed by adding this suffix to *tele*, clear.

The suffix *gu* is often changed to *śu* or *chchu* in Tamil, and this suffix is often used to form verbs. Compare *kāychchu*, to boil, from *kāy*, hot. In a similar way Professor Torp thinks that an *s*-suffix is used in order to form denominatives in Etruscan.

The word *etnaχ* seems to mean something like 'offering,' and to be related to *etnam*. Compare Torp, l.c., i, pp. 42 and 82. According to the same authority, Etruscan nouns are frequently formed by adding a suffix *am* or *um*. It should not, therefore, be necessary to explain *meχl* (*rasnal*), (l.c., p. 49), as an abbreviation of the common *meχlum* or *meθlum*. Now it is a well-known fact that a suffix *am* is very frequently used in the formation of Dravidian nouns. Compare Tamil *nil-am*, ground, from *nil*, stand; Old Canarese and Tamil *mar-am*, a tree, etc.

There are, on the whole, a great number of derivative suffixes in the Dravidian languages, and some of them, such

as *al* and *ar*, might be compared with similar Etruscan suffixes. I shall, however, only draw attention to one suffix more, viz. the *n*-suffix, which is frequently used in the formation of Dravidian adjectives. A suffix *na* is quite common in Telugu, where it is used in order to form relative participles from gerunds or conjunctive participles. Thus, *chēsi*, having done; *chēsi-na*, who has done; *chēsina-vāḍu*, one who has done. Compare Tamil forms, such as *pōna*, who has gone; *āna*, who has become, and so forth. A similar suffix seems to occur in Etruscan. Compare *ras-na*, Etruscan; *nes-na*, the dead one (according to Torp, ii, 19, a feminine), etc. See Torp, ii, 69.

I shall now turn to the inflexion of nouns, and point out some features in which Etruscan seems to agree with the Dravidian languages.

We do not know much about the distinction of genders in Etruscan. In the Dravidian languages all nouns can be divided into two classes, such as denote rational and irrational beings respectively. The natural gender is only distinguished in the case of the former class. One of the feminine suffixes used for that purpose is *i*. Thus, Tamil *taleivi*, a lady; *taleivan*, a lord; Gōṇḍī *perdgi*, a girl; *perdgal*, a boy. The *i*-suffix is perhaps borrowed from Sanskrit. It might, however, also be compared with the Etruscan suffix *i* in feminine names. Professor Torp (ii, 19 f.) thinks that the same suffix is occasionally also used in the case of other nouns.

The plural in Dravidian languages is formed by means of various suffixes. Rational nouns add *ar* or similar forms, while the common suffix of irrational nouns is *gaḷ* in Tamil, *lu* in Telugu. Other dialects have various forms of this suffix, such as *k*, *ng*, *sk*, *l*, and so on. A third plural suffix is *vei*, *va*, or similar forms. Compare Tamil *manidar*, men; *vīḍu-gaḷ*, houses; *poruḷa-vei*, substances; Telugu *gurramu-lu*, horses. It should be noted that the various suffixes are constantly confounded, so that, for instance, Telugu no more uses the rational plural ending in *ar* in ordinary nouns, while the same suffix in other dialects is occasionally added to nouns denoting irrational beings. In many cases also the plural is not distinguished from the singular, and the number must be inferred from the context.

Professor Torp has in his *Etruskische Beiträge* tried to show that exactly the same suffixes, and no others, are used in Etruscan.

The *r*-suffix occurs in words such as *clen-ar*, sons; *cepar*, which Torp explains as the plural of *cepen* (compare Tamil *manidan*, man; *manidar*, men), and many other words. *Aisar*, God, might be an honorific plural; compare Tamil *Dēvar*, God.

An *l*-suffix seems to occur in *murś-l*, urns. Compare Bugge, *Etruskische Forschungen und Studien*, iv, 89. Torp thinks that *murś-l* is simply identical with *murś*.

According to Torp, a plural suffix *ua* occurs in *murz-ua* and other words (i, 89).

And lastly, the singular may also be used without any addition as a plural. Compare Torp, i, p. 96.

With regard to case suffixes, we may note the Etruscan locative suffixes *θ*, *θi*, *t*, *ti*, *e*, *ni*, and perhaps *u*. Similar suffixes are often met with in Dravidian languages. Compare Kōlāmī *t*, Tuḷu *ḍ*, *tu*, *ṭ*, Gōṇḍī *te*, *ne*, *e*; Brāhūī *ṭī*, Kuruχ *nū*, Malto *no*, *nihi*, Telugu *na*, *lō*, *lōnu*, and so forth. It is of no interest for the present question whether the initial consonant in the Dravidian suffixes belongs to the suffix or to the oblique base, a question which cannot, in most cases, be decided.

The genitive suffix *al* can perhaps be compared with the suffix which forms locatives and ablatives in many Dravidian languages. Thus, Tamil *il*, *āl*, Canarese *alli*, Gōṇḍī *āl*, and so forth. The genitive in Dravidian languages is, however, usually an adjective, and the most common suffix is *a*. An *a* is also often added to the genitive suffixes in Etruscan.

Also with regard to numerals there is at least one point in which Etruscan seems to agree with Dravidian languages. Professor Torp has (i, pp. 70. ff.) made it highly probable that an *em* can be inserted between two numerals in order to show that the first should be subtracted from the second. Now this is exactly what we find to be the case in Dravidian languages, where, at least, the numeral 'nine' is formed in

such a way. And the subtraction is here indicated by means of the same *m* or *em* as in Etruscan. Compare Tamil *ombadu*, Korvī *om-bidi*, Canarese *om-bhattu*, Kota *or-m-patu*, Telugu *tom-midi*, nine. Now 'ten' is *pattu*, *padu*, *padi*, or similar forms. The common form for 'one' is *oru*, neuter *oṇḍu*. Kota *or-m-patu* clearly shows that the numeral 'nine' is formed by inserting *m* between 'one' and 'nine.' It is possible that the initial *t* in Telugu *tommidi* originally belongs to the numeral 'one.' If that should be the case, the Dravidian numeral 'one' would agree with *θu*, which, according to Professor Torp, means 'one' in Etruscan.

In this connection we may also note that the suffix *ar*, which is usually a plural suffix, is occasionally added to numerals. Thus, *zel-ar*, from *zal*, two, and *śa-r*, from *śa*, four. Is it possible to compare Dravidian forms such as *iru-var*, two; *nāl-var;* four?

The *em* which is used in order to indicate a subtraction is, of course, quite different from the suffix *m* which means 'and.' Tamil has a suffix *um*, and, which might be compared with the latter.

With regard to pronouns, it should seem possible to compare *ena*, we, with Tamil *ēn*, I; *ēm*, we; *ta*, that, with Telugu *ata-ḍu*, that; *eca*, this, with the Dravidian *ī*, this (compare the suffix *kā* in Kuruχ *ē-kā*, what?, where the base is *ē* as in other Dravidian languages); *an*, that, with Tamil *avan*, that, and so forth.

I shall now turn to the Etruscan verb, and try to show that, in several features, it follows the same principles as those prevailing in Dravidian languages.

The imperative is in both families identical with the base. A suffix *θ* is sometimes added in Etruscan. Similarly, a suffix *ṭh* is sometimes used in Brāhūī, while a corresponding suffix *ṭu* in Kui and *ṭ* in Gōṇḍī denotes the plural.

The finite tenses in Dravidian languages are participles, or formed from participles by adding personal suffixes. The personal suffixes were not originally necessary, and they are not used in Malayāḷam. In other dialects they are also frequently dropped.

The Etruscan verb does not appear to distinguish person and number, just as is the case in Malayāḷam. It is, of course, possible that further research will show that Etruscan uses personal terminations (compare *sta-s*, *θe-s*, *siχu-n*), but, so far as we can now see, Etruscan in this respect agrees with Malayāḷam.

In Malayāḷam a form such as *vannu* may mean 'having come' and 'came.' Similarly, the Etruscan *turu* is sometimes a participle and sometimes a past tense. Such forms are occasionally also used as surnames, i.e. probably as nouns of agency or relative participles. We may, perhaps, compare Kuruχ *esu*, breaking; *esus*, a breaker.

The past tense in Dravidian languages is formed by means of two different suffixes, *i* and a suffix which occurs in various forms such as *t*, *nt*, *ch*, *s*, and *k*. *K* is used in Kuruχ, Malto, and Brāhūī, and is probably the original form of the suffix.

Professor Torp has made it probable that the Etruscan past tense is formed by adding *e* or *ce*, *χe*. Thus, *ture* and *turce*, gave. Compare, e.g., Kuruχ *eskan*, I broke; *es'as*, he broke; *eskas bē'edas*, he has broken, from *es-nā*, to break.

In addition to *turu*, *turce*, we apparently also find forms such as *turune*, gave. If it is allowed to draw any conclusions from the Dravidian languages, such forms are derived from adjectives formed from the conjunctive participle *turu*, having given. Compare Telugu *chēsi*, having done; *chēsina*, who did; *chēsināḍu* or *chēsinā*, he did. Forms such as *turunce*, gave, are perhaps double forms. The Tamil suffix of the past tense, however, has also often an *n* prefixed to it.

Causatives are apparently formed in Etruscan by adding a suffix *θ*. Compare *cesu*, reposes; *ceseθce*, placed. A causative suffix *t* is well known in Dravidian languages. Compare Tamil *paḍutta*, to lay down, from *paḍa*, to lie; Kuruχ *estā'anā*, to cause to break, from *esnā*, to break.

Finally, I shall draw attention to the use of *vacl*, *vacil* in the same way as the Sanskrit *iti*, and to the apparent absence of negative particles.

Vacl may be a participle of the same kind as Tamil *āg-il*, if you say, and it is the rule in Dravidian languages to add a participle meaning 'having said' when a direct quotation of the words of another has been made. It seems to me that it is more probable that Sanskrit has adopted this peculiarity from the Dravidas than that the opposite should be the case.

The apparent absence of negative particles in the Etruscan texts can easily be understood if we assume that the language, like those of the Dravidian family, has a separate negative conjugation which has not as yet been recognised.

I am convinced that further points of analogy might easily be found by those who know the languages in question better than I do. I do not think that they prove any immediate connection between Etruscan and the Dravidian family. But they seem to show that the structure of both agrees in important points, and they remind us how easily we are mistaken in looking out for languages related to a form of speech which is so unsatisfactorily known as Etruscan.

THE FRONT OF THE ASTROLABE.

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IV.

A FIFTEENTH CENTURY PLANISPHERIC ASTROLABE, MADE AT GRANADA.

By H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

IN 1903 I purchased from a dealer in the Khan al-Khalil, in Cairo, a brass Astrolabe inscribed with the Kufy character, which I had examined, haggled for, and reluctantly left three years before. The fact is, that at the present day this old bazaar of Cairo is the last place to find anything of interest. The European visitors are tourists who are personally conducted, and who purchase wildly and at any cost the gaudy modern stuff which the dragoman recommends. The dealers are Armenians and Jews solely catering for this trade; and it was, I presume, only from sheer dilatoriness that the dealer had not sent it down to one of his brethren near the Ezbekieh, where it would have been quickly disposed of. At any rate, it was out of place among the forgeries and rubbish which form the feature of the once romantic Khan al-Khalil.

Very few Oriental astrolabes have been fully described, and in the example before us there are features sufficiently unusual to merit record. The fact that the Arab inscriptions are in the Kufy character, shows indeed that the instrument is of some antiquity, but there is neither a date nor the maker's name upon it, so that it was not until I had deciphered all the inscriptions (no easy matter considering the ornate Kufy used) that I was in any position to ascertain either its place or period of manufacture.

A planispheric astrolabe such as this is made up of from seven to ten separate parts, according to the number of plates it contains. All the parts have special names both in Arabic and English.

The main part of the astrolabe is a disc of brass, in this case 6⅝ inches in diameter, one side of which is flat, while the other contains a depression to take the plates which we shall describe. Round this depression is a rim, and at one side there is a projection to which is attached two rings to suspend the instrument when in use. The brass disc is called the *um* (ام mother), the rim is the *hujrah* (حجرة), the projection *kursi* (كرسى i.e. throne), the first ring of the handle (عروة) *arwah*, and the outer one *halqa* (حلقة). To this again there was attached a cord (علاقة *ʿlaqah*).

Into the *um* fit several thin circular discs called the plates or tables (صفاح *safah*, plural *safaih*), in this case three in number. Over these is placed a skeleton plate called the net (rete), or spider (عنكبوت *ankabut*). All the plates have a central hole corresponding with one in the centre of the *um* (محن *mahan*), and all these parts are secured together by a pivot (قطب *qutb*), passed through from the back, a small flat ring (*fals* فلس), and a wedge which passes through the pivot on the front side and is known as the horse (فرس *faras*), because no doubt it supports and holds complete the instrument. On the pivot also, on the back, works the index or rule (*idadeh*, عضادة), a movable pointer, having at either end a small erect plate with a hole to take sight through. These plates are called the two tiles (لبنتان *libnatain*) and the holes or sights (ثقبة *thuqbah*).[1] The instrument we have before us is quite complete with the exception of the original pivot, wedge, and fals, which are replaced by modern ones.

The back of the astrolabe, called by the Arabs *zahr al-usturlab* (ظهر الاسطرلاب), is engraved with a number of concentric circles, and also by two cross lines which divide the disc into four quadrants. Of these the line which falls directly from the *kursi* is the south-north line (the south end

[1] "Thanne haslow a brod Rewle, þat hath on either ende a square plate perced with a certein holes, some more & some lesse, to resseyuen the stremes of the sonne by day, and ek by mediacioun of thyn eye, to knowe the altitude of sterres by nyhte."—*Chaucer's Treatise*, pt. i, 13.

being at the *kursi*), and that at right angles the east and west line. These lines are not, however, continuous, as they would pass through the names and days of the months on the inner concentric circles.

The concentric circles are seven in number in the upper half of the back, and six in the lower.

Beginning, then, at the outer circle, we find the edge numbered from 5 to 90 by fives, zero being at the east and west points, and going to 90 under the *kursi*. These numbers represent the 90 degrees into which each quadrant of the circle can be divided. The two north quadrants are not filled up. The numeration here, as throughout the instrument, is indicated by the Arab letters with their numerical values, and not by Arabic numerals.

The remaining circles are complete. The first three contain the Zodiacal signs, and the thirty degrees into which each sign is divided, the inner of the three being divided into twelve compartments containing the names of the signs themselves; the next into seventy-two, each group of six being marked with letters ء ي يه ك كه ل having the values 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30; and the outer being actually divided into the thirty degrees for each sign, or 360 in the circle. The names of the Zodiac signs are the usual Arabic ones, as follows:—

الحمل	...	*al-hamal*	...	♈
الثور	...	*al-thur*	...	♉
الجوزا	...	*al-jauza*	...	♊
السرطان	...	*al-saratan*	...	♋
الاسد	...	*al-asad*	...	♌
السنبلة	...	*al-sunbalah*	...	♍
الميزان	...	*al-mizan*	...	♎
العقرب	...	*al-aqrab*	...	♏
القوس	...	*al-qaus*	...	♐
الجدى	...	*al-jadi*	...	♑

الدلو	...	*al-dalu*	... ♒
الحوت	...	*al-haut*	.... ♓[1]

The first sign ♈ is on the east line, its zero point coinciding with the zero point of the outer quadrant.

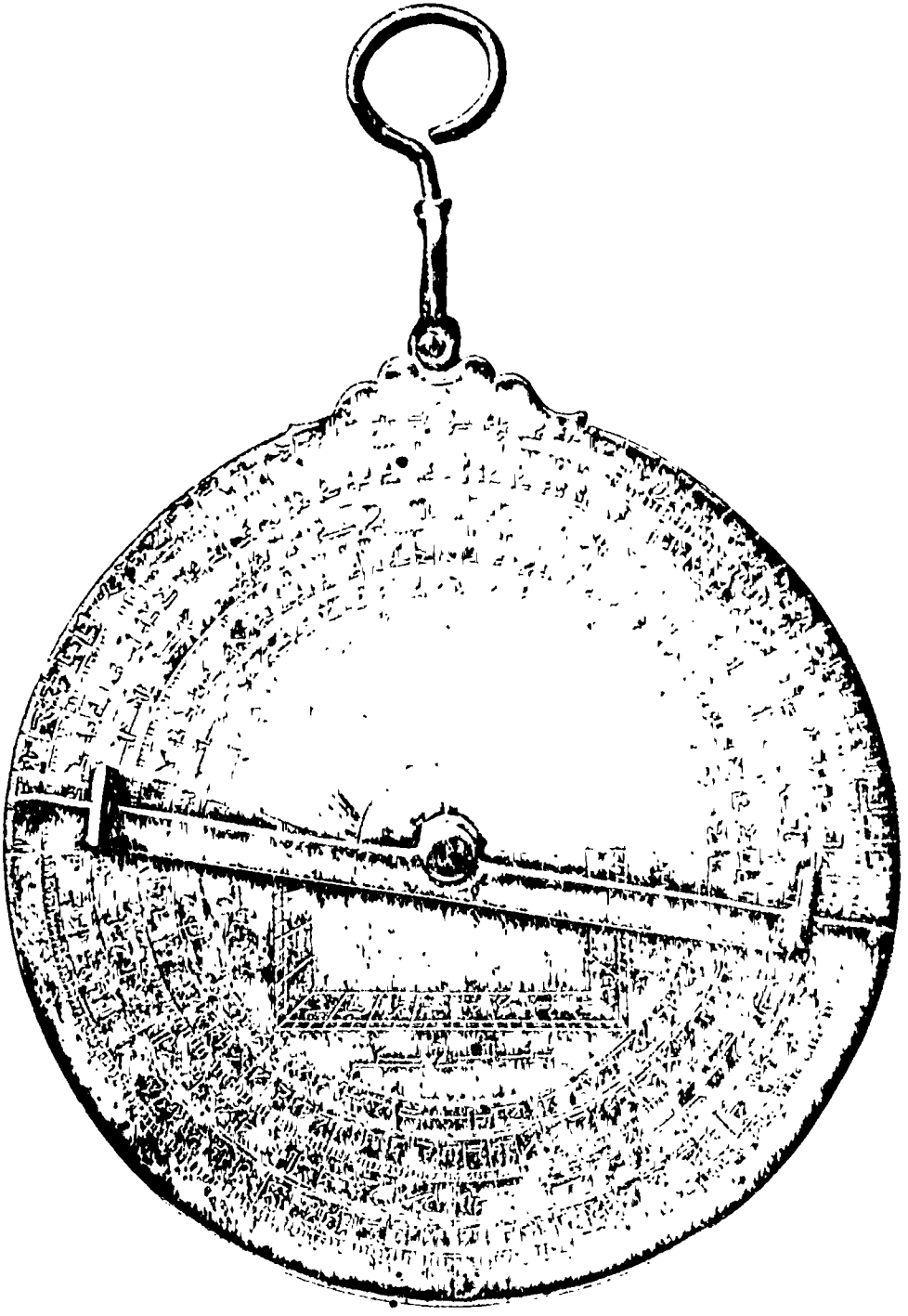
The three innermost circles again must be taken together. On the smallest circle are engraved the names of the Christian months, while the outer of the three contains points representing the actual number of days in each month, and the middle circle the letters enumerating the days in groups of five.

I reproduce this table as it gives the spelling of the months:—

ينير	...	*Yanyr*	...	31 days.
فبرير	...	*Febryr*	...	28 days.
مارس	...	*Mars*	...	31 days.
ابريل	...	*Abryl*	...	30 days.
مايه	...	*Maia*	...	31 days.
يونيه	...	*Yunya*	...	30 days.
يوليه	...	*Yulya*	...	31 days.
اغشت	...	*Agh(u)sht*	...	31 days.
شنتبر		*Shenteber* (or *Sheneber*?)		30 days.
اكتوبر	...	*Oktubr*	...	31 days.
نوفبر	...	*Nufeber*	...	30 days.
ذجنبر	...	*Thejenber*	...	31 days.

The beginning of January is placed about under the 19th degree of *al-jadi* (Capricorn), and, as we shall see later, the exact relative position of the month and Zodiac

[1] It will be observed that the three signs which with us are called by names signifying human beings are replaced in Arabic by words denoting inanimate objects. Thus, instead of Virgo we have *sunbalah*, the ear of corn, *al-qaus*, the bow, not the bowman, and *al-dalu*, the bucket, not the bucket-carrier.



THE BACK OF THE ASTROLABE.

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circles is very important, as by this only, can we arrive at an approximate date for this particular instrument. Within these circles, and below the east and west line is a square table marked with the scales of umbra recta and umbra versa, divided and numbered 3, 6, 9, 12. The scales of umbra recta at the bottom are marked مبسوط, *mabsut*, 'extended' or 'flat,' and those of umbra versa at the sides معكوس, 'inverted.'[1] This square of the shadows was for taking and computing altitudes with. In the east-south quadrant there are further four arcs radiating from the centre of the disc and marked 1 to 6 respectively. I am not aware of the use of these arcs, which are not found in the instruments I have been able to refer to.

This completes the description of the back, and we will turn to the front, which will not take long. The *hujrah* or rim is about $\frac{7}{16}$ of an inch wide, and is marked with two circles representing the 360 degrees of the quadrants, the inner circle being the degrees themselves, and the outer containing the enumeration in numerical letters.[2]

The inner side of the *um* itself is unfinished. It is marked with the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn and the Equinoctial line, and with the north-south and east-west lines and with circles of altitude. But there is no lettering, and we must turn to the plates themselves for an explanation.

The three plates or tables are each engraved on both sides, and one description will apply. They represent the usual projection of the sphere varied only for the particular latitudes for which each was made. We have on each, the straight horizontal and perpendicular lines crossing each

[1] In a Persian astrolabe in my possession the first is marked مستوي *mustawi*, which, I think, was the usual term. By the extended shadow the height of an accessible object may be taken by a single observation; of an inaccessible object by two observations. By the inverted shadow scale also, the height of an inaccessible object can be taken by two observations. See *Chaucer's Treatise*, i, 12; ii, 41, etc.

[2] In order to avoid the increasing size of the groups of letters necessary to denote the numerals to 360, a method of abbreviation is adopted, so that the actual numbers run as follows:—From the S. point from 5 by fives to 115, then 20 to 80 = 180 at N. Then 85 by fives to 95, then 200, then 5 to 70 = 270 at E. Then 75 by fives to 95, then 300, then 5 to 60 = 360 at S.

other at the centre hole, the last being the line of the midst of heaven, خاط وسط السما (*Khat wasit al-sama*), and the horizontal line the line of east and west, or the level line, *Khat al-mashriq wa al-mughrib* or *Khat istawa*.

The three concentric circles are the Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn (*Madar ras al-saratain* and *Madar ras al-jadi*), and between them the Equinoctial line (*Madar ras al-hamal*).

Each plate is further divided by a curved or oblique horizon separating the heaven above the earth from that beneath. Above this are thirty circles of altitude المقنطرات الارتفاح, numbered alternately (by sixes) from the end of the oblique horizon inwards, and from the end of the south-north line down towards the zenith (or *Samt al-ras*) at 90.[1]

Each of these thirty circles therefore represents three degrees, and the instrument was a '*thalathi*' (ثلثى) or tripartite one, in distinction to the complete or تام *tam* astrolabe, which had ninety circles, or the نصفى *nusfi* or bipartite, which had forty-five.[2]

The other arcs which radiate from the zenith and cross these are the arcs of azimuth (سموت), thirty-six in number, numbered from 10 to 90 in four batches.

Below the horizon we find twelve arcs radiating from Cancer and numbered 1 to 12, these being the planetary or temporal hours. And there are yet five other lines at unequal intervals, marked respectively فجر *fajr*, dawn, عصر *asr*, afternoon, ظهر *dohr*, noon, زوال *zawal*, early declination of sun after noon, and شفق *shafaq*, evening twilight (or after-glow). Although some of these mark the time for Moslem prayer, their use may have only been for ascertaining the time by observation.

The segmental space between Cancer and the oblique horizon is in each case occupied by an inscription denoting

[1] Only on one projection is the numeration completed down to 90. In the others it stops about 60, since the space for engraving is very crowded.

[2] There were also sexpartite and quinquepartite instruments.

the latitude at which the plate may be used, and in some cases the name of a town is added. These are as follows:—

PLATE I.

(*a*) لعرض غرناطه و لكل بلد عرضه لرل

"The latitude of Granada and of all towns whose latitude is 37° 30′."

(*b*) لعرض ل

"Latitude 30°" (? for Cairo or Busrah).

PLATE II.

(*a*) لعرض كام
مكه

"Latitude 21° 40′."
"Mekka."

(*b*) لعرض لج م
فاس

"Latitude 33° 40′."
"Fas."

PLATE III.

(*a*) لعرض لول

"Latitude 36° 30′" (? Gibraltar or Oran).

(*b*) لعرض كه

"Latitude 25°" (Medina ?).[1]

To complete the instrument we have the plate called the net (rete) or spider (عنكبوت), which is very decorative in appearance. It is a skeleton plate showing a plane projection of the heavens, and cut away so as to show an inner ring, which is the ecliptic circle marked with the Zodiac,

[1] As usual these latitudes are rough. Fas (Fez) is 34°; Granada 37° 8′; Medina and Mecca are a little more correct.

منطقة البروج, signs and degrees, and an outer one, which is the Tropic of Capricorn. Within both circles are twenty-eight pointers, each set with silver knobs. These are called the *shaziehs* (شاظاية), each marked with the Arabic name of a star, the position of which is actually indicated by its point. At the top of the Zodiac, between *al-jadi* and *al-qaus* (♑ and ♐), is a pointer called *al-muri*, and just under it is a silver knob, *al-mudir* (المدير), 'the governor,' with which this plate can be turned.

The following is a list of the fixed stars named on the *shaziehs*, the numbers being given on the diagram :—

Within the Zodiac (15) :—

(1) راس الحوا, *ras al-hawa*. The snake-catcher's head, *α* Serpentarii (*ras alhague*).

(2) عنق الحية, *unuq al-hayyah*. The serpent's neck, *α* Serpentis.

(3) طاير, *tayr* or *nasr al-tayr*. The vulture, *α* Aquilæ (*althayr*).

(4) كعب فرس, *kaab faras*. Heel or breast of the horse—Pegasi.

(5) ردف, *ridf*. The follower, *α* Cygni (*arrioph*).

(6) واقع, (*nasr*) *waki*. The falling vulture, *α* Lyræ (*Wega*).

(7) فكة, (*munir*) *fakka*. The bright one of Fakka, *α* Coronæ Borealis (*alpheca*).

(8) Unidentified. The name might read *farid*, but alphard (*α* Hydræ) is outside the Zodiac; see No. 19.

(9) الرامح, (*simak*) *al-ramih*. The supporter of the spearman, *α* Boötes (*alramech*, Arcturus).

(10) منكب فرس, *mankib faras*. The horse's shoulder (*scheat alpheratz*).

(11) خصب, (*kaf al-*)*khasib*. The open or bountiful hand, *β* Cassiopeiæ.

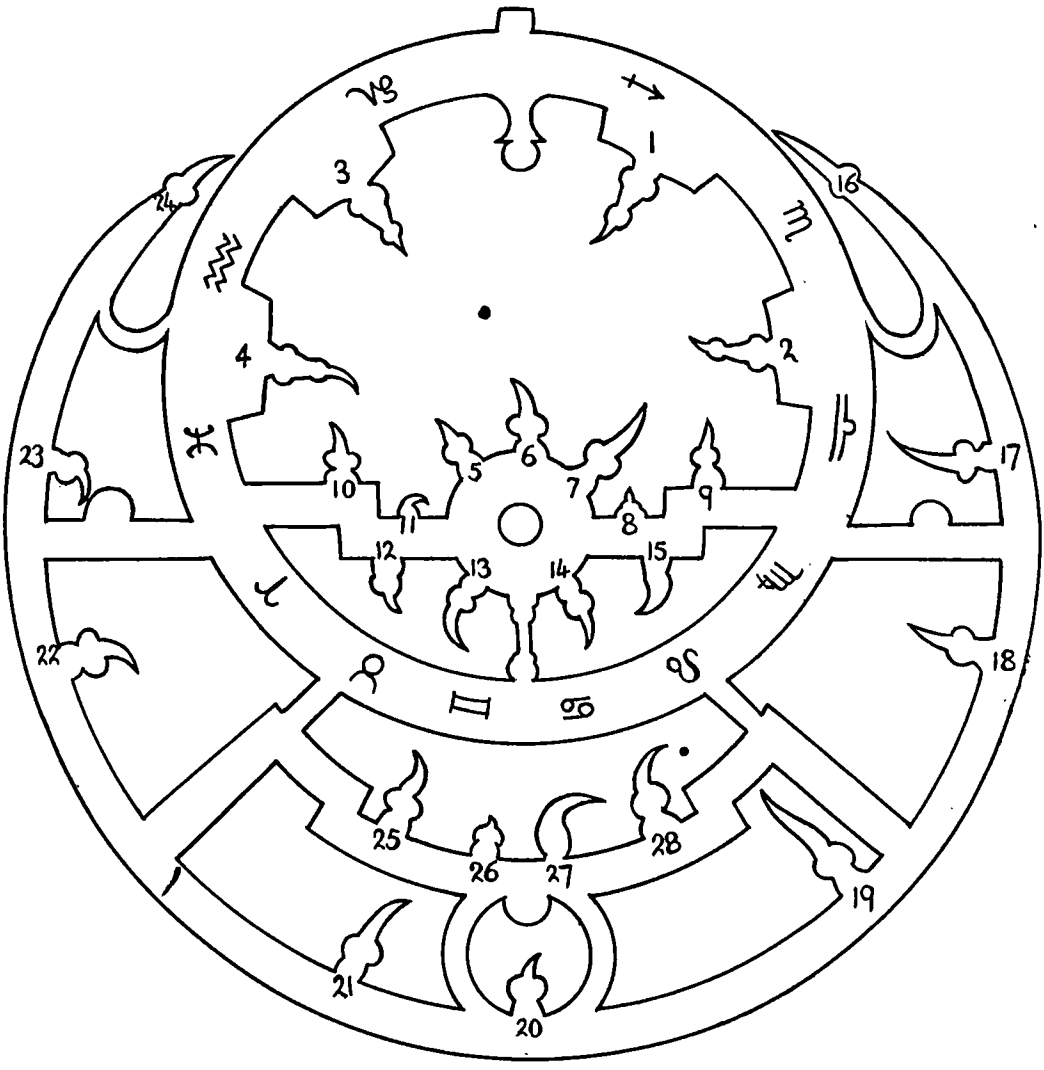

DIAGRAM OF THE "NET."

To face p. 60

(12) غول, (*ras al-*)*ghul*. The ghul's head, β Persei (*algol*).
(13) غيوق, *ayyuq*. The beauteous one, Capella β Aurigæ.
(14) (Erased, probably *sahr al-dubh*, α Ursæ Majoris.)
(15) رجل, *rijl* (*al-dubh*). Leg of the bear, Ursæ Majoris.

Outside the Zodiac (13) :—

(16) قلب عقرب, *qualb aqrab*. The scorpion's heart, α Scorpii (*antares*).
(17) الاعزال, (*simak*) *al-azal*. The supporter of the unarmed, α (Spika) Virginis (*azimech*).
(18) فس الكاس, *fas* (*ras*?) *al-kas*. The crown (?) of the cup—Crateris.
(19) سجاد, (*fard al-*)*shajah*. The solitary one of the serpent, α Hydræ (*alphard*).
(20) العبور, (*Shary*) *al-abur*. α Canis Majoris, Sirius, the Dog Star (*alhabor*).
(21) رجل الجوز, *rijl al-juz*. The foot of Jauza, β Orionis.
(22) بطن قيطوس, *butn qitus*. The whale's belly, π (?) Ceti.
(23) دنب قيطوس, *danab qitus*. The tail of the whale, β Ceti.
(24) دنب جدي, *danab jadi*. The goat's tail, δ Capricorni.
(25) دبران, (*al-*)*debaran*, or the bull's eye, α Tauri.
(26) منكب, *mankib*. The shoulder; query, if not properly *menkar*, α Ceti.
(27) غميصا, (*al-*)*gomeisa*. α Canis Minoris, Procyon.
(28) Unidentified.[1]

The '*idadeh*' or rule is quite unornamented, the upright tiles fixed (not hinged), and in each there is one hole, not two as is often the case.

[1] Without some clue it is impossible to read numbers 8 and 28. Possibly a reference to Ideler, "Über die Sternnamen," which I have not been able to see, would help.

Let us now see if the examination of this instrument enables us to arrive at any definite conclusions as to the place of origin and date of manufacture. The style of art and workmanship in Oriental instruments such as this, seldom affords much indication on these points; for, to begin with, the use of the archaic or Kufy character of Arabic, while abandoned at an early date for ordinary purposes, was sometimes retained in astrolabes and astronomical appliances until probably the sixteenth century, just as at the present day we retain 'Gothic' type or black-letter in certain sumptuous publications. The questions we have to answer about this astrolabe are :—

(1) Where it was made.
(2) When it was made.
(3) For whom it was made.

For the first question we can find an answer at once, if we are satisfied that the plates are the original plates belonging to the instrument. The art and style are identical, and they were apparently made for the *um*, and probably by the same maker.

The plates are made for Granada (and places of the same latitude), for Mekka, Fez, Medina, and two other latitudes, so far south that they must be for use among Moslems.

The back of the astrolabe, however, has the Roman or Christian, not the Moslem months. While, therefore, the plates seem to show that the instrument was made for a Moslem (since Mekka and Medina are included), the back indicates either that it was made by a Christian, or made in a city in which Christian influence was great, or else it was made to be used by someone speaking Arabic and professing Islam, yet who was sufficiently in contact with Christians to use the Roman months. Of all the places for which the plates were made, Granada alone fulfils these conditions, since it remained Moslem after the Moors had been expelled from the rest of Spain. The astrolabe, therefore, was made at Granada, and if the plates are the original ones, it was for a Moslem who used the Christian months — a condition

surprising to anyone at all familiar with the history and traditions of Islam. In the absence of any date on the instrument we must turn to the tables of the months, and the Zodiac, for an indication of its age. By an examination of these we can ascertain approximately the day and proportion of hours on which the sun entered the different signs when this astrolabe was made. The difference between these days and moments and the equivalent moments of the present time will give us an approximate date for the instrument itself.

Table showing the time on which the sun enters the signs, (*a*) on the Astrolabe, (*b*) in 1900 A.D. :—

	On the Astrolabe.	In 1900.
Sun enters Aries ..	March 14, c. 8 a.m. ..	21st, 2 a.m.
,, Taurus ..	April 13, c. noon	20th, 2 p.m.
,, Gemini ..	May 14, c. 10 a.m. ..	21st, 1 p.m.
,, Cancer ..	June 14, c. 4 p.m. ..	21st, 10 a.m.
,, Leo	July 15, c. 4 p.m. ..	23rd, 8 a.m.
,, Virgo ..	August 15, c. noon ..	23rd, 3 a.m.
,, Libra ..	September 15, c. 6 p.m. .	23rd, noon.
,, Scorpio ..	October 14–15, midnight.	23rd, 9 a.m.
,, Sagittarius	November 14, c. 8 a.m. ..	22nd, 6 a.m.
,, Capricornus	December 14, c. 8 a.m. ..	22nd, 7 a.m.
,, Aquarius ..	January 12–13, midnight	20th, noon.
,, Pisces ..	February 12, c. 8 a.m. ..	19th, 2 a.m.

Now, if we ascertain the difference in each month between the astrolabe and the year 1900, and then take the average, we find that this change works out at 7 days and 10 hours.

In Chaucer's description of the astrolabe he made the sun enter Aries early on March 12th, 1391, while in 1891 it entered the same constellation on March 20th at 4 a.m., which gives us a change of 8 days in 500 years.[1] A not very difficult calculation from these data will indicate a period of 458½ years before 1900 as the date of our instrument. This gives us A.D. 1441–2, which probably is a fairly approximate, though not an exact date. I do not indeed suppose it is really possible to fix a more exact date than about the middle of the fifteenth century.

We can then answer in a way all three questions. Our astrolabe was made at Granada in Spain, in the fifteenth century, somewhere about 1450, and probably for a Moslem. For an explanation of the curious problem raised by the use of the Roman months we can only look to the condition of Spain and the Sultanate of Granada at that date.

The position of the Mohammedans in Spain was from a much earlier date very different to that of other Mohammedan States, and it would seem from their treatment of the Jews that there was little religious intolerance. The Spanish Christians, even in the ninth century, were apeing the Mohammedans, studying Arabic literature, and despising and neglecting that in the Latin tongues. In the eleventh century, in the time of the 'Cid Campeador,' the mixture was so great that Christians were serving in the Mohammedan armies, and Moors among the troops of the Christians. Christians were fighting hand in hand with Moors against Christians. Moors were ravaging Moorish territory with Christians. The Cross had checked and was pressing back the Crescent, and heavy tribute was being paid by Moorish princes.

The Sultanate of Granada was the last stronghold of Islam in Spain, and was surrendered by Abu Abdallah or Boabdil (as he is called) to Ferdinand in 1491. Yet although at the beginning of the fifteenth century it was, and had long been

[1] The difference, however, "vibrates," as Mr. Skeat has pointed out. In 1871 it entered on March 21st, which was 9 days. Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No. xvi, p. xlvii.

in open or covert hostility to the Christian monarchs, its position was a strange one for Islam. To the Moors of Granada at this time, the name of Christian must have carried respect, if not fear. Christianity, if hated, was not despised; and Granada was, indeed, frequently paying tribute—bribes, in actual fact—to stave off a little longer the evil day.[1]

Granada itself was a place of great magnificence and a great centre both for art and science, and we may be sure that, however much the arrogance of Islam still inspired the Moslems of her Sultanate, there must have taken place between them and their Christian neighbours some exchange of manners and ideas, of industries and arts, before the gates of Al-hamra (the red) were flung open once for all.

How mixed these conditions were, there is much evidence to show. My friend Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the British Museum MSS. Department, tells me in a letter: "The condition of the peoples of Spain towards the time of the expulsion of the Moors is very complicated and puzzling. We find Arabic in use for official and business purposes, and even occasionally for literary composition, under the Christian States. On the other hand, Moslems of Spanish, as opposed to Arab or Moorish, origin very frequently wrote in 'Aljamia' (Spanish in the Arabic character), especially for purposes of popular instruction. At the same time there also exists a great quantity of official and legal documents in 'Aljamia' which are, I believe, all Christian."

Turning again to the astrolabe, we may notice that it has none of the tables of 'mansions' and 'triplicities' which are common on Arab instruments, and the use of which was chiefly astrological. As far as the back goes, it is exactly the same as the mediæval Christian instruments, except that it does not bear the circle of Saints' days and their Sunday letters. This part and the rete (without the plates) might have been made for an Arab-speaking Christian; but the plates were made for a Moslem at Granada. It is

[1] Mohammed X, in 1463, paid 12,000 gold ducats as a condition of peace.

therefore just possible that the maker constructed his instruments in one pattern and supplied the plates specially according to whether he sold them to Moslems or Christians. The instrument seems to be earlier than 1491, or else we might imagine that the Moslem months were abolished, though Moslems still lived in the kingdom. Another idea suggested by two friends is that it was made for a renegade, a Christian 'turned Turk.' But such an individual, who, as in all such cases, would have changed his religion from motives of interest rather than conviction, would be the last to wish to retain any evidence of his once having been a hated Nazarene. Your renegades are outwardly the most bigoted of fanatics; and I prefer to imagine that we have in this instrument evidence that a little before the conquest of Granada, the intercourse between the Moslems of that State and the neighbouring Christians was sufficiently great to have made the use of the Christian calendar not unusual, because of the convenience afforded in commercial and other relations.

V.

ON THE MODERN INDO-ARYAN ALPHABETS OF NORTH-WESTERN INDIA.

By GEORGE A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., I.C.S. (Retd.).

THE well-known Śāradā character of Kaśmīr is described by Bühler on p. 56 of his *Indische Palaeographie*. He points out that it is descended from the western variety of the Gupta type of alphabets, and notes that a modern variety of it is the so-called Ṭakkarī of Jammū and the neighbourhood. Bühler does not, so far as I am aware, mention any other of the modern alphabets of north-western India.

The alphabet which Bühler calls 'Ṭakkarī' is evidently the 'Ṭhākarī' or 'Ṭākrī' alphabet, which is, however, current over a much wider area than that stated by him. It is employed over the whole of the lower ranges of the Himālaya north of the Panjāb. How much farther east it extends I cannot say. Probably at least as far as Garhwāl and Kumāon. The variety of Ṭākrī employed in Jammū is known as Ḍōgrī. It has been manipulated into another official character which is employed by Jammū officials. This official Ḍōgrī has very little currency in other circles. Ordinary Ḍōgrī and most of the other varieties of Ṭākrī are very incomplete forms of script. Medial short vowels are usually omitted, and medial long ones are generally employed in their initial form, as if, in Dēva-nāgarī, we were to write तऊ for *tū*. A reformed variety of Ṭākrī, with a complete series of vowels, is in use in the State of Chamba, and is there known as 'Chamiālī.' The reformation was carried out under English influence some twenty or thirty years ago. Types have been cast, and portions of the Scriptures have been printed in it.

Bühler considered Ṭākrī to be a variety of the Śāradā alphabet. I think that this is a wrong way of looking at it. There is another alphabet current all over the Panjāb plains and over Sindh known as *Laṇḍā*, or 'clipped.' It is connected with the *Mahājanī* character, which has spread from Mārwāṛ all over northern India. Like Mahājanī and Ṭākrī, its vowel system is singularly incomplete. It is, indeed, closely related to Ṭākrī, and the two are only varieties of the same script. It will thus be seen that there was really one original alphabet current over the whole of north-western India, including Kaśmīr, the Lower Himālaya, the Panjāb, and Sindh, and it is most probable that Ṭākrī is a brother of Śāradā, and not a son. Śāradā is a complete alphabet adapted for writing Sanskrit, while Laṇḍā and Ṭākrī are rude scripts adapted to the needs of uneducated shopkeepers and the like, but they have all a common origin.

It is said that in the time of Aṅgad, the second Sikh Guru (1538–1552 A.D.), Laṇḍā was the only alphabet employed in the Panjāb for writing the vernacular. Aṅgad found that Sikh hymns written in Laṇḍā were liable to be misread, and he accordingly improved it by borrowing signs from the Dēva-nāgarī alphabet (then only used for Sanskrit manuscripts), and by polishing up the letters, so as to make them fit for recording the Scriptures of the Sikh religion. Having been invented by him, this character became known as *Gur-mukhī*, or the alphabet proceeding from the mouth of the Guru. Ever since, this alphabet has been employed for writing the Sikh Scriptures, and its use has spread widely. It is an error to call Gurmukhī the alphabet of the Pañjābī language. It is not peculiar to that form of speech. It is, properly speaking, the language of the Sikh Scriptures, most of which are not in Pañjābī.

We may thus divide the alphabets of the north-west of India into four varieties — two literary alphabets, viz. Śāradā and Gurmukhī, and two non-literary alphabets, viz. Laṇḍā and Ṭākrī. The close connexion between these four will be at once manifest from the following plates.

Laṇḍā and Ṭākrī vary slightly from place to place. I have chosen what seemed to me to be typical forms. They have all been carefully traced from originals, either in manuscript or lithographed. In the case of the letter *ṭha*, I have given two Laṇḍā forms. Several examples of Laṇḍā and Ṭākrī will be found in Dr. Leitner's *Collection of Specimens of Commercial and other Alphabets and Handwritings as also of Multiplication Tables current in various parts of the Panjab, Sind, and the North-West Provinces.* Excellent specimens of the various forms of Laṇḍā in use in Sindh will be found in Stack's *Sindhī Grammar.*

In the following plates the letters are arranged in the order of the Gurmukhī alphabet, in which the vowels are built on a system varying from that of Dēva-nāgarī, and are followed by *sa* and *ha.* In both particulars Śāradā follows Dēva-nāgarī and not Gurmukhī.

Gurmukhī.	Laṇḍā.	Ṭākrī.	Śāradā.	
			(*a*)	'*āiṛā.*'
			(*i*)	'*īṛī.*'
			(*u*)	'*ūṛā.*'
				ō.
				sa.
				ha.
				ka.
				kha.
				ga.

Gurmukhī.	Laṇḍā.	Ṭākrī.	Śāradā.	
				gha.
				ṅa.
				ca.
				cha.
				ja.
				jha.
				ña.
				ṭa.
				ṭha.

Gurmukhī.	Laṇḍā.	Ṭākrī.	Śāradā.	
				ḍa.
				ḍha.
				ṇa.
				ta.
				tha.
				da.
				dha.
				na.
				pa.

Gurmukhī.	Laṇḍā.	Ṭākrī.	Śāradā.	
				pha.
				ba.
				bha.
				ma.
		...		*ya.*
				ra.
				la.
				va.
			...	*ṛa.*

VI.

THE PAHLAVI TEXTS OF YASNA XI, XII,

FOR THE FIRST TIME CRITICALLY[1] TRANSLATED.

By PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS.

YASNA XI.

The three true friends of man.

THREE manifest Holy Ones there are who proceed[2] according to the word of the Āfrīn.

Their curses upon their starvers.

Those three[3] are visible (literally 'the three are clear') to him where they, (the three; see below) would execute their curses,[4]

(2) The Ox (or Cow) and the Horse, and Hōm.

[1] The texts upon which these translations are made were published, together with Yasna XIII, in Heft iii of the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society, October, 1902, as edited with all the MSS. collated.

Translations into Sanskrit, Parsi-Persian, and Gujrati upon texts not collated, and otherwise not of a critical character, have alone preceded this. The parts within square brackets [ ] are the glosses, those within the parenthetical curves ( ) are my explanations.

[2] The error of sātūnd = 'to proceed,' mistaking zavaiti for a form of zu = jū 'to hasten,' is of unusual interest, for it affords an instance where Nēr. totally differs from what has been supposed to be his sole original; and which was indeed for the most part his text, as he himself states. This error of the Pahlavi was also motived by a rational criticism. 'Hastening' was certainly more natural to a 'horse' than 'invoking.' Nēr.'s ākroçayanti, kila, çāpaṁ kurvanti is, however, correct. They 'curse' indeed, according to the meaning of the original, as determined by the contexts.

[3] Or reading aē for III = '3.' This is clear to him; that they would perform the Āfrīn [(i.e. the three sacred parties)].

[4] I would now prefer to read nafrīn in the gloss; as we have here what seems to be an interesting alternative opinion (always a matter of critical importance).

(3) The Ox (or 'Cow') comes to[1] the Zaotar in whose keeping it ('he, or she') is,

The Ox's Curse.

(4) Thus (i.e. saying thus): So thou art[2] without offspring; also so let there be ill-fame with[3] thee,

(5) Who dost not share[4] for my sake (or 'who dost not give') any value to the deserving ones (like me), this even.[5]

(6) Then thou dost nourish me, that is, thou dost keep me back (reserve me) for (thy) women and sons, and for thine own stomach.[6]

The Horse's Curse.

(7) The Horse approaches[7] (*sic*) his rider[8]

(8) thus: Be[9] not yoker of the fleet[10] (one) [the battle-

[1] So, better than reading an ī as the sign of gen. with D. (Pt. 4); see Nēr.'s accus. Here Nēr. adheres to his correct idea 'ākroçayati.' His (Nēr.'s) grhītāram must be intelligent freedom. I cannot see how either zōt, or zaotar, could literally mean 'taker.' Nēr.'s addition 'āste' points his rendering of the gloss correctly; and his 'yo' (yaḥ) shows us that he preferred to render tōrā 'ox' rather than 'cow'; but in the Gāthas 'gau' is feminine, at least predominantly so. Without Nēr.'s yo . . . āste we could not have known his idea of it just here.

[2] Or we might take this present in the sense of an imperative, with Nēr.'s more correct b'ava: 'Be thou issueless.'

[3] Nēr. intelligently uses the verbal rather than the prepositional form, duḫkīrtyā upagūhitaḥ; his 'b'ava' led him to omit the conj. yehvūnāt.

[4] Notice Nēr.'s varšasi 'rainest' in the rare sense of 'give,' so also elsewhere.

[5] Perhaps meaning '(to) this one (i.e. to me) even.' B. (D., Pt. 4) seems arzanīg aēič, avoiding the plural, but Nēr. has anurūpeb'yaḥ, and C. (the Parsi-Pers. MS.) has also the plural. These frequent 'improvements' of B. (Pt. 4) make it often look very like a modern revision which anyone might make.

[6] Reading mūršv' as an attempted transliteration. Nēr.'s dustodarāya seems the best explanation of the Pahl. and original. I felt inclined to read it (the Pahl.) after mae'deh = 'stomach'; but see the original. I fear, however, that I was inclined to rebel too freely against 'tradition' in 1883–87, having been inclined to see a trace of 'macerate,' 'growing thin' in the word; from this perhaps was derived my adjective 'niggard.'

[7] Nēr. continues to correct this well-meant error with his ākroçayati = 'curses.' The Parsi-Pers. tries to break away from ravēt, etc., with rējēd.

[8] C. (the Parsi-Pers.) has suvār (or 'suwār'); see also Nēr.'s netāram, both in accordance with bāšārem.

[9] Or 'thou art not.' I almost think we may take yehvūnīh in an imperative sense again, with Nēr., who had no hesitation with his b'ava; or did he look at the original?; without much doubt.

[10] It is highly probable that Nēr. meant simply 'fleet' with sād'aka (so elsewhere). He could hardly have been ignorant as to what kārīzār meant. Yet prad'ānakāryiṇo, literally at least, corresponds to sād'aka in its more common sense. He meant, however, merely prad'āna- as 'warhorses.'

horse (is meant); that is, may it not be possible to thee to hitch them on], nor to sit[1] (hold thy seat?) upon the swift, nor yet to stable them (or 'to stop them'), [that is to say, may it not be possible to thee to keep (or 'get') them back],

(9) who dost not pray[2] for that which is my strength[3] [(good) works (or, indeed, 'agriculture'[4]) and (sound) opinions],

(10) When many have come together into the meeting, many men who have done[5] (good) works,[5] (or 'agriculture' (as the chief of them) (*sic*)) [(to) the battle-horse in struggle; that is, may it not be possible to these to [carry on the] struggle[6]].

The Curse of Hōm.

(11) Hōm approaches[7] that drinker [who ought to drink, and who does not drink, saying thus]: (12) Offspringless thou art[8]; let evil fame likewise be with thee, (13) who keepest me from the libation, [that is to say, who dost not command execution (or 'celebration') for me in the sacrifice].

[1] Notice that θāx*tan', while being the correspondent to niθaxta, is yet apparently not applied to it directly as a translation, while this niθaxta seems to be translated by the less closely corresponding nihādan', which should mean 'to place' rather than 'to stop' them, and dāštan' might mean the same thing. I think, however, that the words have become twisted about in the course of time and of re-copying, θaxtan must really translate niθaxta.

[2] Beyond a doubt the 'd' of jaiδyehē should be expressed; the Pahl. word is 'zaidih' (or 'zāidih'); but see Nēr.'s departure in 'upakramasi,' whereas at Y. IX, 74, he has the more natural yāčayitāram, though there he mistakes the grammatical relation.

[3] Not impossibly 'fleetness' was the dominant idea. Nēr., however, has prāṇena.

[4] Kār may mean 'agriculture.'

These glosses, of course, mar the simple rich sense of the original; see further on.

[5] This is rather an amusing error for karšyāo, which should mean 'a circular (racecourse)'; but certainly not as above, which is valuable as a mistake followed by Nēr., and well fitted to warn us against absolute submission to 'tradition' without discrimination.

[6] A. (DJ. (J^2)) alone has this interesting gloss. It is not in Nēr., nor in the Parsi-Pers.

[7] Nēr. corrects this again.

[8] Nēr. follows the original Avesta, but yehvūnīh may have been meant in this sense (b'ava).

* x is used for 'kh.'

(14) As a thief who wields the bludgeon (lit. 'who is head-smiter'[1]) [and not having the afrīn's, thou also holdest me as āfrīnless]; and fatal smiter (lit. 'head-smiter') am I not, for Hōm I am, Hōm the holy, and the death-afar.

God, and Hōm's Feast.

(16) (God) my father always[2] dispensed that which is Hōm's feast,[3] He, Aūharmazd, the holy; (He gave) the jawbone[4] with the tongue, and also the left eye[5] (so!).

Curse to the Depriver.

(17) Who destroys away from me that feast, or diverts (possibly 'mars') it, or plunders it, the feast which Aūharmazd the holy, gave me, the jawbone[4] with tongue and left eye,

(18) let not[6] a priest, nor warrior, nor husbandman be born in that (man's) house;

[1] I think that the 'ū' of pūrtak corresponds to Avesta 'ere' = Indian 'ṛ' as in 'pūrnā' to 'pereṇāyu.' See pūrnākān' in Y. 8, 9, and 'ere' (= 'ṛ') is closely related to -eš-, as 'pūrt-' = is to 'peret-,' and '-ak' is the familiar addition as in vohū-k for 'vohū.'

[2] The origin of the use of this word 'hamīšak' here, I should say, was the 'us' of the original; or it might indeed have been chosen from its likeness to some fragment of the word haomāi, looking like hamāī, which, however, is, itself, properly translated by 'av' Hōm.'

[3] I think that Spiegel's 'sūr' is a good suggestion.

[4] For aērvārak I compare 'ilvar' = 'jawbone.' But Justi may offer the better suggestion with 'left ear,' though I do not see any analogon for it in the other languages. The Parsi-Pers. MS. translates har-dū-gōš 'both ears.' Perhaps this approaches the 'jawbone' at the upper extremity of which the ears are situated.

[5] The 'left eye' was evidently prized for some mystical reason. I have heard that a commencement with the eye when the remains of the dead are exposed to the vultures is reverently regarded as auspicious at the Towers of Silence near Bombay. Such feelings should be respected.

[6] D. has hūl-ā = 'up.' This might add emphasis to the sentence, but it would leave us with no negative in the needed place, while 'al lā' only leaves us with a redundancy; but see Nēr.'s ni nā. So the MSS. emended by Spiegel to na na, which might, however, express an affirmative. Or should we prefer ni nā with ni in the sense (born) 'within'; yet see the original nōīt. The Parsi-Pers. MS. translates only the lā. B. (D., Pt. 4) may have meant aē lā = aēγ lā. But what do A. (DJ.) and D. (K⁵ (Sp.)) mean by alā (so); al lā must be meant.

(19) but let one who is an exhauster[1] of the creation[1] [who will exhaust the creation of Aūharmazd] be born in that house; let a murder-doer[2] (be born there), [that is to say, one who would make matters ruined], a doer of many[3] kinds of erring[3] deeds, [that is to say, they would continue forth to do much of the law; but even a single thing[4] which is at (i.e. 'which has regard to') the end (the other world) they will not do].

Dispatch desired.

(20) Quick! when ye cut off that flesh, [that is, (when) ye kill[5] the cattle] hasten the drōn of doughty[6] Hōm, [that is to say, perform straight off the drōn-ceremony[7] of doughty Hōm].

[1] Dahakāča is utterly mistaken on all sides. K[5] (Sp.) and M. have daxšak, and they probably understood what Nēr. did, namely, čihnaṁ = 'seed.' Notice in passing Nēr.'s Parsi gloss māghaṁ. Did he think of the 'seed' as 'māgha'-(-maga-)-seed? B. (D., Pt. 4) and C. (the Parsi-Pers. MS.) are equally astray with dahišn-, for while that, with -kāhēnītar, gives an admirable general sense, of course no form of dā = 'd'hā,' 'to establish' is present in dahakā-; the syllable -kā- was also thought to represent a sense of 'belittlement': cf. Ind. kā-as in kāpat'a = 'an evil path,' etc. (I think that kā = 'kēna' in these Indian cases.) The Parsi-Pers. seems to translate his kāhīnīdār as kāstar? Is this a clerical blunder; or should we compare a kāštar = 'disappointer,' or a kāštan in the sense of 'render hopeless,' 'diminish' (see Nēr.'s ninditāraḥ).

[2] We are practically forced to follow the Parsi-Pers. with mūrtak = 'tabah,' especially in view of the gloss. Previous Pahlavi translators may have doubtless merely intended to transcribe the word; but with these we have nothing to do.

[3] B. (D., Pt. 4) has pūrsarēdak'. B. (D., Pt. 4) alone inserts 'var(ē)tak',' which would seem to be an adjective to a var(e)ta in the sense of 'transgression,' 'the erring way'; but we need an emendation after vartak. The use of the word evidently arose from the syllable 'var' in varšnāča.

[4] A. (DJ.), B. (D., Pt. 4), and C. (the Parsi-Pers.) give us the excellent 'mindavam' for K[5] (Sp.)'s mā'š (formerly written mamman aš).

[5] Notice that 'cattle' were killed at the time of the writing of the gloss.

[6] Nēr. alone gives us relief from the senseless second 'zag' of all the others. His drd'atamaḥ here shows that he read ta(n)gīk as at Y. IX, 47, or 'tangīktūm'; see also his drd'atamaṁ at Y. 56, 6, 2. We must read ta(n)gīk, or tangīktūm, beyond a doubt; yet only Nēr. can be shown for it.

[7] B. (D., Pt. 4) has drōn. K[5] (Sp.) sūr (or dīvar?). Nēr. has hūmotsavaḥ. Notice that Nēr. gives us help even where his text is most in confusion. Texts of Pahlavi, Sanskrit, or Persian are often of most value to us (when critically used) where they are most impossible as consecutive sentences. A single form may throw light upon obscurities.

Warned again.

(21) That is,[1] let not Hōm (in anger) bind thee, as he bound the murderous Turanian, Frangrasyan, in the middle of the third[2] division of the earth.

(22) Around whom also was that which is an enclosure[3] of iron and of silver. [So Māhvindāt said. Dāt-i-Aūharmazd said thus: he was enclosed[4] around about[5]; that is to say, about him[6] a fortress has been made].

Doxologies.

(23) So[7] Zartūšt said to him: Praise to Hōm, the Aūharmazd-made one; Good is Hōm, the Aūharmazd-made one; Praise to Hōm!

The Offering is multiplied in power.

(24) What (is coming) from us (that is to say, 'such offering as we bring,' that) one single [Dastōbar, one single man, (or meaning perhaps 'from me as a single man') (that, the Dastōbar) makes[8]] that which is the double[9] of it ours,[10] (that is to say, the Dastōbar rewards us twofold for our gift), and even threefold, and fourfold, and fivefold, and

[1] We might even render aēγ as 'ah!' here.

[2] B. (D., Pt. 4) again approaches mere transliteration, as so often, and so looks suspiciously modern. His srīšvātak' (see the original θrišvē) loses what of gloss lurks in -bazak'; which Nēr. reproduces as -b'āga in trib'āga-. The Parsi-Pers., as often, agrees with B. (D., Pt. 4).

See also at Vendīdād II, where the second third division of the earth is mentioned. According to our text here F. was conquered at the fabulous date of the second enlargement of the earth, after Yima had reigned 300 years.

[3] We should restore the lost nasal, as in the Achæmenian Inscriptions.

[4] For xva(n)jīt the Parsi-Pers. seems at a loss for a text; but once more in the midst of the worst chaos we have our only glimpse of light. The translation hiṣṣār 'enclosure' alone helps us out. Nēr. does not render the passage, and we miss him greatly.

[5] A. (DJ.), B. (D., Pt. 4), M., and the Parsi-Pers. have 'min' for K[5] (Sp.)'s 'man'; but not at the first words of 22, which are af man' pīrāmūn.

[6] A. (DJ.) saves us from the senseless aēγ-am of the others, with his aēγ-aš.

[7] I render 'af' 'so' here; the Parsi-Pers., as so often, renders 'azaš.' Not so Nēr., who has naturally 'tam ab'āšata.'

[8] So B. (D., Pt. 4) and the Parsi-Pers.; see also Nēr.'s kurute.

[9] For 'le-gūn' see Nēr.'s dviguṇam.

[10] A. (DJ.) ins. ī before the second lanā.

sixfold, and sevenfold, and eightfold, and ninefold, and tenfold, [(till at last, through the redoubling of its value, this reward) ought to be[1] of itself, (that is to say, 'indefinitely becoming greater without further mention of the multiplying factor'; i.e.)] this benefit which has come[2] [to us] from you, should so be self-adjusting; or, possibly simply meaning, 'it should be (thus my) own.'

The Offerer's Gift.

(25) On to thee, O Hōm, the holy-born,[3] I offer this my own body which is seen (to be) well-favoured (lit. 'well-grown'),

(26) Thus: till there shall be to us[4] good[5] mastership,[5] [and acquisition[6] of benefits (through it)], and ceremonial merit and sanctity.

[1] B. (D., Pt. 4) has -nōt; so C. (the Parsi-Pers. MS.). A. (DJ.) has yehvūnt for yehvūntan'.

[2] The terms in the original allude to Y. 28, 9, but the translation 'has come' for '(yōi vē) yaeθma' I hold to be erroneous; see Gāthas, pp. 15 and 406; see also the new edition of the Verbatims and Free Metricals.

[3] A. (DJ.) should read zāyak (?), hardly zādak; but the signs would be redundant for either. K[5] (Sp.) and M. have zāk. But, as elsewhere, this 'holy born' is, as I hold, not critically correct. Ašavāzō is only critically rendered by 'bearer of the ritual.' Ašava + za is improbable (but not impossible), as ṛtávan seldom, or never, enters into a compositum; whereas, vah = 'vaz' occurs; cf. dak'šiṇa-váh, sušṭ'uváh, havya-váh, hotra-váh. Where the idea of sanctity is expressed in a compositum, the form used is ṛtá-, not ṛtávan; (the transfer to an -a declension is not unusual). Nēr., however, follows his original. See also Y. XI, 26, where ašavastāi seems to divide ašava + sta. (Otherwise we must accept the ašavasta; see the superl. of ašavañt, ašavastema. If related to this superlative, it is a curious idiomatic formation, perhaps never really used in speech.)

[4] Possibly the word mān rendered 'us' should be understood as mān = '(to this) abode,' something like xši = 'to dwell' having been seen in the -xšai of θvaxšāi. Nēr. has no trace of either. Notice that Nēr.'s text is here much better than that of the Pahl. translator.

[5] Hu-axūīh could only render havaŋhāi, which, I think, suggests the correct division of the word into hu + ahu; cf. hvaŋhvīm, Y. 53, 1; see Gāthas at the place, 372.

[6] I have read vīndīgarīh (?). B. (D., Pt. 4) has vāndakarīh (?). But we must consider a possible vīnīk(-arīh) referring to the 'nostrils' as expressing 'passion,' and pointing to maδāi. The Parsi-Pers. omits the form. Nēr.'s vidyāyāi must, as usual, refer to maδāi in the sense of a mādišn.

Of course the translation errs as to the immediate grammatical forms. In S.B.E. I freely passed over the question of havaŋhāi. I should have expressed it as 'to the one giving-the-good-world-life' (so, reading hvaŋhāi); 'to haoma, to the energetic, to the inspirer, to the one standing-in-the-holy-ritual.'

(27) Give up to me even, O thou Hōm, the holy, and the death-afar, the Best World of the saints, the shining,[1] all-glorious (or 'all-happy (?)'). I pray for it, so[2] do thou even give it me.

YASNA XII.

Preparation for the Recital of the Creed.

Acceptance.

I ardently praise the good thought, the good word, and the good deed. I grant full acceptance to all good thought, good speech, and good deed, [that is, I accept (or 'I perform') good works].

Repudiations.

(3) I make a repudiation of all evil thought, evil speech, and evil deeds, [that is to say, I would not practise sin].

To the Ameshas, praise.

(4) Forth to You, who are Amešaspends, do I offer (5) sacrifice and praise; [Ye are placable and immoveable].

Complete Devotion.

(6) And I give forth (my offering) with thought, forth with word, and ('I give it') forth with deed, and with mental[3] mastership. Also (I give it) forth with my body and with my life itself, [that is to say, I put my body in Your possession, (and by putting my life in Your possession I mean) this, that if it is necessary to me to give up the body for the sake of the soul, I give it up, and I do not stint praise, (or 'I do not praise again'; that is to say, I will not keep on praising again without acts of formal sacrifice)].

[1] Nēr. has ročišmān, where we should expect '-mantam.'

[2] I think that 'af' has often the force of 'so' as well as that of 'also.'

[3] See Nēr.'s 'prājnā-'; so my MSS., making a slight correction only.

VII.

NOTE ON THE MIDDLE COUNTRY OF ANCIENT INDIA.

By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, F.B.A.

NUMEROUS examples might be quoted of philosophical, or political, or religious parties who have claimed for themselves a central, or a moderate, position, far removed from the ignorances and foolishnesses of the extremists on either side. There are even cases in which the critical historian may observe that, on a fair survey of the points in dispute at the time and place in question, the claim is fairly justified. So the Buddha claimed for his view of life that it was the Middle Way between worldliness, or indifference, on the one side, and asceticism on the other. So Aristotle described the ideal virtue as the Golden Mean.

A somewhat similar case is that of people, dwelling in places or countries remote one from the other, who have nevertheless claimed for their own town or country a central position. Most Westerns used to suppose our earth to be the very centre of all the stars; and how pleasantly such a notion may appeal to self-complacency is shown by recent attempts to reconcile it with improved astronomy. We all know that a certain town on the east coast of North America is the hub of the universe. So is Lhassa in Tibet. And the Chinese are often reported habitually to speak of China as 'the Middle Country.' It is difficult to say whether this last is a designation merely geographical, or whether it also connotes that the people outside are outsiders, barbarians. And I do not know if any Chinese scholar has adequately discussed the history and full bearing of the term. But it is interesting to notice that certain writers in India made use of a similar expression; and it may be of use to collect the evidence as to the degree in which they did so, and as to the intent with which they used it.

The oldest passage in which it occurs is in the fifth Khandaka, the Cammakkhandaka, of the Vinaya (1. 197), translated in "Vinaya Texts" (ii, 38). It is in a very ancient explanation of a rule of the Buddhist Order which allows the reception of a new member into the Order to take place, in border countries, before a chapter of only four members under the presidency of a fifth (who must be one who knows the Rules by heart). In the middle country the chapter had to consist of ten members.[1] The explanation of the rule laying down this exceptional procedure is as follows:—

Tatr° ime paccantimā janapadā:

Puratthimāya disāya Kajangalaṇ nāma nigamaṇ, tassa parena Mahāsālā, tato parā paccantimā janapadā, orato majjhe.

Puratthimadakkhiṇāya disāya Salalavatī nāma nadī, tato parā paccantimā janapadā, orato majjhe.

Dakkhiṇāya disāya Setakaṇṇikaṃ nāma nigamo, tato parā paccantimā janapadā, orato majjhe.

Pacchimāya disāya Thūnaṇ nāma brāhmaṇagamo, tato parā paccantimā janapadā, orato majjhe.

Uttārāya disāya Usīraddhajo nāma pabbato, tato parā paccantimā janapadā, orato majjhe.

That is to say:

"In this (Rule) the following are the border countries:—

"To the east is the town called Kajangala, beyond that is Mahāsālā. Beyond that are border countries; on this side of it is in the middle (country).

"To the south-east is the river Salalavatī (v.l. Sallavatī). Beyond that are border countries; on this side of it is in the middle (country).

"To the south is the town Setakaṇṇika. Beyond that are border countries; on this side of it is in the middle (country).

"To the west is the brahmin village called Thūna. Beyond that are border countries; on this side of it is in the middle (country).

[1] See Vin., 1. 319 = Mahāvagga, ix, 4. 1.

"To the north is the mountain called Usīraddhaja. Beyond that are border countries; on this side of it is in the middle (country)."

It may be noted in passing that it is most unlikely that the Middle Country thus deliminated was supposed to be square. We should, in that case, have heard only of the usual north, south, east, and west. What we have to imagine is a district of irregular shape, with five corners not necessarily equidistant.

The document in which this statement occurs was considered by Professor Oldenberg, in the introduction to his edition of the text (dated May, 1879), as being about 400 B.C., and probably a little earlier. The only alternative theory is that the whole of the Pali literature, including this work, are simply forgeries concocted in Ceylon. But no attempt has been made to show how this latter theory can be made to square with the facts; it is put forward by way of inuendo rather than as a serious and considered opinion; and would not now, I think, meet anywhere with approval.

From that time (about 400 B.C.) onward, this explanation has formed part of the tradition handed down in the Buddhist schools. And when the commentaries came in the course of the fifth century A.D. to be recorded, some in Ceylon and some in India, in Pali, it was incorporated in them. Thus we find it given, in identical words, and as a description of the Majjhima Desa, in the Paramattha Jotikā, the commentary on the Khuddaka Pāṭha, a work not yet edited, but ascribed in the Gandha Vaṃsa (p. 59) to Buddhaghosa.[1] We find it in the Sumangala Vilāsinī, the commentary on the Dīgha, undoubtedly by Buddhaghosa[2]; and in the Jātaka commentary, also ascribed, but in my opinion erroneously,[3] to Buddhaghosa. The passage is also given, but this time in paraphrase, in the heavy Sanskritised

[1] The quotation is given by Childers in his notes to the edition of the Khuddaka Pāṭha (J.R.A.S., October, 1869, p. 20 of the author's reprint).

[2] Vol. i, p. 173, of Rhys Davids' and Carpenter's edition for the Pali Text Society.

[3] See the references given in "Buddhist India," p. 201; and Jātaka, 1. 49.

Pali peculiar to that author, by Upatissa in his Mahābodhivaṃsa,[1] which the editor dates about the same period as Buddhaghosa.

In both the Jātaka commentary and the Sumangala the following sentence, not found in the Vinaya, is added:—

"That (middle country) is in length 300 yojanas, in breadth 250 yojanas, and in circumference 900 yojanas."

We are elsewhere told in the Jātaka (1. 80) of two merchants travelling on the road from Ukkala to the Majjhima Desa; of hermits fearing to descend from the Himālayas to go into Majjhima Desa because the people there are too learned (3. 115, 116); of a mountain Arañjaragiri in the Majjhima Desa (3. 463; 5. 134), and of Videha being situate within it (3. 364).

A similar passage further occurs, in the same connection as in the Vinaya, in a collection of legends preserved in Buddhist Sanskrit, called the Divyāvadāna, put together at some unknown date after the Christian era. It runs as follows:—

Pūrveṇopali Puṇḍavardhanaṇ nāma nagaraṇ, tasya pūrveṇa Puṇḍakakṣo nāma parvataḥ, tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ.

Dakṣiṇena Sarāvatī[2] nāma nagarī, tasyāḥ pareṇa Sarāvatī nāma nadī, so 'ntaḥ, tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ.

Paścimena Sthūṇopasthūṇakau brāhmaṇagrāmakau, so 'ntaḥ, tataḥ pareṇa paryantaḥ.

Uttareṇa Usīragiriḥ, so 'ntaḥ, tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ.

That is to say:

"To the east, Upāli, is the town called Puṇḍavardhana, and to the east of that the mountain called Puṇḍakaksha, beyond that is beyond the border.

"To the south is the town called Sarāvatī, and to the east of that the river called Sarāvatī. That is the boundary. Beyond that is beyond the boundary.

[1] Strong's edition (P.T.S.), p. 12.

[2] Sarvavatī, and Savāravatī, in other MSS.

"To the west are the brahmin villages Sthūṇa and Upasthūṇaka. That is the boundary. Beyond that is beyond the boundary.

"To the north is Mount Usīra. That is the boundary. Beyond that is beyond the boundary."

This is evidently an echo of the old Vinaya passage. But the writer cannot have had the Pali before him. For the east and south-east have been confused, the south point (as given in the Pali) is omitted, and both the names and the phraseology differ slightly throughout.

I will first add here what is known of the places mentioned in these passages, and then suggest the conclusions which, I venture to think, may fairly be drawn.

1. *Kajangala.* This town is not mentioned elsewhere in the Pali texts so far as edited. But a town Kajangalā, which, in spite of the difference of gender, may be the same, is mentioned several times. Two of these references are in our oldest documents (Majjhima, 3. 298, and Anguttara, 5. 54). Had we before us the commentaries on these two passages, and on the Vinaya passage, we could probably decide the point. But they are unfortunately still buried in MS. At Jātaka IV, 310, we are told that Kajangalā was, even in the Buddha's time, an ancient place, and that it was famous for its dabba-grass. And the Majjhima passage shows that it was the seat of the Pārāsāriya school of brahmins.[1] Now Yuan Chwang happens to mention twice, in his fifth and tenth chapters, a place whose name he transliterates with five Chinese syllables, the first two of which certainly represent *Kaja* and the last two *gala*. The intermediate syllable is doubtful, as the readings differ. Vivien de St. Martin (who, of course, knew nothing of the passages just quoted) restored the name as Kajangala, and he is probably right. Anyhow, Thomas Watters, the best authority we have on such a point, agrees with him. Yuan Chwang locates this place at about 400 li, that is, about 65–70 miles, east of Champā, whose capital is known to have been close

[1] On this interesting school see "Buddhist India," p. 144.

to where the modern Bhāgalpur now stands. This would fix that Kajangala at about 98° E. by 25° N.

Now it is true that only excavations on the spot, and the evidence of an inscription, can determine the exact locality, or settle the question of identity. But the probability is greatly in favour of this Kajangala, whose position in the seventh century A.D. is thus approximately fixed, being the same place as is mentioned in the far older document. For here the Divyāvadāna, belonging to a period between the two, comes to our assistance. It gives, as the extreme eastern point, a town called Puṇḍavardhana. Now a district with a name transliterated into Chinese as Pun-na-fa-tan-na (probably for Pali Puṇṇavaddhana or Sanskrit Puṇḍravardhana) was the very next point, in Yuan Chwang's itinerary, beyond Kajangala, and to the east of it. And it will be recollected that in the old Vinaya passage it was not Kajangala itself, but the district or town to the east of it, which was given as the extreme easterly point of the Middle Country. The three texts, therefore, by these quite undesigned coincidences, confirm one another. And we are justified in accepting, as a working hypothesis, that the places mentioned are real places, and that we cannot be far wrong as to the locality in which they should be placed.

2. Mahāsālā, stated, in the Vinaya passage, to be beyond Kajangala to the east, has not been found mentioned elsewhere, so far as I know, in either Pali or Sanskrit texts, that is, in any geographical sense. In the sense of millionaire it is frequent. To discuss whether there be any connection between the two meanings would take us too far from our present point. There is a Chinese name used in Yuan Chwang which has been restored to Mahāsāla. But it cannot be the place referred to in the Vinaya passage; for though no two interpreters of Yuan Chwang agree as to what he meant its position to be, they all agree that it is not in the position required by the Vinaya text. It should be noticed that the Jātaka text, with a change of gender, reads Mahāsālo, and that the Mahā-bodhi-vaṃsa omits the name altogether.

3. The river Salalavatī, at the south-east corner, is also not mentioned in other texts. But it is evidently the same as is given as Sarāvatī, with other various readings, in the Divyāvadāna as the most southerly point. The most southerly point in the older passage is, on the other hand, a town called Setakaṇṇika, on which also there is nothing else to say.

4. The most westerly point is given in the Vinaya as a brahmin village named Thūna. We learn from the story in the Udāna (7. 9) that there was a brahmin village of that name in the country of the Mallas. And from the Mahā Janaka Jātaka (vi, 62, 65), that there was also a town, not a village and not inhabited by brahmins, called Thūṇa (with *ṇ*, not *n*). This was close to the Himālayas. From the context it would seem to follow that it was close to the Himālayas at a point 60 yojanas north of Mithilā (see pp. 55, 56). It is very certain, therefore, that this cannot be the place meant in the Vinaya, which was in the west of India. But the accounts of Alexander's invasion of India mention a tribe of Mallas (Malloi) in the Panjab. They were settled at that time (326 B.C.) on the banks of the Rāvī (say about 73° E. by 31° N.).[1] It is in this direction that the Thūna of the Vinaya must be sought for. It is not at all surprising that there should have been two different towns of the same name in different and distant settlements of the same tribe. The younger town is simply named after the older one. Other instances of the same kind, in the East, are Champa, Kamboja, Patiṭṭhāna, and Madhura or Mathura. And in the colonies of European nations similar instances are well known. The Divyāvadāna gives two villages, Sthūṇa and Upasthūṇaka, both brahmin villages, as the western point.

5. The most northerly point is, in the Vinaya, the mount Usīraddhaja, called in the Divyāvadāna Usīragiri. One of the peaks in the lower range of the Himālaya is here probably intended.

It would be in accordance with these details if the boundary

[1] See Mr. Vincent Smith, J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 691.

of the Middle Country, starting from the extreme east in long. 73° E., sloping north-east to the lower Himālayas, and following them to a point, not yet determined, in the extreme north, should then have still followed them till it sloped south-east to the extreme easterly point in long. 98° E. by lat. 25° N.

Turning back, the boundary must have left Orissa to the south. For we were told in the passage already quoted (above, p. 86) of a merchant travelling from Ukkala to the Middle Country. And Ukkala is Orissa. So Orissa, and *a fortiori* Kalinga, must have been outside.

Thence towards Avanti the route followed cannot be determined till we can locate Setakaṇṇika, or the Salalavatī river. Roughly speaking, it must have followed the course of the Vindhya range. One reason why we know little or nothing of the points on the way, is because it was then jungle, very sparsely populated.

In Avanti we have again a fixed point. For the original passage in the Vinaya establishes only *for the southern part* of Avanti the exception laid down to the rule. That implies that the northern part was considered to be in the Middle Country. As Aryan settlements extended as far south as Patiṭṭhāna (73° 2′ E. by 21° 42′ N.), the boundary may have run somewhere near there. But it is not probable that it ran exactly through that place, or the place would have been mentioned in our Vinaya text. It is already mentioned in older books.[1]

Round the south-west corner also the boundary cannot as yet be traced. We can conjecture that it went from Avanti to the coast, either at Bharukaccha or Sovīra, and probably followed the line of the Indus back to its original starting-point at the brahmin village of Thūna. But for exact details we must await the publications of other texts still buried in manuscript.

If we have at all succeeded in discovering the real meaning of the term Middle Country as used in the old Vinaya text,

[1] "Buddhist India," pp. 30, 103, 111.

then the measures of extent and circumference as handed down in the traditions of the Buddhist schools ought roughly to agree with our conclusions. The actual length of the route we have followed will be, measured in straight lines along the boundary, about 3,500 miles. As the boundary, both on the north and the south, follows the very irregular contour of the mountains, a traveller along the route would probably have to go twice that distance. The extreme points in the east in long. 98°, and in the west in long. 73°, are 25 degrees apart; say about 1,750 miles in a straight line. This is exactly the breadth of the Middle Country as given in the commentaries in the expression 250 yojanas = 1,750 miles.

From south of Patiṭṭhāna to the most northerly point our route would reach (somewhere near the Swat Valley), would be somewhat over 1,000 miles. As we do not know from which points the cross measurement given in the commentaries are supposed to be taken, we cannot here compare the results.

The circumference is given at 900 yojanas; that is, leagues or stages. Taking the yojana, according to my calculations, published in 1876, at about 7 to $7\frac{1}{4}$ miles,[1] this would give 6300–6500 miles, which is in practical accord with the route just suggested as having been meant in the Vinaya passage.

By the Middle Country the Buddhists therefore meant the whole of Aryan North India. Of Aryan settlements in India the only ones they do not include are those on the coast of Orissa, and those on the coast of Kalinga, at Dantapura. These were both older than the date of the Vinaya passage, but were separated from the Aryans in North India by dense forests. It is also probable, but not certain, that the first Aryan colony had then been settled in Ceylon.[2] If so, that was, of course, also considered to lie outside the Middle Country.

[1] "Ancient Coins and Measures of Ceylon," pp. 27–29.

[2] See "Buddhist India," pp. 33, 104.

The oldest use of the phrase in the brahmin books is in Manu (2. 21), which says:—

"That (country) which (lies) between the Himālaya and Vindhya mountains, to the east of the Destruction and to the west of Prāyāga, is called the Middle Country (Madhyadeśa)."

The Destruction (Vināśana in Jolly's edition) is an ambiguous term. It is really derived from a blunder in the older texts descriptive of another idea, that of the Āryāvārta. As Bühler already suggested,[1] the reading of the oldest brahmin law manual, that of Vaśiṣta, presupposes a reading *ādārśa*, which was corrupted into *adarśana*, 'the disappearance,' and that into *vinaśana* or *vināśana*, 'the destruction,' an expression explained by the mediæval commentators to mean the place where the river Sarasvatī disappeared, or was destroyed, in the sands. But the original reading meant simply the Ādarśa Mountains.

However this may be, what we find is that when the laws of Manu were put into their present form—that is, under the Guptas, when the brahmins were attaining the supremacy they have ever since retained—the idea of the Middle Country was restricted to that portion of the larger territory formerly included under the term in which the brahmins felt they had the greater influence.

It is interesting to notice the gradual growth of this new conception. The oldest form of the narrower view is preserved, in Bühler's opinion, in the Mahābhāshya on Pāṇini 2. 4. 10, where the Ādārśa mountains are given as the western limit. It is there given as the description, not of the Middle Country, but of the Āryāvārta, the district frequented by the Aryans, the Aryan Home. As such it could not be considered accurate except from the brahmin point of view. In the law-books, or manuals of custom, older than Manu, the description, still given as applicable to the Aryan Home, is by way of introduction to the proposition

[1] S.B.E., vol. xiv, p. 2.

that customs there prevalent must be acknowledged elsewhere as authoritative. It is in Manu that, for the first time, the mental attitude comes out in strong relief. The priestly authors of that famous manual have thrown off all disguise. They make a much smaller division to be the land of authority, the land namely between the two rivers Dṛṣadvatī and Sarasvatī. That, according to them, is the land created by the gods—as if other lands were not. There, and there only, are the customs declared to be good. Lower, ethically, than that is, secondly, the land of the Kurus, Matsyas, Pañcālas, and Śūrasenas. Men should learn their customs from a brahmin, not from a rajput or householder, born there. The Middle Country, reduced to less than half its original size, is put only in the third place.

This really means, of course, merely that the brahmins thought themselves, and very likely were, at that time, more powerful in the districts to which they attach so much importance. It does not follow that they had previously been so, though there is less prejudiced evidence to show that it was in those lands that the brahmin sacrifices and ritual had been more especially favoured. So far as the Aryan civilisation was concerned with other matters, political, social, and economic, it was probably at its best in those parts of North India that had been settled by the more adventurous clans. And the older, more generous, view of the Middle Country was, therefore, on the whole, more consonant, probably, with the actual historical facts.

It would be possible to follow the investigation further on in later authors. But the object of this note is only to suggest a probable interpretation of the oldest passages in which the expression occurs. When Professor Oldenberg and myself published, in 1882, a translation of the oldest passage[1] we were only able to refer to parallel passages, and could suggest no identification of any of the names. The meaning of the phrase Middle Country was therefore unknown to us then; and no one, so far as I know, has discussed it since.

[1] "Vinaya Texts," ii, 38.

VIII.

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE MISTAKES OF PHILOLOGERS, BY ALI IBN HAMZA AL-BASRI.

PART V: OBSERVATIONS ON THE MISTAKES IN THE BOOK CALLED IKHTIYAR FASIH AL-KALAM, COMPOSED BY ABU'L-'ABBAS AHMAD IBN YAHYA THA'LAB.

TRANSLATED FROM A MS. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM
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LAST year Professor Sachau, of Berlin, pointed out to me among the MSS. in the British Museum an important work of Arabic philology. The work bears the title "Critical Observations on the Mistakes of Philologers by Abu'l-Qāsim 'Ali ibn Ḥamza al-Baṣri" (cf. Rieu, Supplement to Catalogue of Arabic MSS., No. 841). The British Museum MS. is a modern copy of an ancient codex in the Khedivial Library in Cairo, and is on the whole legible and accurate, though at points it is not quite reliable. Another similar copy exists at Strassburg (cf. Nöldeke, Z.D.M.G., 1886), and the Library of Count Landberg contains a third. The work includes 'observations' on the following eight ancient philological works:—(1) The Nawādir of Abu Ziyād al-Kilābi al-'A'rābi; (2) the Nawādir of Abu 'Amr ash-Shaibāni; (3) the Kitāb an-Nabāt of Aḥmad ibn Da'ūd ad-Dīnawari; (4) the Kāmil of al-Mubarrad; (5) the Faṣīḥ of Tha'lab; (6) the Gharīb al-Muṣannaf of Abu Obaid Qāsim ibn Sallām; (7) the Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq of Ibn as-Sikkīt; (8) the Maksūr wa'l-Mamdūd of Ibn Wallād. The 'observations,' though sometimes pedantic, are usually valuable from a lexicographical point of view. Abu'l-Qāsim gives many corrections of the statements of the authors on

whose books he comments, and supports his contentions by quotations from the poets, which are in many instances not to be found in the lexicons or in similar works. Even hewre his statements are not to be preferred to those which he criticises, he at least records opinions of early enquirers which deserve notice. His works seem to have been used only to a very small extent by the compilers of the lexicons, and perhaps not directly. In one or two instances I have found his opinion quoted in the Lisān al-'Arab, but not systematically. For a fuller account of the work see "Actes du douzième Congrès Intern. des Orientalistes" (Rome, 1899), tome iii, pt. 2, pp. 5-32, where the work is discussed by Dr. P. Brönnle, who promises an edition of the text.

Of the author, Ali ibn Ḥamza, very little is known. He is mentioned by Ḥaji Khalfa as the author of 'refutations' of several works which are all included in this MS. (v. Ḥ. Kh., i, 328; iv, 333, 446; v, 155; vi, 588). There his *kunya* is given as Abu Nu'aim instead of Abu'l-Qāsim; as it is also in Suyūti's Bughyat al-Wu'āt (Brit. Mus. Or. 3,042, fol. 172*a*). He is described as one of the foremost philologists, and is said to have been a friend of Mutanabbi the poet, and to have received him in his house when he came to Baghdad (c. 350 A.H.). The list of his works given by Suyūti (l.c.) agrees with what is contained in this MS., except that the 'refutation' of Mubarrad's Kāmil (which is not mentioned by Ḥaji Khalfa) is omitted; and a refutation of the Book of Animals (كتاب الحيوان) of Jāhiz (cf. Ḥ. Kh., iii, p. 121) is added, of which I have found no mention elsewhere. The date of his death is given as 375 A.H.

The following article is a translation of the 'Observations' on Tha'lab's Faṣīḥ, which occupy ff. 70*b*-73*a* of the British Museum MS. I have not been able to consult any of the other copies of the work, but I hope that the one text has been sufficient to give me the correct sense of the Observations.

In translating the verses I have sometimes had difficulties, and in one or two cases have had to confess failure; perhaps because of an imperfect text, perhaps because of my own too slight acquaintance with poetical phraseology. The arrangement will, I hope, be intelligible. The author is named in the MS. almost always by his kunya, Abu'l-Qāsim, and refers to Tha'lab by his, Abu'l-'Abbās; and I have used these names in referring to them. Abu'l-Qāsim introduces the quotation from the Faṣīḥ which he takes exception to by the formula قال ابو العباسٌ فى باب كذا. This citation by chapters I have kept, but have also given references by page and line to Barth's edition of the Faṣīḥ (Leipzig, 1876). Tha'lab's statement to which exception is taken is enclosed in quotation marks. Ali ibn Ḥamza's criticism follows. Remarks, derived mostly from other lexicographical works, which I have thought it necessary or interesting to add, are enclosed in square brackets. The footnotes give textual notes and references to citations of the verses. The following contractions have been used:—Lane = Arabic-English Lexicon by E. W. Lane; L.A. = Lisān al-'Arab; T.A. = Tāj al-Arūs; Ṣ. = Ṣiḥāḥ of Jauhari.

Ali ibn Ḥamza's Preface.

Seeing that the Kitāb Ikhtiyār Faṣīḥ al-Kalām was of great service, and that, though it had only a small number of pages, it was more useful than books of similar compass, and that it had included among its words what many of the larger books had not included, I determined to give some attention to it, and make observations upon those words in regard to which Abu'l-'Abbās had erred, so that the book might be without flaw in its usefulness. Allah, in his providence, do I pray to aid me to attain accuracy, and to avoid what is corrupt. A good patron is he in whom I put my trust.

First chapter of the book. ذوى and نمى [p. 2, l. 9]. "One says نَمَى المال (*the cattle throve*), impf. يَنْمِى; also ذَوَى العود (*the branch withered*), impf. يَذْوِى."

Now when there are two forms of a word, it is incumbent upon him to mention both. In the case of ذوى there are two chaste forms; and what is more, the form he disregards is more chaste than the one he includes. According to Abu Zaid [al-Ansāri] the Qais say ذَأَى العود, impf. يَذْأَى, while the Tamīm say ذَوَى. Likewise another authority says that ذَأَى is proper to the upper part of Najd (علويه), while ذَوَى belongs to the Tamīm dialect. [Lane, from T.A., mentions this form ذَأَى as being used by the people of Beesha (بِيشَة; L.A. بُثَيْنَة. Both are given on the authority of al-Laith, and the latter is probably an error).] Ya'qūb [Ibn as-Sikkīt] says that ذَوَى, impf. يَذْوِى, inf. ذَوِيًا; or ذَأَى, impf. يَذْأَى, inf. ذَأْوًا, is used of a branch when it is withered, but some of the sap remains in it. Al-Asma'i disallows ذَوِىَ [the form which Tha'lab wishes to guard against], but Abu Obaida cites the authority of Yūnus for its being classical.

Abu'l-'Abbās [Tha'lab] is wrong, too, in stating that it is equivalent to جَفَّ,[1] because اَلذَّاوِى means what has been made to wither but has not yet become dried up (لَمَّا يَجِفَّ). In that condition it is called اَلذَّاوِى, or اَلْمُؤْذِنُ,[2] or الذَّوِى. The following verse of Dhu'r-Rumma makes the meaning clear:—

[1] The words أَىْ جَفَّ to which Abu'l-Qāsim here takes exception are not found in the text of the Faṣīḥ as edited by Barth.

[2] MS. المؤذى.

وَأَبْصَرْتُ أَنَّ ٱلنَّقْعَ[1] صَارَتْ نِطَافُهُ فَرَاشًا وَأَنَّ ٱلْبَقْلَ ذَاوٍ وَيَابِسُ

(Ṭawīl.) *And I beheld that the pools of the swamp had given place to mud, and that the vegetation was withered and dry.*

Now if ذَوَى had been equivalent to جَفَّ, Dhu'r-Rumma would not have said ذَاوٍ وَيَابِسُ. [L.A. gives the difference between يَبِسَ and جَفَّ thus: Of a thing in which the moisture is organic, when it has become dried up, you use يَبِسَ; of that in which the moisture is accidental you use جَفَّ.]

In illustration of مُؤْذِنٌ[2] in the sense of 'that of which the wells are drying up,' we have the verse of ar-Rā'i:—

وَحَارَبَتِ ٱلْهَيْفُ ٱلشَّمَالَ وَآذَنَتْ مَذَانِبُ مِنْهَا ٱللَّدْنُ وَٱلْمُتَصَوِّحُ[3]

(Ṭawīl.) *The hot south-west wind strove with the north wind, and the watercourses began to dry up, some of them being still moist, others parched.*

So also in the case of the first word, i.e. نمى, ينمى, there are two forms. Abu Yūsuf [Ibn as-Sikkīt], a few words from the beginning of his section on words of four letters pronounced with و or with ى [Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq, MS. Brit. Mus., fol. 31*a*, l. 7], cites نَمَا, impf. يَنْمِى or يَنْمُو. Abu'l-'Abbās, however, gives only[4] يَنْمِى, and says nothing regarding يَنْمُو, which is thereby [wrongly] deprived of its right to be regarded as

[1] L.A., arts. ذوى and قنع, reads ٱلْقِنْعَ; so also Ṣ., art. قنع.

[2] MS. مؤذى.

[3] Ṣ., L.A., T.A., s.v. صوح. L.A., T.A., also s.v. أذن.

[4] MS. يأتِ ابو العباس الا بينمى; but it is suggested on the margin that وَلَمْ should be inserted.

pure.[1] Abu Yūsuf [l.c., line 17] quotes from Abu Obaida—and someone else gives it on other authority—"نَمَا, impf. يَنْمِى or يَنْمُو; from which is the phrase نَمَوْتُ ٱلْحَدِيثَ إِلَيْهِ *I traced the story back to him*; in the impf. أَنَا أَنْمُوهُ or أَنْمِيهِ; likewise the phrase[2] يَنْمِى إِلَى ٱلْحَسَبِ or يَنْمُو, *it comes up to the required amount.*" So, too, says Abu Zaid. [This contention of Ali ibn Ḥamza's does not seem to be very strongly supported. Ibn as-Sikkīt, who is generally quoted as the authority for the purity of يَنْمُو, rests entirely on Abu Obaida. According to the lexicons, al-Kisā'i reports having heard the form only from some of the Bani Salīm; on making enquiries amongst that tribe afterwards he found that they did not know it.]

Chapter on verbs of the فَعِلَ form. نَهِكَ [p. 4, l. 12]. "One says قد نَهِكَهُ المرض, *the disease wore him out*; but أَنْهَكَهُ ٱلسُّلْطَانُ عُقُوبَةً, *the Sultan punished him severely.*"

But نَهِكَ is used in phrases such as the following:—نَهِكَهُ ٱلْمَرَضُ, *the disease wore him out*; نَهِكَهُ السلطان عُقُوبَةً, *the governor punished him severely (wore him out by punishment)*; نَهِكْتُ ٱلثَّوْبَ لُبْسًا, *I wore out the garment*; نَهِكْتُ ٱلْمَالَ إِنْفَاقًا, *I diminished the wealth by expenditure*; نَهِكْتُ ٱلدَّابَّةَ سَيْرًا, *I wore out the beast of burden by journeying.* In all equally Stem I is used. [S., L.A., etc., support the use of Stem I in such senses, but the usual

[1] MS. وينمى فى فصاحتها كسنا; read كَشْمَا?

[2] MS. الحسبه.

form of the verb is given as نَهَكَ.] E.g., 'Otba ibn Bujair al-Ḥārithi has the verse

إِلَى جِذْمِ[1] مَالٍ قَدْ نَهِكْنَا سَوَامَهُ وَأَعْرَاضُنَا فيه بَوَاقٍ صَحَائِحُ

(Ṭawīl.) *To a stock of camels whose value we have worn down, but in which our profits are lasting and sure.*

Another poet says: لَيْسَ بِمَنْهُوكٍ وَلَا بِمَارِضِ, (Rajaz) *he is neither exhausted nor sick.* مَارِضٌ is here used in the sense of مَرِيضٌ. Kuthaiyir, too, has the verse

نَهِكَ ٱلْهَوَاجِرُ وَٱلشَّرَا مَجَدَاتُهَا فَعُيُونُهَا كَمَدَافِعِ ٱلْأَوْسَالِ

(Kāmil.) *The noonday heats and pimply-rash wore out their vigour, and their eyes were like channels of trickling water.*

مَجَدَاتٌ is here equivalent to شِدَّاتٌ, *vigour.*

نَهِكَ with acc. means '*he wore out vigorously*' (أَشَدَّ ٱلنَّهْكَ وَٱلنُّهُوكَ [but I have not seen the infinitive form نهوك elsewhere]). From this the brave man is called نَهِيكٌ, because يَنْهَكُ عَرَقُهُ,[2] i.e. he is excessive in his fatigue (or perspiration). Ya'qūb [Ibn as-Sikkīt][3] places this word in the section on

[1] ?, MS. حدم. I have not found this verse elsewhere, and am doubtful both as to text and rendering.

[2] The copyist states on the margin that this is found in the original, but quotes from the Ṣiḥāḥ, where the derivation of the meaning is given as لِأَنَّهُ ينهك عَدُوَّهُ, because he vigorously overcomes his foe; so too in L.A., etc.

[3] Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq, fol. 45*b*, l. 21. The passage may here be quoted:—

باب ما جاء على فَعِلْتُ فكان هو الصحيح الذى لا تتكلم العرب بغيره . . . . وقد نَهِكْتُهُ عُقُوبَةً أَنْهَكُهُ نَهْكَةً وَنَهْكاً وقد نَهِكَهُ المرض يَنْهَكُهُ نَهْكاً وَنَهْكَةً ويقال ٱنْتَهَكَ من هاذا الطعام أى بالغ فى اكله ومنه قيل للشجاع نَهِيكٌ لانه يَنْهَكُ عَدُوَّهُ اى يبالغ فيه

words which have the فَعِلَ form (with kesra) only; and adds that one says إِنَّهَكَ مِنْ هَذَا ٱلطَّعَامِ, i.e., exert yourself in the eating of it (eat it greedily). But I think that in regard to this word Abu'l-'Abbās has made a mistake, and that one says نَهِكَهُ نَهْكَةٌ, *he wore it out to some extent*, just as one says جزعت منه جزعة, *I cut a part from it*. [? Does this imply that عقوبةً in the above-cited phrase is a kind of cognate accusative?] Al-'Ajjāj has the verse

لَحِقْنَ مِنْهُ نَهْكَةٌ وَأَضَمَّا [1]

(Rajaz.) *They met with strenuousness and rage from him.*

Chapter on verbs of the أَفْعَلَ (fourth) form. حَاكَ [p. 15, l. 2]. "He struck him, but the sword *made* no *impression* on him (أَحَاكَ, Stem IV, or حَاكَ,[2] Stem I, being used)."

But حَاكَ (I) is used only of walking and weaving. In illustration of this sense we have the following Rajaz verses:—

حَيَّاكَةٌ وَسْطَ ٱلْقَطِيعِ ٱلْأَعْرَمِ [3]

(*A woman*) *swaying in her gait amidst the mingled herd* (i.e. a herd composed of sheep and goats).

حَيَّاكَةٌ تَمْشِي بِعُلْطَتَيْنِ [4]

(*A maiden*) *swaying as she walks* (*decked*) *with a couple of necklaces.*

[1] MS. اصما.

[2] وحاك, which Abu'l-Qāsim here quotes as from Tha'lab, and which is the object of his criticism, does not occur in the text of the Faṣīḥ as edited by Barth.

[3] Ṣ., L.A., s.v. عرم.

[4] Ṣ., L.A., s.v. علط. L.A. names Ḥubainat ibn Ṭarīf as the author.

إِذَا تَمْشِي تَحِيكُ

(Hazaj?) *When she walks, she sways in her gait.*

[There are two verbs, يَحُوكُ حَاكَ, meaning 'to weave,' and يَحِيكُ حَاكَ, meaning 'to walk with a certain straddling, rocking gait' (cf. Ibn as-Sikkīt Tahdhīb al-Alfāẓ, p. 280). The sense of weaving attached to the latter on the authority of al-Laith, is declared by al-Azhari to be a mistake. The sense of 'to make an impression on' is attached to Stem I by Jauhari and usually in the lexicons.]

يدى [p. 15, l. 3]. "أَيْدَيْتُ عِنْدَ ٱلرَّجُلِ يَدًا, *I did the man a service* (Stem IV used)."

But يَدَيْتُ (Stem I) is used also.[1] In regard to this many have been in error before Abu'l-'Abbās. We have pointed this out in dealing with the Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq, and have cited the verse

يَدَيْتُ عَلَى ٱبْنِ حساس[2] بْنِ وَهْبٍ بِأَسْفَلِ ذِى ٱلْجِدَاةِ يَدَ ٱلْكَرِيمِ

(Wāfir.) *In the lower part of Dhu'l-Jidāt I reached to Ibn Ḥasḥās ibn Wahb a generous hand.*

[This verse occurs in Ḥamāsa, ed. Freytag, p. 90. Tibrīzi, in his commentary, says that both Stem I and Stem IV are used in this sense, but that IV is the more common. Ṣ., L.A., etc., support the use of Stem I in this sense.]

[1] انما يُقَالُ يديت بغير الف. To translate انما by 'only' would be too strong.

[2] So in MS., with note on the margin that it stands so in the original, but in Ṣ. stands حسحاس (art. يدى). So also in Ḥamāsa, p. 90.

Chapter on Infinitives. حَرَّ [p. 20, l. 3]. "Abu'l-'Abbās gives the verb in the sense of 'to be hot,' used of the day, etc., as حَرَّ, impf. يَحِرُّ, inf. حَرًّا[1]; whereas used of slaves in the sense of 'to become free,' it is حَرَّ, impf. يَحَرُّ, inf. . . . and حرية."[2]

But the usage is حَرَّ المملوك, *the slave became free*, impf. يَحِرُّ, with kesra. [This is not corroborated by any of the authorities cited by Lane, nor have I been able to find it elsewhere.]

طويل [p. 23, l. 2]. "Abu'l-'Abbās gives the sing. as طَوِيل or طُوَال, the plur. as طِوَال, no other form being permissible."

But this assertion that no other form besides طِوَالٌ is permissible is a mistake, because طِوَالٌ and طِيَالٌ are both used with the same meaning.

[So in Ṣiḥāḥ; but the form طِيَال is generally not approved of. According to Ibn Jinnī (v. Lane, L.A., etc.) it occurs as an alternative in one verse only, viz.:

تَبَيَّنَ لِي أَنَّ ٱلْقَمَاءَةَ ذِلَّةٌ وَأَنَّ أَعِزَّاءَ ٱلرِّجَالِ طِيَالُهَا

It became clear to me that stoutness was a defect, and that the strongest men were those who were tall.

Cf. Kāmil, ed. Wright, p. 54, where this verse occurs. The form طِيَال is there given as an alternative to طِوَال, but though permissible is not approved of.]

عِرْقُ ٱلسَّسَا [p. 24, l. 9].

[1] Faṣīḥ, ed. Barth, adds a second infinitive, حَرَارَةٌ, which is here omitted.

[2] Space left in MS. as if another form of the infinitive were to be supplied before حرية. Faṣīḥ ed. Barth gives simply حَرَارًا.

This phrase is wrong, because نَسَا is a [particular] vein [viz. the saphenous vein in the thigh], and therefore the genitive relation with عِرْقُ is not admissible (ولا يقال عِرْقُ ٱلعِرق). [A criticism which is also made by az-Zajjāj (v. Barth's note), but rather pedantic, especially as Tha'lab is simply pointing out the proper vocalisation of نَسَا, with fatḥa, not with kesra.] Illustrating the meaning of نَسَا, we have the verse of Imru'ul-Qais—

فَأَنْشَبَ أَظْفَارَهُ فِى ٱلنَّسَا فَقُلْتُ هُبِلْتَ أَلَا تَنْتَصِرْ[1]

(Mutaqārib.) (*The dog*) *fixed his claws in the thigh-vein* (*of the quarry*), *and I said* (*to my horse*), "*Bereavement take thee! wilt thou not surpass* (*him*)?"

Another poet says:

وَلِلْكَبِيرِ رِبِيَاب[2] أَرْبَعُ الرُّكْبَتَانِ وَٱلنَّسَا وَٱلْأَخْدَعُ (Rajaz.)

Aghlab has the verse

مِنَ ٱللُّجَيْمِيِّينَ[3] أَرْبَابِ ٱلْعَرَى لَيْسَتْ بِهِ وَاهِبَةٌ وَلَا نَسَا[4]

(Rajaz.) (*He had come*) *from the Lujaimites* (?), *lords of the bare land where there is neither rib nor thigh* (place of the نسا).

Chapter on words whose first vowel is kesra. إِنفحة [p. 27, l. 13].

[1] Imru'ul-Qais, 19, v. 22; Arnold, "Diwans of Six Ancient Arabic Poets," p. 127; Diwan ed. De Slane, p. 43, l. 15.

[2] I have not been able to find an appropriate rendering for this form. Is the text correct?

[3] MS. الحيميين.

[4] Cf. Agh. xviii, p. 165:

مِن اللجيميين أصحاب القرى ليس بدى واهنة ولا نسا

Abu'l-'Abbās gives the forms إِنْفَحَّةٌ with the ح doubled, إِنْفَحَةٌ without the doubling, and مِنْفَحَةٌ.[1] But مِنْفَحَةٌ is not used. [In Ṣiḥāḥ إِنْفَحَةٌ is given as the proper form; but both إِنْفَحَّةٌ and مِنْفَحَةٌ are cited as permissible, and in all the lexicons the latter is given as a form.]

خِلْبٌ [p. 29, l. 1]. "After quoting the verse

يَا بِكْرَ بِكْرَيْنِ وَيَا خِلْبَ ٱلْكَبِدْ ۞ أَصْبَحْتَ مِنِّي كَذِرَاعٍ مِنْ عَضُدْ[2]

Abu'l-'Abbās says that the خِلْب is what is between the زِيَادَة and the liver."

But the خِلْب is to the liver what the شَغَاف (*pericardium*) is to the heart; that is to say, it is the caul or covering membrane. Some say that the خِلْب is the same as the زيادة. In illustration we have the verse of Zubarqān ibn Badr—

وَأَجْعَلُ كُلَّ مُضْطَهَرٍ أَتَانِي يُرِيدُ ٱلنَّصْرَ بَيْنَ حَشًى وَخِلْبِ

(Wāfir.) *And I placed every wronged one who came to me desiring help between the viscera and the* خِلْب (i.e., as we would say, 'took him to my heart').

Now consider carefully this saying of Zubarqān's, and the error of Abu'l-'Abbās will appear. For if the خلب were what is between the زيادة and the liver it could not stand beside حشى. I should prefer to make the خِلْب equivalent

[1] The quotation from Tha'lab differs somewhat from Barth's text, and runs thus:—

وَهِيَ إِنفحّةُ ٱلْجَدْى مشددة الحاء وإنفحة بالتخفيف ومنفحة أيضا

Notice that this last form منفحة, which is the object of the criticism, is not found in Barth's text.

[2] Translation of the verse in Barth.

to the زِيَادَة. The first opinion, however [viz., that it is the membrane which covers the liver], was that of Abu Mālik al-'A'rābi, who is reliable, learned, and accurate.

[With the above verse of Zubarqān cf. the verse

يَاهِنْدُ هِنْدَ بَيْنَ خِلْبٍ وَكَبِدِ

cited in L.A., quoting from Ibn al-'A'rābi, who gives the meaning of خلب as 'the membrane which separates the heart from the liver.' From the different explanations given of the word in the lexicons (cf. Lane, s.v.) it seems to me that what is referred to is the upper part of the peritoneum which invests the visceral organs, more especially that part of it which invests the liver. The peritoneum, after leaving the front wall of the abdomen, passes backward along the under side of the diaphragm, and is then folded back along the upper side of the liver. It forms the covering of the liver on its upper, forward and under side, from which latter it is reflected as a layer of the lesser omentum to the stomach, and to other organs. This covering of the liver seems to be specially the part referred to. Fat is deposited on this membrane, especially between the liver and the stomach, and this fat would also be included in the خلب (cf. Heb. חֵלֶב). Possibly the word may be extended to the covering of the other visceral organs and to the omentum (v. Robertson Smith, "Religion of the Semites," p. 379, note).

According to Lane, the زِيَادَة is the falciform ligament. If this be so, Tha'lab's description of the خلب might also refer (rather vaguely, it is true) to the membrane covering the liver. But the meaning of زِيَادَة is doubtful. It is

probably synonymous with the Heb. יֹתֶרֶת הַכָּבֵד (Ex. xxix, 22; cf. Lev. iii, 4; ix, 10), which is usually taken to mean some fatty portion near the liver (v. Dillmann on Lev. iii, 4), but this is questioned by Moore (art. "Sacrifice" in Encyc. Bib., col. 4206).]

ثِفَالٌ [p. 30, l. 8].[1] "ثِفَالٌ is the skin or cloth placed under the (hand) mill upon which the meal falls."

Properly 'upon which the grain falls.' Were it the meal which fell upon it, Zuhair would not have said

فَتَعْرُكُكُمْ عَرْكَ ٱلرَّحَى بِثِفَالِهَا[2].

(Ṭawīl.) *And it (war) frets you as frets the mill with its sheet* or *skin* [i.e. when it is grinding; for the thifāl was placed under the mill only when in operation (v. Lane s.v., where the verse is quoted). Abu'l-Qāsim would seem to be here under a misapprehension. In the verse of Zuhair the people are no doubt compared to the *grain* which is to be ground, but that does not support his contention that the ثفال catches the grain as it falls; cf. 'Amr, Mu'allaqa, v. 31, and Nöldeke's note thereon, "Fünf Mu'allaqât übersetzt und erklärt"].

Chapter on words with ḍamma as first vowel. جبن [p. 32, l. 6]. "The thing that is eaten [i.e. cheese] is called جُبُنٌّ."

The more correct form for that which is eaten is جُبُنٌّ

[1] This is put down as being in the same chapter, but in Barth's edition it is in a new chapter, that on the forms فَعَال and فِعال, with a difference of meaning. ثَفال = a slow camel.

[2] Zuhair's Mu'allaqa, v. 31.

with the *n* doubled. The form without the doubling occurs, however, in poetry, as in the Rajaz verse

كَأَنَّهُ قَعْبٌ نُضَارٍ مَكِّي أَوْ جُبْنَةٌ مِنْ جُبْنِ بَعْلَبَكِّ[1]

Like a golden vessel of Mecca; or a lump of Baalbec cheese.

[This differs from the consensus of authorities in Lane, according to which the form without the doubling is the most approved, while the other is rare, and is said by some to be used only in case of necessity in poetry.]

Chapter on words which vary in meaning according as they have kesra or ḍamma as first vowel. حبوة [p. 34, l. 4]. "حُبْوَةٌ[2] has the sense of 'gift,' while حِبْوَةٌ[2] is the noun from the verb اِحْتَبَا (*to rest oneself by clasping the arms round the knees while sitting on the ground*)."

In the sense of resting حُبْوَةٌ is also used.

[This is supported by Lane and the lexica ultimately on the authority of Ibn as-Sikkīt. Mubarrad, in the Kāmil, says that the noun is pronounced either with kesra or ḍamma, while pronounced with fatḥa the word is the infinitive of the verb.]

Chapter on common figures of speech. راب [p. 41, l. 7]. "أَرَابَ[3] is used of a man when he gives cause for annoyance."

[1] Cf. Yāqūt, i, p. 674, where نظار is read instead of نُضَار.

[2] MS. gives حَبْوَةٌ in the first place and حُبْوَةٌ in the second; but this is evidently a slip.

[3] MS. inserts غير مهموز, which is not in Barth's text of Fasīḥ, and contradicts the form أَرَاب which is given. Probably Abu'l-Qāsim read Stem I instead of IV.

Rather, one says رابنى فلان (I), *a person annoyed me*, when there is a definitely known ground of annoyance; whereas أرابنى (IV) is used when one only surmises it. Cf. the verse

أَخُوكَ ٱلَّذِى إِنْ رِبْتَهُ قَالَ إِنَّمَا أَرَبْتَ[1] وَإِنْ لَاَيَنْتَهُ لَانَ جَانِبُهْ

(Ṭawīl.) *Thy brother is he who, if thou annoy him, says, "Thou hast only made me suspect trouble from thee"* (i.e., thou hast not given me any real cause for annoyance; I only thought so), *and if thou treat him gently, becomes gentle.* [Or, if we read أَرَبْتُ: *Thy brother is he who, if thou annoy him, says, "It is I in whom is the cause of annoyance,"* etc.

Cf. Lane, art. ريب, where the verse is quoted and the two explanations given. The better reading seems to be أَرَبْتُ, and the verse supports Tha'lab's statement rather than Abu'l-Qāsim's. This intransitive sense of Stem IV (= to be ذو الريبة, the person in whom is the cause of annoyance) seems to be the most in favour. Ṣiḥāḥ says that the Hudhail use it transitively, equivalent to Stem I.]

Chapter on words with two forms: بغداد [p. 41, l. 14].

"The forms بغداد and بغدان are used [as the name of the city Baghdad], and it may be masculine or feminine."

The form بغداذ also occurs in poetry that is genuine, as e.g. in the verses

[1] MS. أَرَبْتُ. But if this be read the verse would support Tha'lab's statement rather than Abu'l-Qāsim's. L.A., s.v. ريب, reads أَرَبْتَ (quoting from Ibn Barrī?), but remarks that the proper reading is أَرَبْتُ. Cf. also T.A., s.v., and Ḥamāsa, p. 363.

لَا سَقَى ٱللّٰهُ إِنْ سَقَى بَلَدًا صَوْبُ غَمَامٍ وَلَا سَقَى بَغْدَاذَا
بَلْدَةٌ تَمْطُرُ ٱلْغُبَارَ عَلَى ٱلنَّاسِ كَمَا تَمْطُرُ ٱلسَّمَاءُ رَذَاذَا

(Kafīf.) *Allah does not water—if rain from the clouds water a country, it waters not Baghdad;*
A land which rains dust upon the people as the heavens rain drizzle.

The root of the word is foreign [i.e. Persian, according to Yāqūt, from بغ, the name of a god, and داد = to give; or from باغ = a garden, and داد, a man's name (?)].

رُقَاق, رَقِيق [p. 42, l. 13].

"You say 'I have a slave who bakes coarse bread (غَلِيظٌ) or fine (رَقِيقٌ)'; but if you use a noun like جَرْدَقٌ *cake*, then corresponding to it you use رُقَاقٌ, that being likewise a noun."

This is not correct, for فُعَال is an[1] adjectival form as well as فَعِيل. One uses طَوِيل or طُوَال, *long*; خَفِيف or خُفَاف, *sprightly*; سَرِيع or سُرَاع, *swift*; cf. the verse

تَخْدِى بِهِ سَلْهَبَةٌ[2] سُرَاعَةٌ.

(Rajaz.) *A swift lithe (camel) hurried along with him.*

So also one uses رَقِيق or رُقَاق. [This is made good against the distinction implied in Tha'lab's statement that رُقَاق is a noun, while رَقِيق is an adjective.]

[1] MS. inserts لا, which disturbs the argument. It is probably a repetition of the two last letters of فعالا.

[2] MS. سلحبة. L.A., art. سرع; reads تَغْدُو for تَخْدِى, and attributes the verse to Amr ibn Ma'dīkārib.

Moreover, the Arabs apply to bread the form مُرَقَّقٌ also; Abu Kabla (?) has the verse

بَرِّيَّةٌ لَمْ تَأْكُلِ ٱلْمُرَقَّقَا وَلَمْ تَذُقْ مِنَ ٱلْبُقُولِ ٱلْفُسْتُقَا

(Rajaz.) *A waste in which you get no thin cakes to eat, and of vegetables do not even taste the pistachio-nut.*

Jarīr said:

تُكَلِّفُنِي مَعِيشَةَ آلِ زَيْدٍ وَمَنْ لِي بِٱلْمُرَقَّقِ[1] وَٱلصِّنَابِ

(Wāfir.) *Thou dost impose upon me (to maintain thee in) the style of living of the people of Zaid; but who will supply me with cake and sauce?*

To which Farazdaq replied:

فَإِنْ تَعْرُكْكَ[2] عِلْجَةُ آلِ زَيْدٍ وَيُعْوِزْكَ[3] ٱلْمُرَقَّقُ[1] وَٱلصِّنَابُ
فَقِدْمًا كَانَ عَيْشُ أَبِيكَ مُرًّا يَعِيشُ بِمَا تَعِيشُ بِهِ ٱلْكِلَابُ[4]

(Wāfir.) *If (to furnish) the bannocks of the people of Zaid grind thee, and cake and sauce be beyond thy reach,*
Formerly must thy father's life have been bitter living on the fare of dogs.

عدوّ [p. 43, l. 13]. "You say القوم أَعْدَاءٌ وعِدًى[5], *the people is hostile*, but if you add the feminine termination you say عُدَاةٌ."

[1] Margin quotes reading of Ṣiḥāh, بِٱلصَّلَائِقِ, here and also in the verse of Farazdaq which follows. So also L.A., art. صنب. These verses are quoted and explained by an anecdote in Agh. vii, p. 60, and in Kāmil, p. 89.

[2] Agh. تفقرك; Kāmil, تَفْرَكَكَّ, variant فَرِكَتْكَ.

[3] Agh. يعجزك.

[4] Agh. last half-verse thus: كريها لا يعيش به الكلاب.

[5] MS. عداء.

Abu'l-'Abbās is not accurate in this passage. In the sense of hostile you use as plural of the adjective the forms عُدًى, عِدًى,[1] عُدَاةٌ, and أَعْدَاءٌ synonymously, but the form عِدًى,[2] with kesra only, when they are foreigners. The poet says :

إِذَا كُنْتَ فِي قَوْمٍ عِدًى لَسْتَ مِنْهُمُ
فَكُلْ مَا عُلِفْتَ مِنْ خَبِيثٍ وَطَيِّبِ[3]

(Ṭawīl.) *When thou art amongst a foreign people, to whom thou art not related, eat what is set before thee, foul or good.*"

[The special meaning of عِدًى (stranger) is supported by al-Mubarrad, Kāmil, p. 178; Ḥamāsa, p. 377; Ṣiḥāḥ and lexica generally. According to Ibn as-Sikkīt (Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq, fol. 23), it is the only example of the form فِعَل in adjectives. So says also Sibawaih, § 511 (v. Jahn's translation and note), who, however, says that it is not really a plural, but a collective (but cf. Lane). Kāmil (l.c.) does not support the form عُدًى in the sense of hostile; and it is disallowed by al-Asma'i (quoted L.A. xix, p. 262, middle). But it is given by Ṣiḥāḥ, etc., probably originally on the authority of Ibn al-'A'rābi, with citation of the verse of Akhtal—

[1] MS. distinctly points عَدًى, but I have not been able to find this form elsewhere, and L.A. gives the gist of this remark thus: وقال علي بن حمزة قومٌ عِدًى أَيْ غُرَبَاءُ بالكسرة لا غيرُ فاما فى الأَعداء فيقال عِدًى وعُدًى وَعُدَاةٌ .

[2] MS. عداء.

[3] Cf. Ṣiḥāḥ, L.A., s.v. عدا. Kāmil, p. 178, l. 3. Ibn as-Sikkīt, Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq, fol. 23, l. 9.

أَلَا يَا آسْلَمِي يَا هِنْدُ هِنْدَ بَنِي بَدْرٍ وَإِنْ كَانَ حَيَّانَا عِدًى آخِرَ ٱلدَّهْرِ

in which عدى may be pronounced either with kesra or ḍamma.]

حلك الغراب or حنك الغراب [p. 44, l. 2]. "The phrase is هُوَ أَشَدُّ سَوَادًا مِنْ حَلَكِ ٱلْغُرَابِ,[1] *It is more intense in its dark hue than the blackness of the raven,* or حَنَكِ ٱلْغُرَابِ, though the form with lām is the more common."

The latter is to be rejected; Abu Ḥātim, Ibn Duraid, and others did not recognise it. The proper expression is حَلَكُ ٱلْغُرَابِ. The opinion of those who say that حَنَكُ ٱلْغُرَابِ is the raven's beak [مِنْقَارُ; so Ibn as-Sikkīt; Tahdhīb al-Alfāẓ, p. 234; Ibn al-Anbāri, Aḍḍād, p. 104; and lexica generally] is to be rejected and not recognised. [Cf. Barth's note and Lane s.v., where the contradictory testimony is given.]

Chapter on single words: منتن [p. 44, l. 11].

In saying (merely) "اَلشَّيْءُ مُنْتِنٌ, *the thing is stinking,*" he has of necessity made a slip, for the Arabs use both مُنْتِنٌ and مِنْتِنٌ. Sibawaih says the pronunciation مِنْتِنٌ is due to the influence of the kesra[2] . . . . Abu Ḥanīfa gives the phrase رِيحٌ مُنْتِنَةٌ or مِنْتِنَةٌ, *an unpleasant smell,* and adds that "the kesra with the mīm is accidental, the ground form being

[1] Freytag: Arab. Prov., iii, p. 249.

[2] MS. قال سيبويه انما قالوا مِنْتن اتباعا للكسرة كما قالوا انا احرك واسُوك. The latter part I have not been able to decipher satisfactorily, nor have I found the reference in Sibawaih. It evidently refers to the fact that in the imperfect of verbs in kesra the preformative letter is often pronounced with kesra also. Cf. Wright, i, 60.

with ḍamma. The people of the Ḥijāz pronounce it مُنْذُنٌ; but the Tamīm say مِنْذِنٌ, assimilating the first vowel to the kesra."

درع [p. 45, l. 1]. "دِرْعٌ in the sense of coat of mail (دِرْعُ ٱلْحَدِيدِ) is feminine."

But دِرْعٌ in this sense is not inherently feminine, for it is sometimes made masculine, as in the verse of Ru'ba, مُقَلَّصًا بِٱلدِّرْعِ ذِى ٱلتَّغَضُّنِ, (Rajaz) *girt with the coat of mail folded (to the body)*.

تُوت or توث [p. 45, l. 11]. "The word is تُوتٌ with tā."

But Abu Ḥanīfa [ad-Dīnawari] said, "the word is توث[1] with thā." Some of the Arabs say توت, but it is not heard in poetry except with thā; and that is also rare, because it is scarcely used among the Arabs except when the mulberry (فِرْصَاد) is mentioned. The following lines are, however, attributed to an Arab:—[2]

لَرَوْضَةٌ مِنْ رِيَاضِ ٱلْحَزْنِ أَوْ طَرَفٌ ... مِنَ ٱلْعَرِيَّةِ[3] حَزْنٌ[4] غَيْرُ مَحْرُوثِ

أَحْلَى وَأَشْهَى لِعَيْنِى إِنْ مَرَرْتُ بِهِ ... مِنْ كَرْخِ بَغْدَادَ ذِى ٱلرُّمَّانِ وَٱلتُّوثِ

(Basīṭ). *A green spot midst the rugged ground, or a tract of the waste, rugged and untilled, is sweeter and more desirable to my eye, if I pass by it, than the Karkh of Baghdad with its pomegranates and mulberries.*

[1] MS. ثوث.

[2] L.A., s.v. توت, gives the author's name as محبوب بن ابى ٱلْعَشَنَّط ٱلنَّهْشَلِىّ.

[3] L.A. ٱلْقُرَيَّةِ.

[4] L.A. جَزْنٌ.

One authority says that the people of Baṣra call the tree الفرصاد, *the mulberry-tree*, while its fruit they call التُّوث with thā. It is related of al-Asma'i that he said توث in Persian, but توت in Arabic. The first opinion, however [that of Abu Ḥanīfa], is the correct one.

[The consensus of authority would appear to be against this and in favour of توت as the proper form: cf. Ṣiḥāḥ; L.A.; T.A., s.v.; Harīri, Durrat al-Ghawwās, ed. Thorbecke, p. 66.]

حائر [p. 47, l. 1]. "That which the generality call اَلْحَيْرُ is properly اَلْحَائِرُ, and the plural of it is حِيرَانٌ or حُورَانٌ."

The word is الحَائِرُ, as he says, but it has no plural, because it is the name of a place, the burial-place of al-Ḥusain, the son of Ali[1] (the favour of Allah be upon them both).[2] حِيرَانٌ is the plural of حَائِرٌ, which signifies a pool in which the water swirls (تُحَيِّرُ) and goes to and fro. حِيرَانٌ and حُورَان are plurals of حُوَارٌ, *a camel-foal*. Cf. the verse of Jarīr:

بَلِّغْ رَسَائِلَ مِنَّا[3] خَفَّ مُحْمِلُهَا على قَلَائِصَ لَا يَحْمِلْنَ حِيرَانَا

(Basīṭ.) *Deliver messages from us, of which the bearers shall hasten along on ostrich-like camels, which bear not foals.*

Chapter on Distinctions (between synonyms); the last word, by which he closes the book.

[1] This passage is quoted by Yāqūt, Geog. Dict., ii, p. 189.

[2] From a passage in the author's criticisms on the Iṣlāḥ al-Manṭiq it appears that he was a Shi'ite.

[3] Yāqūt, l.c., عَنَّا.

سُخْدَة [p. 50, l. 4]. "For that (the excrement) of animals that have hoofs one uses the word سُخْدَة."[1]

Abu'l-'Abbās is in error in this statement which he makes concerning سُخْد, for سُخْد means the yellow-coloured fluid which accompanies the foal when it is delivered. The Arabs say that it is the urine of the foal in its mother's womb. Some of them call it رَهَل. This which we have set down is the opinion of Ibn Duraid in the Jamhara, and is the correct one. Abu Bekr [Ibn Duraid] adds, "It is said of one أَصْبَحَ مُسَخَّدًا," i.e. he appeared sallow in the morning. From Khārija ibn Zaid ibn Thābit is reported the statement that "no night-time in the life of Zaid was like the night of the 17th of the month of Ramaḍān, and he used to say 'It was a night on the morning of which Allah abased Polytheism, and it appeared with سُخْد upon its face'" (i.e. appeared sallow and sickly).

Abu Obaid al-Qāsim ibn Sallām, in the Gharīb al-Muṣannaf, speaking of الاحمر, records that it includes السَّابِيَاء, *the 'water-bag'*; الحِوَلَّاء, *the secondary membrane*; الصَّآءُ (similar to الصفاة[2]) *the water which accompanies it*; and السُّخْد. From this a man is said to be مُسَخَّدَة when he is languid from disease or other cause. But سُخْد is properly *the thick fluid that accompanies the fœtus*. Very nearly the same is recorded

[1] So MS., and Abu'l-Qāsim has evidently read this; but Barth reads in the text سُخْت.

[2] مِثْلُ الصفاة, i.e. of the same form. According to L.A., however, this was pointed out as an error and admitted by Abu Obaid. The proper form is given as الصَّاءُ, L.A., s.v. سيأ.

on the authority of Ibn Duraid, and this statement is the correct one. No other scholar, so far as I know, gives as his opinion what Abu'l-'Abbās here says; and if you do see it (stated) on anyone else's authority, pay no attention to it.

Finished, with praise to Allah, and by his help.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

FORMOSA UNDER THE DUTCH. Described from Contemporary Records. With Explanatory Notes and a Bibliography of the Island. By Rev. WM. CAMPBELL, F.R.G.S., English Presbyterian Mission, Tainan. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., Ltd., 1903.)

The island of Formosa has come much more prominently into notice since it was ceded by China to Japan in 1895. For many learned articles and books on the subject, published in China as well as in England, we are indebted to the industrious compiler of this handsome volume of 630 pages, a missionary in South Formosa from 1871. These are enumerated among the rest in an almost exhaustive and most useful "Bibliography of Formosa," which is appended, extending over 55 pages, and giving many references to periodicals in addition to the titles of more important works. There is an analysis of the *Peking Gazette*, for example, with a summary of all the notices relating to Formosa, Liu-kiu, and the Pescadores from 1872 to 1896. The bibliography is well up to date, including, as it does, the large book on the history, natural productions, and resources of the island by J. W. Davidson, U.S. Consul for Formosa, published this year. It is to be regretted that Mr. Campbell "could not venture to make use of his considerable collection of Chinese and Japanese books on Formosa" on this occasion; and it is to be hoped that another opportunity may occur after his return to his post in the Far East.

The book is mainly a translation of old Dutch writers, extending over the period from 1624 to 1661, when Formosa was under the rule of Holland as one of their East Indian colonies. It is divided into three parts, as explained in the Preface—

Part I. General Description.
Part II. Notices of Church Work.
Part III. Chinese Conquest.

The *First Part* consists of notes on Topography, Trade, and Religion, selected from the *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien* of François Valentyn, with the addition of the best account of the inhabitants which has come down to us from the Rev. George Candidius, the pioneer missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church in 1624. The opening sentence is interesting for the statement that "this large island was called by the Chinese Tai Liu-khiu (that is, Great Lu-Chu, there being also a little Lu-Chu)." It is really described under that name in the Annals of the Sui (A D. 581–618) and of the T'ang (618–906) dynasties, although the fact has been overlooked by many recent authorities, who date the Chinese knowledge of Formosa from the Ming dynasty early in the fifteenth century. In the Ming Annals it is recorded under the name of Kelung, its principal harbour on the north-east coast, where the modern Japanese capital of Taipei has been recently established.

The *Second Part*, which is rather voluminous, presents a vivid picture of the controversies of the early Dutch divines, and of their somewhat arbitrary dealings with the native converts, who showed but little devotion to the cause when the dreaded pirate Koxinga appeared upon the scene. It ends with the translation of a Sermon, a Formulary of Christianity, and Shorter and Larger Catechisms, all compiled by the Rev. R. Junius, during the years 1629–41, for the use of the native churches. The travels of John Struys, who visited Formosa in 1650, which were done out of Dutch by John Morrison, London, 1684, are quoted in this section, and his familiar stories of men who had tails among the natives

of the south country. One of these savages was burned at the stake for the murder of a missionary, "and we saw his tail, which was about a foot long, and all grown over with hair." M. Terrien de Lacouperie suggested in his *Formosa Notes* in our Journal (July, 1887, p. 455) that these tails were, perhaps, artificial appendages worn for ornament; but Mr. Campbell relates here (p. 547) the case of a healthy-looking child some three years old, which was brought to him with a tail growing from the lower end of its spine. "It was about two inches long, and had a curious wriggling motion, but whether automatic or in obedience to the will of the child, there was no means of knowing."

In the *Third Part* we have a vivid sketch of the adventurous career of Koxinga, and of the events which led up to his nine months' siege of Castle Zeelandia, and culminated in its surrender on February 1st, 1662, translated from *'t Verwaerloosde Formosa* of 1675. This sketch is strengthened by a string of "authentic proofs" garnered from official minutes and other sources. The father of Koxinga was a Fukien trader, Chêng Chi-lung, who had dealings with the Dutch in Formosa and with the Portuguese at Macao, and was baptized by the latter with the name of Nicholas. He next went to Nagasaki, where he married a Japanese woman, and had a son born named Chêng Ch'êng-kung. After this son had succeeded his father in the command of the immense flotilla of war junks raised by him to oppose the invading Manchu Tartars, the Ming emperor bestowed upon him as a special honour his own royal surname of Chu, after which he always signed himself Koxin, the Portuguese form of Kuo-hsing, i.e. "Imperial Surname," and was known to others as Koxinga, which is the same with the honorific *ga* (*yeh*) affixed. Formosa was finally annexed to China in the time of his grandson Chêng Ching-mai, who was compelled to surrender the island, and forced to come to the Manchu Court at Peking, where he was given the title of Count in the twenty-second year of the Emperor Kang Hsi, and 1683 of the Christian era.

The above details are gathered from the Appendix, which

supplements the Dutch accounts by translations of the letters of early Spanish and French Roman Catholic missionaries, quotations from the old China trade reports in the *East India Company's Records*, and from other sources under the following headings:—

A. The Spaniards expelled from Formosa in 1642.
B. Early English Trade at Formosa.
C. Visit of Père de Mailla in 1715.
D. Count Benyowsky's Narrative of 1771.
E. Explanatory Notes by the Author.

The last section, in which the author's notes are arranged in alphabetic order, is not the least useful and interesting, but there is no space for further notice. The book is compiled in such a way as to be unavoidably discursive, so that the excellent Index with which it winds up is all the more welcome to the reader.

S. W. B.

THE DEVILS AND EVIL SPIRITS OF BABYLONIA. Vol. I. By R. C. THOMPSON, M.A. (Luzac, 1903.)

Under this alluring title Mr. Thompson has transliterated and translated a number of Assyrian texts in the British Museum relating to Babylonian and Assyrian demonology. Like some of the other records from the library of the great bibliophile Ašurbānipal, they are based upon much older texts, and there is good reason to assume that they represent the exorcisms and spells employed in Babylonia at least as early as the third millennium B.C. That the texts will be welcomed by others than Assyriologists is certain, since it is well known that many of the magical practices and superstitions still in existence were familiar to the Babylonians of six thousand years ago, and without pretending to suggest that these owe their origin to Babylonia, it is admitted that the thought of this land exercised considerable influence upon the surrounding peoples.

It is interesting to notice that many of these magical texts are said to be written in Sumerian, and the evidence tends to show that the Babylonians were deeply indebted to the non-Semitic inhabitants of Mesopotamia for many of their supernatural beliefs. Mr. Thompson correctly observes that the Semitic Babylonian took over the Sumerian doctrines "in the belief that his teachers must necessarily understand the supernatural powers peculiar to their own country." It is the older inhabitants who have a better knowledge of the local spirits, and the newcomers, whether they be conquerors or traders, do not know the manner in which to approach or propitiate the local divinities. Similar examples of this phenomenon will occur to everyone,[1] and one is led to infer from experience that these demons of Babylonia are no other than the gods and divinities of the earliest dwellers. It is only exceptionally that the terms in use, even, admit of a satisfactory derivation (cf. p. xxiii).

Of the exceptions, one of the most interesting is the *Ekimmu*, apparently the departed spirit (lit. 'snatched away'). This was the soul of the dead person who was unable to enjoy rest because the customary offerings and libations had not been made. From the evidence it would appear that not only did the *ekimmu*-spirit haunt mankind; it also passed a most comfortless and unhappy time, and relief could only be obtained by exorcism. It will be remembered that in the recently published Code of Hammurabi, the man who was caught breaking into a house could be killed in the breach and buried (in it?), and the man who caused a brander to brand an indelible mark upon a slave was liable to be killed and buried in his own house. It seems probable, therefore, that the punishment consisted, not so much in the infliction of the death-penalty—which is common enough in the Code—but in the character of the burial. In other words, the punishment seems to have extended beyond the grave and was calculated to affect the dead man's spirit-life.[2]

[1] E.g., a few are cited by G. L. Gomme, *Ethnology in Folklore* (London, 1892), pp. 42 sqq.

[2] Cf. the present writer's *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi* (A. & C. Black), p. 213.

Another interesting class of demons receives the names *Lilû*, *Lilîtu*, and *Ardat Lilî*, in which, as Mr. Thompson reminds us, we may recognise the familiar Lilith of the Old Testament. This demon is mentioned in Isaiah xxxiv, 14, which, curiously enough, he has quoted from the A.V. in preference to the R.V. However, neither screech-owl (A.V.) nor night-monster (A.V. marg., R.V.) are plausible renderings, and Mr. Thompson inclines to the suggestion that the name in its original meaning is connected with *lulû*, 'lasciviousness.' This, it is true, is in accordance with the very general belief that the demons have intercourse with mankind, but it would perhaps be more plausible to suppose that the term is a non-Semitic divine name.

As might be expected, there are many details and allusions in these texts to which analogies and parallels may be found, and Mr. Thompson has culled a few, chiefly from Syriac magic lore. We may add that the Mandaitic charms might be worthy of perusal, since, apart from Iranian elements, there are such distinct reminiscences of Babylonia as the Êkurra and Ištars whose names are invoked in exorcisms. It is interesting to find, too, that the raven and the hawk were credited by the Assyrians and Babylonians with the power of dispelling demons. The former, it is well known, is as unlucky in Palestine as in Arabia, and the fact that in these texts it is called "the bird that helpeth the gods" curiously reminds us, not only of the part the raven plays in the story of the Deluge, but also of the ravens of Odin and Flokki.[1]

In conclusion, we may note that Mr. Thompson has an important discussion of a text which had been regarded by Prof. Sayce and Dr. Pinches as a reference to the Garden of Eden as it was known among the Babylonians. Other Babylonian illustrations have been adduced,[2] but none so apparently illuminating as tablet *K* (pp. 200–207). Here is mentioned the dark *kiškanû* that grew in Eridu, in an undefiled spot, whose brilliance was as shining lapis-lazuli; the place was like

[1] *Encyclopedia Biblica*, col. 4018, n. 2.

[2] See *Encyc. Bib.*, art. "Paradise," § 12.

a forest grove, none might enter therein, and it was at the confluence of two streams. It was the home of the couch of the goddess Id, and within it dwelt Shamash and Tammuz. The *kiškanû* was gathered by certain gods and was used for magical purposes, and Mr. Thompson, in the course of a criticism of the incantation, points out that there are no good reasons for supposing that Eridu was as the Garden of Eden, since the presence of the rivers has only a ceremonial meaning, and he cites texts where the water at the confluence of two streams has greater magical potency. As regards the other arguments by which the theory has been supported, he has some exceedingly plausible explanations at hand, and the impression left is that tablet *K* is very insecure evidence for the view adopted by Sayce and Pinches. The text does not, however, lose in interest on this account, and the story of the *kiškanû*—with its half-lurking resemblance to the Golden Bough—still stands in need of a better interpretation than that which Mr. Thompson himself prefers (p. lxiii).[1]

S. A. C.

The Influence of Buddhism upon Islam.

A Buddhismus hatása az Iszlamra. Beszéd, tartotta a M. Tud. Akadémia, 1903 Marczius 30ikí, Körösi Csoma ünnepén. Goldziher Ignácz, R. Tag. Budapest. Kiadja a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1903.

Professor Goldziher, of the University of Budapest, Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, read an important essay before the Academy of Sciences of Hungary, at a special general meeting held on the 30th of March last in memory of their late distinguished member, Alexander Csoma de Körös.

Professor Goldziher referred to the special merits of the great Tibetan scholar and to the circumstance under which

[1] Mr. Thompson suggests that some species of Astragalus is meant. This is supported by the Syriac *kūšnā*, on which see Löw, No. 170. One is irresistibly reminded of the superstitions relating to magical plants, and, as Jensen points out (*Kosmologie der Babylonier*, p. 249, n. 1), it was probably used as an oracle.

similar celebrations (*this being the second*) would in future be held in his memory by the Academy.

The subject, "On the Influence of Buddhism upon Islam," was well chosen for the occasion. Famous Orientalists have often referred to it. But it has not hitherto been taken up in the thorough manner in which it was treated on this occasion. And we venture to express a hope that the paper may be used by the author as a preliminary step towards a larger and fully elaborated work to appear at no distant date.

Professor Goldziher begins by adducing the widely held opinion that the spiritual life of the furthest West has been mysteriously influenced by the intellectual elements prevalent in the East. These have, in an imperceptible manner, occupied an important place in the popular lore of European nations, even in the Apocrypha and in the hagiology of the West. How remarkable is the place in the history of literature occupied by the legend of Barlaam and Iosaphat, reproducing Buddha's life for Christian readers! And certain strange references conspicuous in the life of St. Thomas can be satisfactorily explained only through the tenets of Buddhism. So also the history of Islam affords constant evidence of the influence of those foreign ideas with which it was brought into contact during its progress. In the sphere of dogma Islam largely followed Greek philosophy; the tendency of its ritual stood under the influence of the religion of Persia; and its canonical law shows the spirit of Rome. The very starting-point of Islam's existence as a State, namely, the Abbasid development of the idea of the Khalifat, shows the idea of kingship reigning in the circle of the Sassanidæ, and every important influence from outside was a new element in Islam's further development.

This receptivity to extraneous influences began to be felt before Islam's worldwide conquests. It seems to have been latent in its very cradle.

Everyone knows of the Jewish and Christian ideas and institutions out of which Islam arose. These were its starting-point, and were acknowledged by the founder

himself as the fundamental principles from which Islam developed. The question is whether, at a later period of its progress, ideas obtained from Indian religion did not also become manifest.

Previous to the rise of Islam there flourished important commerce between Arabia and India. Indian vessels paid frequent visits to the seas that washed the shores of Arabia. But it was not till the actual conquests of Islam that the Arabs came into immediate contact with Indian genius. With the conquests of the followers of Muhammed their religion spread towards Central Asia, where Buddha's religion flourished. At the beginning of the third century A.H. Samanism was called al-Sumaniyeh in Arabic, meaning the faith of Samana or Sramana, an Indian ascetic. And when the Buddhist ritual, particularly the images of Buddha, became known, the new word *budd*, plural *bidadatun*, meaning an idol, was received into the lexicography of the Arab language. It was not the ethics or the metaphysical speculation of Sumaniyeh which impressed the Moslims so much as the idol-worship, abhorrent to the puritan monotheism of Islam. It is a remarkable fact that Alexander Polyhistor, 89–60 years before Christ, calls the Baktrian priests Σαμαναῖοι.

Although the image-worship of the Buddhists was the chief characteristic apparent to the commoner Moslims, their philosophers became acquainted with at least certain principles of Buddha's faith. Speaking of their philosophical system, the belief in metempsychosis is mentioned as the chief doctrine of Sumaniyeh, and occasionally there appeared isolated Moslim philosophers who believed in it. This dogma may have suggested to them the answer to the painful question: How can divine justice punish with heavy chastisements pious men? The answer was: Because the soul of the righteous had inhabited, in a previous existence, the body of a sinful man. This is the Buddhist Karma.

The progress of intellectual culture during the reign of the Abbasidæ secured some treasures of Indian literature

to the Arabs, through whom they were carried to the far West. It is well known that some of the Indian tales were amalgamated with the ideas of Moslim society, took root in the popular faith, and were incorporated into the "Arabian Nights."

Fatalism may be taken as a characteristic tenet of Islam, reflecting unmistakably the dogma of 'Kismet.' This faith was persistently held by the Hindus from ancient times, and the doctrine of metempsychosis is one of the corollaries of the idea of Fate. When Muhammedan peoples found that in the stories borrowed from Indian sources there lurked a belief agreeing with this tendency of their own, to fatalistic ideas, it was easy to adopt it and to gain thereby a welcome colouring to Moslim's dreary dogmas. The "Arabian Nights" are a rich treasury of fatalistic stories, and the expression that a man's destiny is "written on his forehead" is evidently of Hindu origin. The correct Moslim speaks of a "book," a "well-guarded" book, in which his fate is recorded.

The gradual adoption of foreign ideas progressed hand in hand with the extension of the Khalifat towards the east. Particularly the reign of the Abbasidæ created a settled centre of communication in Baghdad, a town now so insignificant, once so famous. Baghdad lay on the main road which led from China and India to Byzantium, and thence into the western and northern countries of Europe.

Complete conquest of India was effected in the eleventh century A.D. by Mahmud of Ghazni. This afforded ample opportunity to the Muhammedan students of becoming fully acquainted with Indian philosophy. Buddhist pilgrims were doubtless frequent visitors on the borders of India and China: their distant wanderings are well known to history. Balkh, the metropolis of ancient Baktria, became renowned through flourishing dervish monasteries, whose inmates were able easily to study the practices of Buddhism.

At Baghdad, around the Khalifa, there ruled a fanatical orthodoxy. This spirit naturally provoked reaction. Among the movements which caused, in the eighth and ninth

centuries, much anxiety to the 'true believers,' and against which they resorted to persecutions, was the newly risen sect of the *Zindiks*, a word applied generally to heretics, especially to the class interested in Buddhist philosophy and literature. Among the translations of the second century are found the "Bilauhar va Budasif" and "Kitab al-Bud," by Ibn al-Mukaffa and Abán al-Láhiki. The *zuhd*, renunciation of the world, is the characteristic Moslim name attributed to the Zindiks. Quietism is not the spirit of the aggressive religion of Muhammed; on the contrary, the promise of sensual pleasure is carried beyond this world into Paradise.

At that time there arose several paraenetic poets. The most ancient among them was the martyred Salih ben 'Abd al-Kuddus, executed in 783 A.D., who spoke thus:—

"How many pilgrims to Mekka have perished?

"May God destroy Mekka and her buildings.

"May He give no bread to her inhabitants and let her dead be burned."

But the boldest expressions of asceticism are found in the works of Abu-l-Atahiya, a cotemporary of Harun al-Rashid, who suffered imprisonment before his death in 828 A.D. His faith was based upon Indian legends. He taught that: "If you desire to see the most noble of mankind, look at the King in beggar's clothing; it is he whose sanctity is great among men." His son perished similarly. The "Sincere Brothers," notwithstanding their Neo-Platonism, always appeal to Indian moral lessons. Two centuries later appeared Abu-l-'Alá al-Ma'arri (died 1057); he belongs to the most independent thinkers of his age. He boldly attacked the dogmas of Islam, mercilessly criticized the religious authorities, and condemned the policy of the Government as unjust and tyrannical. He points out the intellect and conscience as the true sources of religious life.

Professor Margoliouth[1] and Mr. Reynold A. Nicholson published certain parts of his works, but the most important communication on the subject is the essay by Alfred Kremer

[1] Journal R.A.S., 1900 and 1902.

which appeared in the Transactions of the Vienna Academy, vol. cxvii. Ma'arri lived as a vegetarian, abstained from all animal food, even from milk and honey, and practised celibacy. His ideas of salvation, centre according to Kremer, in the *Nirvana*. It is certain that these principles widely influenced Islam society at that time. No organised Buddhistic sect was formed, but such ideas worked powerfully in the direction of a later movement, *Sufism*.

The Sufi system saved the religion and science of Islam from rigid dogmatism. The religion of heart and mind stood in opposition to dry theological treatises. The Sufis endeavoured to approach the Heavenly by way of the emotions, and hoped to establish religious life, not by empty formalities, but by getting near to the Eternal.

Such was the reaction against the prevailing conditions of Islam, which found relief against materialistic tendencies in asceticism. Hair-splitting dogmatism was replaced by contemplative mysticism. A pantheistic system became developed from excessive fanaticism. Starting from a mystic love of God, it arrived at the conviction that the knowledge of "real existence is in God," "neither is there any life but in God."

In the course of the second century, the Sufi sect established associations on principles difficult to harmonize with the faith as taught in the Moslim schools. Sufi principles passed beyond the walls of their schools into the public ear, and effected considerable influence upon the orthodox faith. Sufism produced extensive literature in various languages; its greatest poets were inspired to write mystic and allegorical works, and the social life of Islam was startled by the appearance of a strange personage—the Dervish.

Sufism cannot be looked upon as a regularly organised sect within Islam. Its dogmas cannot be compiled into a regular system. It manifests itself in different shapes, in different countries. We find divergent tendencies, according to the spirit of the teaching of distinguished theosophists, who were founders of different schools, the followers of

which may be compared to Christian monastic orders. The influence of different environments naturally affected the development of Sufism. Here we find mysticism, there asceticism, the prevailing thought. In Syria we find the Christian, in Central Asia Indian influences prevailing.

From the time when Sufism first attracted attention in the West, its affinity to Buddhism was evident; some people called it Buddhism modified by Islam. Schopenhauer declared it to be entirely Indian in spirit and origin. But when we study its various historical conditions, its phases of development, its manifestations in widely separated regions from Syria to China, and especially since the knowledge of the most ancient literature has rendered it possible for us to understand the prominent points of Sufi character, we are convinced that previous to the Buddhist influences other forces had likewise their share in the antagonistic movement which arose in the midst of orthodox Islam.

In Syria, where Sufism had the earliest organisation, Christianity exercised great influence; — not indeed the ecclesiastical Christianity, but a certain movement in the Church, looked upon as irregular. Thus we may compare the Euchits-Messaliani — the praying monks — with those wandering dervishes who were addicted to the fatiguing lip service called the *zikr*. Their dogma was that prayer stands above every other religious function. They discarded all the goods of this world, going about begging and praying. This sect was started in Mesopotamia in the fourth century A.H.; it still existed in Syria five centuries later. The mode of life of these dervishes faithfully represents the manners of the Messaliani beggars, whose example had a decisive influence upon the Sufis of Syria.

Christian influence is manifest in several passages from the New Testament which are found among the fundamental tenets of Sufism. To mention only two, viz.: Matthew vi, 25–34, and Luke xii, 22–30. It was in Christian environments that the Neo-Platonic systems exercised so important an influence on the development of the ideas of Sufism.

Adalbert Merx showed that there was a Gnostic teacher in the Syrian Church, whose principles were of decisive effect upon Sufism. It was on such grounds, and they are very sound ones, that Mr. Reynold A. Nicholson, in his selected Poems of Shamsi Tebriz, and Professor Edward G. Browne, in his History of Persian Literature, entirely reject any influence of Buddhism upon the development of Sufism, and attribute all its phenomena to Neo-Platonic principles and to the teaching of Gnostics. But those who advance such an opinion do not take into consideration that Neo-Platonism and the allied systems could scarcely reach those regions in the East which proved most receptive to the development of Sufism. And while Islam carried Sufism with it, it may have, and in fact did, supplement it in the course of its invasion of further eastern countries with new elements borrowed from the new surroundings. For instance, in the account of an ancient type of Sufic asceticism, we find traces of tradition connected with Buddha himself. Ibrahim ibn Edhem, who died about 776-8, an exalted patriarch of Sufism, was a renowned pattern of asceticism. The legend speaks of him as a prince of Balkh. On a certain occasion he went out hunting and started a fox, when a mysterious voice warned him that God had not created him to persecute living beings. He at once dismounted and changed garments with his father's shepherd. He bestowed upon the servant his steed and everything he had by him, then withdrew into the desert to drag out his existence as a labourer, performing miracles and giving other proofs of his saintliness.

There is another legend referring to Ibn Edhem's conversion. One of his disciples asked him: "Who persuaded you, being a king's son, to abandon this fleeting world and to take up that which endures for ever?" He answered: "I sat in the hall of my palace with courtiers around me. Looking out of the window I observed a beggar at the entrance of the palace, with a piece of dry bread in his hand, which he soaked in water and seasoned it with coarse salt; he ate it, and drank water. Having thus, apparently, satisfied his

hunger, after saying his prayers, he went to sleep. God so willed that I should direct my thoughts toward that man. I ordered a servant to watch him without in the least interfering, and then let the man be brought to me. And so it happened. When the beggar awoke he prayed again, and made ready to continue his journey. My servant induced him to come to me.

"'The master of this palace desires to speak to you.' 'In God's name,' answered the beggar, 'there is no power and strength but of God. Well! I go.' When he reached my presence and rested awhile, I put the following question to him: 'Were you hungry when you ate the piece of bread? and were you satisfied?' 'I was,' answered the old man. 'And afterwards, were you able to sleep without care or sorrow?' 'Yes!' was his reply, 'I have rested thoroughly.' On hearing this I pondered and said: 'How is it that I am not satisfied with what I see and hear? What ought I to do in this world that I may obtain contentment as this beggar does?' When evening came, I put off my splendid garments and put on hair clothing. I left the royal palace and took to a wandering life like this beggar did." Then Ibrahim continued the wonderful story of his experiences.

In reading this legend, we receive the impression that this story of a prince becoming an ascetic refers to the life-history of Buddha. Compare the legend of al-Sabti, the son of Harun al-Rashid, the powerful Khalifa of Baghdâd, who for similar reasons abandoned his splendid palace and surroundings, renounced the world, earned his bread with hard manual labour, and ended his life in a poor hut. This legend was inserted in the "Thousand and one Nights." Noeldeke very rightly declared it to be Buddhistic in origin.

Some of Ibrahim's sayings are in this respect suggestive. During his wanderings in the desert he met with a soldier, who asked Ibrahim to show him the way to a populous town. Ibrahim led him into a cemetery. "This is," he said, "the habitation of men." The irritated soldier struck the Sufi on the head, so that the wound bled. Ibrahim asked God's blessing upon the man. The soldier, becoming aware of his

violence, begged Ibrahim's forgiveness. "The head which bleeds owing to your rage, I left behind in the royal palace of Balkh, when I saddled the steed of the world, following the love of pomp—that head I carry no more. A man is free when he gives up this world, even before he himself has left it." "If your brother says, 'Give me part of your substance,' and you ask him, 'How much?' then is your gift of no avail; and if he asks you to do him some service, and you inquire, 'Where do you wish me to go?' you have rendered him no assistance. Shun the world as you shun a beast of prey." Such are the sayings attributed to the prince-beggar Ibrahim. He believes the principle of the abandonment of the world, absolutely.

This remarkable legend has an episode which states that the ascetic prince once encountered a young man whom he recognised to be his son. He was much affected, and his eyes were filled with tears; the father's feelings threatened to get the better of him, but he suppressed them. The legend puts into his mouth the following lines:—

"O God! for the love of Thee, I ran away from mankind;
I made my children orphans, that I might see Thee;
And if Thou makest it a condition of Thy love to cut me in pieces,
Yet I would turn to no one for help beside Thee."

He left his son, and departing had no other wish than this: that God would cleanse his son from all sin, and help him to fulfil His commandments.

The essential character of these sentiments consists in the absolute renunciation of the world, the entire suppression of the ordinary human sentiments, the abandonment of power and enjoyment in order the better to attain to the only reality.

Along with the ideal Buddhist asceticism, Sufis appropriated some of its outward religious practices also. They noticed rosaries in the hands of Buddhist ascetics. The use of these instruments of devotion, based on the custom of Brahmin fanatics, was especially prevalent among the

Buddhists in the North, with whom Islam came in contact. The Sufi ascetics very soon adopted the practice, and applied it to the formulas of their own creed. Ninety-nine is the canonical number of the names of God; the Muhammedan rosary therefore consists of 99 beads. As early as the third century of Islam we find positive proofs of the use of the rosary, particularly in the East, where Sufi assemblies were numerous. The Ulemas looked for a long time upon the use of the rosary as an innovation, contrary to the traditions of Muhammedanism. The leaders of the religious communities in the East were dissatisfied when the practice was taken up by the people through the example of the Sufis, notwithstanding that it was helpful in repeating the devotional formulas during contemplation. It is characteristic, however, that when Abu-l-Kasim el-Juneid, one of the founders of Sufism, was seen with a rosary in his hand, being questioned how it came that a man of better class should use such an object, "I shall not," he answered, "give up an instrument which helps me to come nearer to Allah." Having learnt this mode of devotion from the Buddhist monks, it spread through the dervishes far and wide in Islam. But as late even as the ninth century it encountered opponents. Sujutî (died in 1505) was obliged to write an apology in defence of the use of the rosary against those who condemned it as a practice entirely foreign to Islam.

Besides these legendary and practical indications we find an affinity between Sufism and the fundamental thoughts and the lessons of Buddhism. The tone of mind and the spiritual tendency of Sufism seem as if the Buddhistic way of thinking had been transferred into the frame of Islam and adapted to it.

We do not wish to imply that Sufism had simply taken over and translated into the language of Islam the ancient Vedânta philosophy, which the Buddhistic system has so successfully developed. For Sufism to become actually a sister of Buddhism it lacked as yet the central pivot. It was not able to concentrate its philosophy around the legend of a holy personality endowed with symbolic importance

like the Bodhisatva. The Sufi prophets did not learn Buddhist thoughts from written books. They did not translate the Tripitaka into Arabic or Persian. It was from life and by contact with the professors of it that they became acquainted with the philosophy based on Buddha's teaching. They saw the Buddhist monks before them, and found them to be men who were inclined to turn away from the vanities of this world, and who found in the ascetic life a higher level of existence. The Sufis also retired into monasteries of their own and developed the ideal of begging monks. Now, that Buddhist example had direct influence on the formation of Sufic philosophy and practice, is confirmed by the following fact.

In Central Asia, in the town of Balkh, sprang up the first Sufic society. There, before Islam's conquest, Buddhism flourished, and could show pious Moslems many examples in the pursuit of saintly life. We saw that Ibrahim ibn Edhem, whose legend was brought in apposition with the life-history of Buddha, was said to have been a prince of Balkh. This is a notable circumstance.

Other facts of a similar kind have been collected by Alfred Kremer in his "Culturgeschichtliche Streifzüge auf dem Gebiete des Islams" (Vienna, 1873), a work that will always remain a pioneer study in the research of foreign elements in Islam. He points out that Buddhist philosophy considers as the *summum bonum* the extinction of individual rebirth and the release from pleasure and pain attainable in this life. In Sufism the final aim is *fanâ*, annihilation, *mahv*, the extinction of individual life.

It is well known that the explanations of the meaning of Nirvana differ. Various answers are given as to the question of the meaning, in this connection, of the phrase 'annihilation.' There is an extensive literature upon the subject. Some declare that 'Nirvana' and 'complete annihilation' are identical, and cannot therefore be attained while life lasts. On the other hand, Max Müller and others hold that it means perfect quietude of the mind, having no part in the joys and sufferings of this transitory world,

when the knowledge of Ego ceases, when every wish and desire, and craving, when even sensation of pleasure and pain are extinguished. Now let us examine how the word *fanâ* is explained by the Sufis. "When the consciousness of Ego and of all his belongings is absent," "when an individual is liberated from dependence on means which are capable of bringing him advantage or causing injury," "when he has no aim, no will, but is entirely absorbed in the will of God."

From the last definition we notice that the idea of the Nirvana of the Sufis differs from the Buddhistic meaning in so far that it is combined with the conception of God, evidently in its pantheistic form. The Sufi does not sink into 'nothingness,' but into 'omnipresence,' into universal divinity. When that has happened the personal Ego is annihilated by absorption into the universal divinity. "The fanâ," so says a Sufi teacher, "is arrived at when you see nothing and know nothing but Allah, when you are convinced that nothing exists but HE, when you understand that you also are nothing but He, and sayest: 'I am one with God; there exists nothing but God.'" Within the circle of Islam the conception of fanâ can, in connection with Pantheism, be understood as absorption into the universal deity. The individuality of man, the Ego, ceases to exist; all individual existence becomes an illusion, a nonentity. According to the Sufis, the individual is not annihilated, but becomes one with God, a drop in the bottomless sea of Pantheism, having no independent existence. This is Nirvana as understood by the Sufis.

So Jelál al-dîn Rûmi says in the Methnevi, "Without any care and thought of advantage or detriment," and with a characteristic word, this condition is called 'istihlák,' the endeavour to attain nothingness, a complete absorption, when man's existence is combined with the universe, when neither space nor time nor any shape reveals its existence, according to the same Mystic poet:—

"I am neither a Christian nor a Jew, nor fire-worshipper nor Muslim;

I belong neither to the East nor West, nor to the Sea nor to the Earth;
Neither am I from the order of nature, nor from the revolving spheres,
Neither from dust, nor from water, air, or fire;
I belong neither to the heavenly throne, nor to the atom of light, neither to an existence, nor to any life;
Neither to this world nor to any other world, neither to Paradise nor to Hell.
I am not a descendant of Adam or Eve, I have nothing to do with Eden or Rizván;
My place is in placelessness, my sign is the signlessness;
I have neither body nor soul, because I am from the body of my beloved.
The dual existence I have thrown away, because both worlds I consider as one.
I search after one, I know one, I see one, I call one;
Besides this I know that 'O it is He,' 'I am He,' I know nothing else."

He in whom there is the perfect *absence* of separate personality, the submersion into absolute existence, who rises to the permanent reality of the soul, such a one has arrived at the stage of the fanâ, namely, to the stage of annihilation; he becomes 'alinsán al-Kâmil,' the perfect man. Below this high degree there are many intermediate steps, according to the position one has attained by discarding knowledge of individual existence. Buddhism possesses a rich terminology of the degrees of perfection. Tathāgata is a perfect man, representing the highest degree, to which, according to the ideal of the system, Buddha himself had reached. His followers, who reach the lower steps, are the 'Arhats.' What is said of these has been mostly taken up by the Muhammedan 'veliks,' saints, who through ascetic practices have acquired power over nature's elements. Professor Goldziher has discussed elsewhere the twenty kinds of miraculous power which Muhammedans attribute to their saints.

These conclusions resemble the imaginative power with which Indians invest those who attain the superior degrees of spiritual concentration. They likewise are supposed to possess the power of self-multiplication, of flying across the air, walking on the surface of the water, moving mountains, and to overruling several of the ordinary laws of nature. If Muhammedans attribute similar powers to the 'veliks' and illustrate them by legends cited from the biographies of their own saints, they but imitate Indian exemplars, the original source, from which they have drawn them.

The Sufi as well as the Buddhist Sramana does not attain the *summum bonum* expressed by the 'Fanâ' or 'Nirvana' by the mere determination to reach that end. According to the Buddhist theory, there are eight parts of the road which lead to the final aim. The stations of this long journey are compared to that of the travelling pilgrim, the aim of the journey being one's salvation by attaining Nirvana. It looks as if the Buddhist inspiration were word for word followed by the Sufis. According to their doctrine the perfection of fanâ is preceded by the tarika which is reached by single stations on the road of the 'ma'rifat,' the knowledge. The Sufi calls studying 'suluk,' travel. Abl-al-tarika, abl-al-suluk, or al-salikûna, the pilgrims, are Sufi terms. In vulgar tongue every Sufi system is called 'tarika,' in North Africa 'trîka.'

This can scarcely be a fortuitous coincidence. According to what has gone before, we cannot see how it can be contended that the 'stations on the road' have not the same meaning in the two systems.

One of the most important of the Sufi stations is that which is called 'Murákaba,' that is, meditation; from the results of this depends the possibility of attaining the fanâ. The acquirement of this capacity and its permanency in one's soul, is considered the most important preparation for the annihilation of Ego and for the absolute union with 'Him.' In the Buddhist faith, the station called 'dhyâna' or 'samádhi' means the same. Its meaning according to a faithful translation is: 'absence of all idea of

individuality when Ego meditates'; meditation and the object of meditation are considered as being one. Oldenberg gives it an untranslatable name, 'Nichtirgendetwasheit.'

The Murákaba of the Sufis thus entirely agrees with the Buddhist Samádhi, and the connected ideas also agree. According to the Sufis the best help towards the attainment of the fanâ is the 'khalvat,' that is, loneliness, complete separation from fellow-men. Those who do not adopt loneliness of life are required to submit to a periodical rule of meditation. Different orders of dervishes have different regulations. The order of the Khalvatis requires from its members a yearly seclusion (chilleh) of 40 days, accompanied by fasting. There are other orders like the 'Demirdashi' in Egypt, the rule of which is the 'khalvat' for three days only, during which time the dervishes are obliged to remain speechless. That time is entirely devoted to meditation. Here the Sufis' idea corresponds to the Buddhist Viveka.

As the victorious Islam in Egypt, in Syria, and in other places took up foreign traditions and in due course, under the process of transformation, made of ancient gods Muhammedan saints; in like manner it adopted traditions of Buddhism in countries from which that faith was displaced. Vámbéry cites an interesting case from the historical work of Narshakhi. In the time of that historian (about 944–948) in Bukhara, a renowned seat of Buddhism (Bukhár, in Mongol, means Buddhist temple or monastery, and is probably the Indian word *vihára*), a great fair of toys and carved work was held twice a year. On such occasions the turnover in toys amounted to 5,000 denárs. Narshakhi was of opinion that this custom is but a remnant of former large fairs held there for the sale of Buddhist statuettes and carvings, for the manufacture of which Bukhara was celebrated.

More characteristic, however, are those phenomena when sacred things belonging to the suppressed religion keep up an importance in the life of the victorious faith. When the power of Islam stepped into Buddhist inheritance, it was

impossible to eradicate from the mind of the new believer a homage paid to certain places and objects; the newcomer explained it in his own way. This transference was not the work of some hierarchical design; but it was the involuntary outcome of the popular mind, and thus the Buddhist saints became the saints of the Islam. This fact appears in the minutest details in the following manner. In Kandahar the followers of Buddha, rich in relics, regarded a waterpot of Buddha with religious devotion; in due course this very waterpot was attributed to Muhammed.

In the island of Ceylon a footprint of Buddha was an object of worship. The faithful of Islam attribute this very footprint to Ali, and nobody is disturbed by the fact that the reverend hero of Islam never put his foot on the soil of that island. Grenard, the companion of Dutreuil de Rhins in his exploring journey through Turkestan, published a most interesting work on the results of his mission, in which he repeatedly mentions the fact that in East Turkestan, where the religion of Buddha was flourishing till the tenth century A.D., and was not finally expelled till three centuries later, a good many graves are now identified with the legendary heroes of the new religion. But these heroes are altogether imaginary personages; some of them are historical indeed, but they did not exist in that part of Asia. The renowned places are but the ancient stupas transferred to Muhammedan proprietors. Thus the local heritage becoming vacant after the expulsion of Buddhism, a Muhammedan saint presented himself and took possession of it. The Muhammedan saint and the religious locality took upon themselves the functions of the extinct Buddhist saint. The sacrificial gift presented by the faithful of to-day at the old shrine, bestows the same advantage and relief to the Moslim as had been formerly bestowed upon Buddha, to the worshippers of the then stupa. The saint of Islam, who is now being worshipped, is aptly called by Grenard "un avatar Musulman de Buddha."

The tradition is imperishable, only its manifestation changes.

T. DUKA.

SYNODICON ORIENTALE OU RECUEIL DE SYNODES NESTORIENS. By J. B. CHABOT. (Paris, 1902.)

The industrious scholar to whom students of Syriac literature and Aramaic epigraphy are so much indebted has now placed the former under another obligation by the edition and translation of some Syriac MSS. relating to the history of Nestorianism. For the study of the origin and development of Christianity in the East the chief sources are in Syriac. The Nestorian Church, condemned by the Greeks, grew up in isolation and pursued its own paths; strong enough to stand by itself, it was able to resist persecution, and even sent out its missionaries upon proselytising journeys as far east as China. The acts and decrees which were passed by the various Nestorian synods are often cited by Syrian writers, but manuscripts of complete collections are extremely rare, and it is very fortunate that those which have come to light should have been entrusted to so careful a scholar as M. Chabot.

The text which M. Chabot has edited is based upon two MSS., one formerly in the Borgian Museum, but now in the Vatican, the other in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The work has been most conscientiously accomplished. The complete Syriac text has been printed in order that the translation may be controlled, but it is hardly necessary to say that it is only on the rarest occasions that it appears to be open to question. By the addition of numerous notes the value of the work has been greatly increased, and the careful indexes which are appended make the accumulation of material readily accessible. The whole forms one of the most noteworthy contributions to the history of the Eastern Church. In it we may trace the development and successive modifications of Nestorianism from the time when it was under the Greek Church; for the chronology of the patriarchs of the East the acts furnish data of the most welcome kind; and finally, the numerous lists of episcopal signatories will be of great assistance in the study of the internal history of this important branch. It is worth adding that these

documents not only throw light upon the teachings of the Church, but they illustrate contemporary views upon less spiritual matters, such as intestacy, the status of slaves, bigamy, divorce, etc.

S. A. C.

BUDDHIST INDIA. By T. W. RHYS DAVIDS. (London, 1903.)

It was once pointed out by an eminent Orientalist that the Jātakas constituted a rich treasure-trove for the lore of ancient India. And truly there is not one of his co-workers but will, on reading them, have felt with me the desideratum that this hoard should be duly exploited. There could be no more grateful or attractive work in the field of Indian antiquarianism than a "Life in Ancient India" based on the Jātakas, and amplified by citations from the rest of Buddhist literature, here and there too from Brahminic literature. Such a work would be a fitting complement to Zimmer's "Altindisches Leben" on the Vedic age. But it would have a twofold advantage over that book. In view of the sources at its command, it could penetrate far deeper into the real life of the people. And with regard to dates its task would be far more clearly delimitated. The India to be depicted would be that which existed between the eighth and fifth pre-Christian centuries. So much too might be borrowed from the succeeding age to vivify and complete the picture. For Indian life is in a way strongly conservative, and anyone who has had opportunity of observing the being and doing of its inhabitants, even in the present, must be constantly reminded of scenes and descriptions occurring in its ancient literature. Finally, there is this advantage, that the pourtrayal of Buddhist India can adduce surviving monuments to make visible and tangible the scenes drawn from its literature.

I myself began to make collectanea, in studying Buddhist literature, for such an "Altindisches Leben." Pressure of other work has always thrust me aside from carrying on the task that so strongly drew me, but which called for years

of preparatory studies. Hence I may say that I welcomed Rhys Davids's book with peculiar pleasure, and am specially grateful to the author for his fine work. It depicts the India of "the period of Buddhist ascendancy" in broad well-marked touches, with the fresh and sane judgment of a man who draws from his own rich experience of the people and the land that he pourtrays. I could only wish that, in the section devoted to social economy, to life in town and country, he could have gone more fully and intimately into details, and brought the folk in their daily being and doing more vividly before us, showing them in their habits and customs, their pleasures, games and feasts, their intercourse in street and market, in field and forest, in house and home. What exquisite genre-pictures are contained in the Jātakas well worth bringing to the reader's ken! And what fine designs do they not offer for monographs on special episodes of ancient Indian life! A sketch on the chase, for example, would be certain to interest every lover of sport. Of such, too, is Hardy's charming sketch on the *samajja* in the "Album Kern." He there started from materials published by Rhys Davids himself on the denotation and connotation of the term *samajja*.

I need hardly point out that nothing of reproach or blame is imputed by the foregoing remarks. Rhys Davids's "Buddhist India" forms one volume in the series "The Story of the Nations," whereby a limited setting was imposed upon him from the outset. To treat the subject in the way above indicated would of course have necessitated thrice as large a compass. But I would insist that it would be hard to find anyone better fitted for that more detailed pourtrayal of early Indian life than is Rhys Davids, who has both a comprehensive mastery of Buddhist literature and a first-hand knowledge of the country and the people.

In the opening chapters the author gives a brief conspectus of the political situation in India when Buddhism arose. Four kingdoms are chiefly conspicuous, of which Kosala was politically the most influential, till superseded herein

by Magadha. Adjacent to these were patrician republics like that of the Malla clans and the Vajjian Federation. The time was not yet when the whole of Northern India was in the grasp of a sole monarch. Specially noteworthy is the fact, rightly insisted on by the author (pp. 31 foll.), that no knowledge of Southern India and Ceylon appears in the Buddhist canonical literature. This throws light on the relation in time of that canon to Sanskrit literature, e.g. to the Rāmāyaṇa, in which the South plays an important part. But we may also infer that Aryans did not settle in Ceylon in the year of the Buddha's death, as the native sources allege, but at a later date. There are, besides, important chronological objections to that view.

Chapters iii–vi, "The Village," "Social Grades," "In the Town," and "Economic Conditions," introduce us to the material civilization of Buddhist India. With a touch of surpassing skill a picture is hit off in bold features, giving the social and economic essentials. But it is just here at least that I should have welcomed a more detailed account, had it been possible to the author. About twice the space has, in chapters vii–xiii, been devoted to spiritual culture. Domestic life has, no doubt intentionally, not been touched on at all.

Indian society is based on the village community. The Vedic times knew of none but village settlements. The Germanic settlement of the stead (*Hofsiedelung*) was unknown in India. The plan of an Indian village and the relation of the individual paterfamilias to the community is attractively set forth (pp. 45 foll.). There was a markedly communistic vein in the constitution of the Indian village; and every community possessed no inconsiderable degree of autonomy. Its organization excluded great divergence in the economic circumstances of individual families, but secured to all independence and a certain degree of well-being. In such simple comfort of peasant status lived the great majority of the people of India.

Later on our author has somewhat to say about social strata. Besides the four *vaṇṇas* he distinguishes the *hīna-*

jātiyo, as well as the yet lower aboriginal races of Caṇḍālas and Pukkusas. And over against the aggregate of the free population stood the slaves. That there were no hard and fast lines dividing each *vaṇṇa* is rightly emphasized; but so too is the fact that the four divisions certainly existed. The Buddhist age certainly knew nothing of the caste system as it later developed itself.

The two following chapters treat of civic life and of trade and handicrafts. Descriptions are drawn from the texts, in so far as this is possible, of the plan of the town, of domestic buildings, public edifices, palaces, baths, monuments. Illustrations in every case are given from surviving works of antiquity. In the section on Economic Conditions, the author avails himself of Mrs. Rhys Davids's important "Notes on Early Economic Conditions in Northern India" (J.R.A.S., 1901), with which readers of the JOURNAL are acquainted. Enumeration and description of the various trades, which were in part organized in gilds, is followed by an account of commerce, intercommunication, and coinage. There were stamped coins of copper, but none of silver, and the existence of gold coins is uncertain. Finally, the chief trade-routes are sketched, and such voyages, some of them beyond sight of land, as the Indians then ventured upon.

I have spoken at length on these first chapters of Professor Rhys Davids's book, because they possessed, for me at least, a quite special interest. Far less attention has as yet been given to the economic side of ancient Indian society than to literature and religion. But in the remaining sections as well a whole series of problems are discussed with scholarly disquisition and criticism, notably that on the introduction of writing in chapter vii, and that on the development of a North Indian 'high' diction and *lingua franca*. This last-named factor is no doubt justly connected with that political supremacy which had been won, in the Buddha's time, by Kosala. The Kosala vernacular may be supposed to have furnished the basis for this dialect of culture and commerce. At the same time it may have taken on various idioms in different countries,

much as modern High German takes on a different local colouring in different states of the empire. It is with this commercial dialect, and especially to the form it is assumed to have acquired in Ujjeni and Avanti, that Rhys Davids identifies Pali. Pali, according to him, is a Middle High Indian, in contrast to the Old High Indian of the Vedic language (p. 153).

In the chapter on the literature the author provides the reader, not with a mere enumeration of titles and contents, but with a well thought out characterization. I may especially point to the passage (pp. 182 foll.) where he discusses the epic forms of poetry occurring in the Buddhist canon. Here Rhys Davids touches on questions of far-reaching significance. We may take it from Windisch and Oldenberg that the oldest Indian Ākhyāna was in mixed prose and verse. The direct utterances of the characters concerned were first rendered metrically. The prose narrative was handed on by tradition, but with occasional discrepancies, as was natural, as it was told by this and that narrator. We can only speak of an epic poem when the narrative portions have also been given metrical form. In the oldest epos, therefore, direct sayings occupy a large space, but tend to shrink in process of development as compared with the description of events. Now, Rhys Davids shows in an interesting way how all these preparatory stages in epic poetry are present in the Buddhist canonical literature. In the Thera- and Therī-gāthā we have sayings in verse. The prose narrative, without which they are often unintelligible, is now preserved in the commentary. In other works we have both versified sayings and prose text contained in the canonical writings. And finally there are ballads where both sayings and narrative are put into verse, that is to say, there are the essential elements of epic poems. From these considerations Rhys Davids draws the significant conclusion that the ballad literature in the canonical books must be older than the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa.

A special section (chapter xi) is devoted to the Jātaka Book, in which the gradual evolution of the work is fully

and convincingly analyzed. The results are summed up on pp. 206–8. The verses of which the canonical Jātaka alone consists are, I think, only memory-verses, by the help of which the narrator could mark the contents of the story.

Chapters xii and xiii, again, on Religion ("Animism" and "The Brahmin Position"), contain much of general interest. For a knowledge of the popular beliefs of ancient India the Jātakas are of far greater value than the Brahmin literature. Here reign supreme, not the gods created by theological speculation and priestly fiction, but the spirits haunting plain and forest, air and water — Nāgas, Garuḷas, and uncanny hosts of witches and wizards, of ghosts and demons.

The three concluding chapters deal with the three great princes of the Buddhist age — Candagutta, Asoka, and Kanishka. The last pages are occupied with the problem of the decline of the Buddhist doctrine in India. Very justly does Rhys Davids reject the view that Buddhism was exterminated by violence, or its adherents persecuted. The overwhelming majority of scholars are herein unquestionably on his side. The causes of the downfall may be traced partly to certain alterations in the doctrine itself, partly to changes in the 'intellectual standard' of the Indian population. But these again, according to Rhys Davids's judgment, must be taken in connection with the irruptions of alien races into India. The hordes of Scythian barbarians who overran the north-western districts assumed the Buddhist faith, but contributed at the same time to its gradual transformation, to its gradual decay.

One word more as to the illustrations given in the book. It is good to note that they are by no means merely superficial adornments. The choice of them is so adapted as to give visible aid to the discussions in the text. Hence they afford a fitting embellishment to a book as artistic in feeling as it is able in thought.

WILHELM GEIGER.

Erlangen.

E. BLOCHET. LE MESSIANISME DANS L'HÉTÉRODOXIE MUSULMANE. 8vo; pp. x and 192. (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1903.)

This somewhat obscure title heads a treatise on Mahdism, the history of which the author endeavours to unfold. Tracing its origin, he comes to the conclusion that it is nearly in its entirety borrowed from notions rife in Persia prior to Islām. He is even more precise, and asserts that the Shiite Mahdism has its roots in Mazdakism and its prototype in the person of Bahrām Amavand. The movement, he says, is due to a reaction of the *génie messianique iranien* against the Semitic spirit, which was hostile to Messianic belief.

Nearly forty years ago A. v. Kremer, in a work[1] which seems to have remained unknown to the author, spoke of the old Asiatic notion of the incorporation of the deity, a notion which, as he points out, originated in India, whence it spread over Western Asia. In questions like this a cautious student always does well to avoid definite statements, unless they are supported by strong arguments. To individualize folklore ideas is hazardous. On the other hand, a catchword like *génie messianique iranien* is hardly a historical factor to operate with. Whence has the author his theory of the Semitic hostility to Messianic belief? He should have given more than the bare assertion.

We often find that certain notions run parallel in the minds of certain peoples, and there is no need to father one on the other immediately, even if on one side the borrowing of details can be proved. Various forms of Mahdism have undoubtedly fed on Mazdakism, but it does not follow that it was so from the very beginning. Mahdism was not even a necessary result of Shiism. The origin of the latter was in the first instance of a political nature, and the religious schism was but a consequence. The author's suggestion "that the Moslims of the West (Damascus) considered the Alide party as strangers to Islām and almost

1 "Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islām," p. 9.

heterodox" might be expressed differently, viz., that they were aware that the partisans of Ali rejected the Sunna, because they considered Ali as the first lawful Khalifah in the place of Abu Bakr. The source of Mahdism is to be sought in the weakness of the Alide party. Messianism is, here as well as in Judaism, hope personified, but the hope of a suppressed minority. When Shiism arose the Jews in Moslim countries had long brought their Messianic hopes into a complete system which found expression in their prayers and various sayings.[1] Is it absolutely certain that the partisans of Ali were quite ignorant of these? M. Blochet denies any influence exercised by Judaism on Islām. This question has been threshed out so frequently that there is no need to bring it up again here. He adduced no new arguments, and it would be interesting to hear what he has to say on the subject.

Notwithstanding this, Arab authors inform us that the first person who is said to have attributed divine honours to Ali was Abd Allāh b. Sabā, a Jew from Yaman. This man probably knew nothing of Mazdak, but it is almost certain that he was reared in Messianic belief. I am under the impression that, if he really used the words "Thou art God," he was much less serious than it sounds, and was probably only guilty of a play upon words. If we consider that, in the Qorān, Allāh is styled *Aliy* (iv, 38; xlii, 51), it is probable that Abdallāh employed such passages to show that the Khalifah shared one of the hundred Exalted Names. This was rather a harmless *bon mot* for a man versed in the method of the Jewish Agādā. Ali was naturally shocked, and banished him from his presence, but when his sympathisers, after his murder, recollected the word, they either saw a deeper meaning in it or at least made capital out of it. The truth is probably that Mahdism, as every great historical movement, was not brought about by one factor, but by many. Among these we must not forget human passion. The honesty of the leaders was frequently

[1] See Ibn Hishām, pp. 286 and 374.

questionable, whilst the majority of followers laboured not so much for the regeneration of the faith as for plunder. The historian's task cannot be successfully carried out if his view is too narrow, but he should equally guard against too great extension.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

ITALO PIZZI, Dott. Prof. L'ISLAMISMO, MANUALI HOEPLI. 16mo; pp. viii and 406. (Milan.)

The same. LITTERATURA ARABA. pp. xi and 388.

These two little books supplement each other in their endeavour to give the general reader instructive and attractive handbooks on the history of Islām and Arabic literature. We can say without hesitation that in both cases the author has done full justice to the subjects in hand. He is not only familiar with the sources, but he shows himself an independent scholar, in spite of the many excellent works we now possess on the questions concerned. The introductory chapters of both books, dealing with the historical, spiritual, and literary conditions of Arabia prior to Islām, are as interesting as replete with sound learning, and give the reader an excellent survey of that period. Not quite so satisfactory is the period of early Islām, since the author still adheres to some old but untenable views. According to him Mohammed received this name when a child. The legend of the cleansing of the heart he considers to be based on Qor. xciv, 1–3, although these verses have quite a different meaning. He looks upon the hermit Baḥāra as a historical person, and adopts, without criticism, Moslim tradition on the first awakening of Islām. Yet these traditions must be received with the utmost caution, as they are very badly authenticated. He also translates 'Hijra' with the time-honoured 'flight,' although the actual flight from Mecca to Medina was but the terminating step in the real Hijra. Apart from such details the author's representation of Islām is thoughtful and original. Its further development under the Califs and

the great schism are vividly depicted, and illustrated by abstracts from the best authors of the various periods. The reader thus receives a very fair idea of the influence Islām exercised on the Moslim intellect, and is invited to peruse the collateral book, which deals more broadly with the literature proper. Arab poets as well as writers in prose can vie in attractiveness with those of any other nation. To bring its treasures within reach of the educated of every country is no mean merit, if it were only for the sake of showing how much our own culture and study owe to those who wrote in the Arabian language.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

DAS GEORGISCHE VOLK, geschildert von ARTHUR LEIST. [The Georgian People, described by Arthur Leist.] (Dresden: E. Pierson's Verlag.)

Up to the present time no work of a popular character, written in a language accessible to Western readers, has appeared on Georgia and the Georgians. The philology and ethnology of this country, which contains such a strange mixture of races, has been learnedly treated by Brosset, Erckert, Uslar, Radde, and others, but the general reader is not likely to betake himself to such sources. Some popular book has long been wanted to tell of the land, the people, and their literature. For such a task Herr Arthur Leist, who has long resided at Tiflis, has every qualification. He is well acquainted with the language of the Georgians, and has published a translation of their epic, "The Man in the Tiger's Skin," about which we shall have more to say anon.

The scenery of this delightful country is of extraordinary beauty; we have the vast Caucasian range, the mountains Elbrouz and Kazbek, and the valleys with the richest vegetation. We cannot wonder that the Russian poets have drawn from it some of their noblest inspirations. Many of the most brilliant pages of Lermontov and Pushkiu have been inspired by it. Herr Leist does ample justice

to the attractions of this earthly paradise. The Georgians are said to amount to about one million five hundred thousand people. Their language is cognate with three others, Mingrelian, Lazi, and Suani, and with them alone. In many respects it resembles Basque, especially in the incorporating power of the verbs and the absence of cases in the nouns and adjectives, which are supplied by post-positions. It cannot, however, be classified with Basque, because no word in the two vocabularies is identical. We might rather say that both these languages exhibit an early stage in grammatical structure. The subject is too minute to be discussed in a short sketch like the present, and the reader unacquainted with the Russian language must be referred to the works (in German) of Erckert, who gives us also a fine ethnological map. Perhaps we might say that Herr Leist is hardly abreast of modern philology in his remarks on p. 25. Brosset, the learned Frenchman who devoted his whole life to the study of this intricate language, had only rudimentary ideas of comparative philology, or he would hardly have talked about Georgian being an Aryan language. We are able to gain some valuable information from the writings of such men as Professor N. Marr, of the University of St. Petersburg, and Professor Hugo Schuchardt, of the University of Gratz.

The Georgian language, properly so called, has a very rich literature, which dates from the sixth century A.D. There is a version of the Gospels which is assigned to this century. In a very valuable chapter on the national literature Herr Leist describes its golden period in the twelfth century, when Rustaveli wrote his "Man in the Tiger's Skin," which is to this day the great delight and pride of the Georgian. The poem, which is in somewhat tedious quatrains, might have been written by a troubadour of the West. It is full of knightly deeds and the cultus of women. Some have thought that it was borrowed from Persian, a literature which has greatly influenced that of Georgia. The other influences have been that of Greece and Byzantium. At all events Rustaveli was the ornament of

the court of Tamara, the great queen of Georgia, when the country was in its prime. In fact, it was only completely independent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. After this time its glories declined and it fell under the yoke of Persia. When the traveller Chardin saw it in the seventeenth century it had lost all its grandeur and was a vassal state. The literature declined also. The most complete account of Georgian writers is to be found in the works of Professors Tsagareli and Khakhanov, who are both Georgians; but their labours can only be approached through the medium of the Russian language. When Georgia was annexed to Russia in 1801 a revival of the literature took place. This literature no longer turned to the East, but to the West, and since that time many authors of considerable merit have appeared. In a previous work Herr Leist gave us translations into German of some of the lyric poetry, and he has again shown his skill in that direction in the present volume. His translations are musical and forcible; he has the vigour of a Bodenstedt. Perhaps the two most considerable writers of the present time are Princes Ilya Tchavchavadze and Akaki Tsereteli.

W. R. Morfill.

MISCELLANEA.

Note on Harṣa-Carita, Verse 18.

I have read with great interest the papers of Mr. Thomas in the October number of this Journal. Perhaps I may venture to publish this short note on the verse from the *Harṣa-Carita* treated of by him on p. 830.

The verse is—

Āḍhyarājakṛtotsāhair=hṛdayasthaiḥ smṛtair=api |
jihvāntaḥ kṛṣyamāṇeva na kavitve pravartate || ;

and my literal translation would be—

"Being drawn inward as it were by Āḍhyarāja's achievements, which, remembered though they are, stay in my heart, my tongue does not move forward to poetry."

Āḍhyarāja's achievements are *remembered*, i.e., they are things of the past; they no longer exist, and could not therefore have any effect on the poet's tongue; they nevertheless draw the tongue inward, because they stay in Bāṇa's heart. — It may be noticed that the employment of the adjective *hṛdayasthaiḥ* furnishes an instance of the poetical figure *Kāvyaliṅga*.

For the way in which Bāṇa here uses the word *smṛta*, we may compare the following verse on p. 226 of the *Jātakamālā* :—

Kṛpaṇā bata lokasya calatvavirasā sthitiḥ |
yad=iyam kaumudīlakṣmīḥ smartavyaiva bhaviṣyati ||

"Pitiable, alas! is this worldly existence, void of charm on account of its perishableness; for this moonlight festivity *will become a thing only to be remembered.*"

Here it is at once clear that the words in italics are equivalent to 'will certainly pass away.' And similarly, in Bāṇa's verse, the words *smṛtair=api*, in my opinion, mean in effect 'past though they are.' Past though they are, the achievements stay in the heart, and are therefore able to draw the tongue inward.

F. KIELHORN.

Göttingen.
November 10th, 1903.

I am much obliged to Professor Kielhorn for his explanation, which, though verbally almost identical with that suggested by me, differs in laying stress on *smṛtair* as an idiomatic equivalent of 'past,' and also in laying an extra stress on the second half of the compound *hṛdayasthaiḥ*. It cannot be questioned that the idiom is adequate to the explanation of the passage, though *smṛta* is rather more curt than *smartavya*. But may I suggest that it is itself in origin scholastic and psychological? When we read the phrases *agāt smṛtipatham* (*Indische Sprüche*, 7025), *smaraṇapadavīṃ gamita* (id., 5939),[1] so analogous to such expressions as *kīrtiśeṣa* and the like, we may reasonably suspect that, as in the latter case we have an allusion to a definite doctrine, namely, the survival of fame to the end of a kalpa, so in the former the reference is of an erudite nature. Now we know for certain that memories are held to survive in the mind in the form of *saṃskāras*. May we not therefore ask, where are they? If we could suppose that the Hindus defined as 'outside the heart' those unconscious processes which modern psychologists place 'below the threshold,' and that in the *act* of recollection these present themselves 'within the heart,' we should have the doctrine required. I must confess that in the Upanishads, perhaps the most likely place, I have not met with such a view. But I do not despair of finding it, perhaps, in one of the tracts on *Smṛtisaṃskāra*. May

[1] Ap. B. and R., s.v. *smṛti*.

I point out that the passage quoted from the *Prabodha-candrodaya* seems to retain its force?

Having alluded to the artificial character of Indian poetical allusions, we may be allowed to note that in the present case, as in many others, the artificiality does not go beyond the form of the expression. The common description of that which is in the heart drawing the tongue inwards and thus preventing utterance is a true and vivid analogy to our expression of the heart being 'too full to speak.'

F. W. THOMAS.

In the October number of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Mr. F. W. Thomas submits two notes, in one of which he discusses the interpretation of the word *api* in the verse he quotes from Báṇa's Harṣa Charita. If the verse is translated in the way it is done in the note the meaning of the little word *api* does give some difficulty. I think the correct translation is to render *api* by 'also' or 'even,' as the commentator does it with the authority of Paṇini. Such an interpretation of the word *api* is not unusual. One more alteration I would suggest is not to translate the word हृद्यस्थैः as a verb, which it is not, but to take it as an adjective of उत्साहैः. This word उत्साह is qualified by two adjectives हृद्यस्थैः and स्मृतैः which show two different mental states of the author, and in consequence two different kinds of achievements of his hero. The first of these achievements are in his heart, meaning those of which he had personal experience, and the other are those which he remembered. In plain words, it may mean the present and the past achievements. The translation would run thus: "By the achievements of Ádhyarája which are abiding in the heart and also which are remembered." The small word 'and' need not create any further difficulty. *Api* in this sense is often interpreted by च or अपिच.

Mr. Thomas is again right in thinking that there is a reference to psychological doctrine, as is borne out by this

as well as by the verse he quotes from Prabodhachandrodaya. The definition of स्मृति which he quotes from तर्कसंग्रह is of one kind of knowledge only. The Naiyayakas divide knowledge into अनुभव and स्मृति. The first is acquired by direct observation and the other is the result of impressions left on the mind. Báṇa in this verse, and the author of Prabodhachandrodaya in the other, take into consideration and illustrate both these functions of the mind.

References to the doctrines of different Darshanas and especially of the Vyaya become common in the poetical, dramatic, and fiction works of the latter half of the first decade of centuries of the Christian era. Báṇa often does it in his Kadambari. The most typical instance of such reference is in Mudrārākshasa of Vishākhadatta.

VISHVANATH P. VAIDYA.

National Liberal Club, London, S.W.
November 17th, 1903.

With reference to the phrases *svargam ārādhay-*, *paralokam ārādhay-*, etc., quoted in our last number, p. 831, from the Edicts of Aśoka, Mr. C. H. Tawney has called my attention to the fact that *paralogassa ārāhagā* occurs several times in the Jaina *Aupapātikasūtra*; see Professor Leumann's edition, p. 67, and index.

F. W. THOMAS.

KĀLIDĀSA AND THE GUPTAS.

About the age of Kālidāsa kindly permit me to add a few more notes to my last letter in the January number of your Journal, 1903.

Dr. Grierson, whose interest in Kālidāsa dates from the seventies (see J.A.S.B., 1876), has rightly drawn attention to the bearing of the passage "Jugopam = ātmānam = atrasto" on the suggested connection of Kālidāsa with the Imperial Guptas.

I now find, and I hasten to acknowledge it, that in the important reference to the Huṇas in Raghuvaṁśa, canto iv, I had already been anticipated by Professor K. B. Pāthak, of the Deccan College (see the Introduction to his edition of the Meghadūta, p. 2, and his article "On the Date of Kālidāsa," J. Bo. R.A.S., vol. xix, pp. 35–43).

In these articles Professor Pāthak was inclined to place the poet in the first half of the sixth century or about A.D. 532–3 (Meghad. Intr., p. 8; J. Bo. R.A.S., p. 41). But after reading my letter, and after discussing the subject with me both personally and in writing, he writes thus in his last letter dated the 16th inst.:—

"I think your opinion that Kālidāsa was a contemporary of the Guptas is correct, and the reasons which you give in support of your view are excellent."

Some points in my last letter require modification.

The words "drākṣā-valaya-bhūmiṣu" (vineyards) point to the Persians being in possession of Kāndāhār and probably lower Kābul. The grapes of Kāndāhār and Kābul were, and are, well known in India (cf. Aīn-i-Akbari, trans., i, 65).

The words "lagna-kuṅkuma-kesarān" (clung with saffron pollens) are decisive. Saffron (*Crocus sativa*) is grown nowhere in India except in Kaśmīr, and in Kaśmīr only in Pāmpar and Paraspur (Aīn-i-Akbari, trans., ii, 357, 364; Stein's Anc. Geo. Kaśmīr, J.A.S.B., 1899, p. 122).

There are two readings, in Raghu., iv, 67:

(1) Sindhu°, Sindhos°.
(2) Vaṁkṣū°, Vaṁkṣṇa°, Vaṁkū°, Maṁkṣū°.

In the first reading, by the 'Sindhu' is meant not the main river, but the chief tributary of the Vitastā in Kaśmīr. This 'Sindhu' is considered nearly as sacred as the Ganges (cf. Rājataraṅgiṇī, i, 57, v, 97–8, Nīlamātā; Stein, J.A.S.B., p. 108). Opposite its confluence with the Vitastā lies Paraspur, and about thirty miles off Pāmpar, the two places of saffron cultivation.

The 'Vaṁkṣū' of the second reading has not yet been

identified. Its name is found in the Mahābhārata, Sabhā-parva, Adh. 50 (2), and in Burdwān ed., Anusāsanaparva, Adh. 165; and also in the Nāgpur Stone Inscription of the Mālava Rulers, v.s. 1161 (Ep. Ind., ii, p. 188, verse 54). From the description this would appear to be in Kaśmīr, the inscription distinctly referring to the 'kuṅkuma' plants on its banks. Whether it is a lake, as the commentator Cāritravarddhana explains it, or a river, as Professor Kielhorn translates it, there are not sufficient materials to distinguish. Anyhow, it is not a branch of the river Ganges, as defined in the dictionary of Sir M. Monier-Williams.

The Huṇas became masters of Kaśmīr during the rule of Toramāṇa, if not earlier. The time of Toramāṇa is put by Mr. V. A. Smith between A.D. 480 and 515 (J.A.S.B., 1894, pp. 186–7), and by Dr. Hoernle between A.D. 490 and 515 (Proc. A.S.B., 1889, p. 229, and J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 570). As the Huṇas were in Gāndhāra in A.D. 465–470 (Rapson's Coins, Art. 103, p. 28), and were at that time rapidly overrunning Persia and North-West India, the earlier date of Mr. Smith seems more probable. On Fīrūz's defeat and death in A.D. 484 (Nöldeke, "Persia," Encyc. Brit., p. 611) or A.D. 488 (Gibbon, ch. xl), the Huṇas overran Persia, and gradually annexed its eastern part; the knowledge of this would not have been likely to reach India before A.D. 490. The time of Raghuvaṁśa, canto iv, can thus apparently be put in the last but one decade of the fifth century A.D., or between A.D. 480 and 490.

Some of the objections to this conclusion may as well be considered here. They are taken from the introduction to Nandargikar's edition of Raghuvaṁśa, ed. 1897.

The Huṇas are, no doubt, mentioned in the great epics (Mahābhārata, Ādi-P., Adh. 176; Sabhā-P., Adh. 32, 50, 51; Bhiṣma-P., Adh. 9; Sānti-P., Adh. 325), and this has been used to make Kālidāsa's time earlier than the date of our present text of these passages (p. 120). But interpolatory verses abound in the Mahābhārata, and there is no reason why the above verses should not be considered as such. Furthermore, as Professor Pāthak has observed,

a general allusion to the Huṇas along with the Cīnas, the Bālhikas, and other frontier tribes is different from the exact location of the Huṇas in Kaśmīr.

Vatsabhutti, who composed the Mandasor Inscription dated A.D. 472, is said to have borrowed three verses from Kālidāsa, whom Nandargikar therefore places earlier (pp. 127–129). Of the three, the second can hardly be deemed similar, and therefore borrowed. The first and third look similar, but need not have been borrowed, as they refer to certain common similes which may have probably passed current in that age. Even if the alleged borrowing be admitted, it does not run counter to our conclusions. One was borrowed from Meghadūta and the other from Ṛtusaṁhāra, both being very early works of Kālidāsa, and therefore preceding Raghuvaṁśa by twenty or thirty years, and thus earlier than A.D. 472. Kālidāsa was primarily of Avanti, and Mandasor is in that tract not far from the capital, Ujjayini; and hence it would not take a long time for Kālidāsa's poems to influence Vatsabhutti.

From a discussion of the laws about theft and inheritance mentioned in Kālidāsa's works, certain deductions are attempted to be made (pp. 129–137), but they seem forced and vague.

In fact, a great poet is, as a rule, the product of a great age, an age in which knowledge has been accumulating, and a brisk activity in literary culture has been going on, or the people's heart has been deeply stirred by momentous events. It therefore stands to reason that Raghuvaṁśa, "that perfect poem" as Professor Kielhorn remarks, was composed more probably in the great Gupta period—the fifth century A.D.—than in the middle of the sixth century, when the Gupta empire had been shattered and North and West India ravaged by the savage hordes of the White Huns.

MONMOHAN CHAKRAVARTI.

Chinsura (Hughly).
Sept. 20th, 1903.

"Indian Records Series" and "Indian Texts Series."

In June, 1900, the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society addressed the Government of India, pointing out the desirability of publishing a series of historical volumes for India, corresponding in some measure to the Rolls Series, the Historical MSS. Commission's reports, and other works of the same nature issued officially in this country.

The suggestion was accepted by the Government, and arrangements have now been made for the publication, under the auspices of the Society, of two series, to be called respectively the "Indian Texts" and the "Indian Records" series, the latter consisting of selections, notes, or compilations from the records of the Indian Government or of the India Office; and the former containing annotated editions or translations of works by Indian writers of importance for the history of India, besides indexes, monographs, dictionaries of proper names, and other materials for historical research. The general intention is to issue two volumes annually in each series during the five years to which the arrangement has been restricted in the first instance.

Professor Rhys Davids will act as Editor of the Texts series, while the Records series will be under the general supervision of Mr. A. N. Wollaston, of the India Office.

The following works have already been arranged for, and will appear in due course:—

Texts Series.

(1) A collection of historical maps of India.
(2) An historical index to names and subjects mentioned in Vedic texts. By Professor Macdonell.
(3) An Arabic history of Gujarat. Edited and translated by Dr. E. Denison Ross.

Records Series.

(1) Papers relating to the capture of Calcutta by Siraj-ud-daula, and other events in Bengal, 1756–57. Edited by Mr. S. C. Hill.
(2) A history of old Fort William in Bengal. Edited by Dr. C. R. Wilson.

A Race of Fair Women.

Persian and Arab travellers of the ninth century A.D. reported at Bussora that there dwelt in the kingdom of Thafek, on the west coast of India, a race of women very fair and beautiful, pleasant companions for a man. "Le royaume de Thafec—où les femmes étaient blanches et plus belles que dans le reste de l'Inde. Massoudi rapporte que les femmes de Thafec n'étaient pas seulement les plus belles de l'Inde; il dit qu'elles étaient citées dans les livres érotiques comme possédant des moyens particuliers de procurer du plaisir aux hommes, et que les marchands qui parcourent les mers orientales les achetaient à des prix exorbitants." So says Reinaud ("Relation des Voyages," p. xcvii–viii), and he discusses at some length who these women may have been. Ibn Batuta, an uxorious traveller, who took a wife in every port, made an unsuccessful inquiry for them. Thafek was a small kingdom bordering on the sea on the west coast of India. After you had sailed past the kingdom of the Balharas, you came to Jorz, and then to Thafek. Thafek must therefore have been somewhere in the neighbourhood of Goa. Now when I was at Goa in 1878 I heard precisely the same story. There existed not far off to the south-east a race of women noted for their fairness and their beauty, the descendants of a Portuguese convent of dissolute nuns, who had established a community of Free Love, and were ruled by an abbess. Two of the ship's company went a journey into the interior in search of them, but returned as unsuccessful as Ibn Batuta. Here, then, we have the old legend, surviving in the old locality, but with a slightly altered dress. Local legends do not die; they live for ever. But what was the origin of this legend? Had it anything to do with Nair polyandry? And whence the tradition of a white race? A race of mountaineers in Kaschibya (Mysore?) was called white, and the Japanese were considered fair.

J. Kennedy.

Nov. 11*th*, 1903.

Dr. Hoernle's article on Some Problems of Ancient Indian History.

In this Journal, 1903, pp. 545 to 570, Dr. Hoernle has given us his views on some problems of ancient Indian history. And he has solved one of those problems, to his own satisfaction, by attributing certain coins to the legendary king Vikramāditya of Ujjain, whom he has assumed to be identical with a certain real king Vishṇuvardhana-Yaśō-dharman who, as we know from epigraphic sources, was reigning over the Mālava country in A.D. 532–33.

In respect of the appellations of this last-mentioned king Vishṇuvardhana-Yaśōdharman, Dr. Hoernle has said in a footnote on page 550:—"Both names are given to him "in the Mandasōr inscription. *Pace* Dr. Fleet (*Corpus Inscr.* "*Ind.*, iii, 155, note 5), the identity is explicitly affirmed by "the Sanskrit phrase *sa eva narādhipati*, 'this very same "sovereign.'" But, why "*pace* Dr. Fleet"?

I published the Mandasōr inscription in question in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xv, 1886, p. 222, and in my *Gupta Inscriptions*, vol. iii. of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, 1888, No. 35, p. 150. At the same time I published two other records from Mandasōr, or rather one entire inscription with part of it preserved in duplicate (IA, xv, pp. 253, 257, and GI, No. 33, p. 142, and No. 34, p. 149). This latter record gives only the name Yaśōdharman. And, partly for that reason, partly for another reason stated by me (IA, xv, p. 226, note 33, and GI, p. 155, note 5), I then found a mention of two separate and distinct rulers in the names Yaśōdharman and Vishṇuvardhana which in the record No. 35 stand in two separate verses. But I did not assert the point in any vehement fashion; I had, in fact, not even any possible reason for doing so, inasmuch as I was bringing to notice newly discovered records which had not formed the subject of any previous discussion at all.

In some remarks published in JASB, lxvii, 1888, Part i, Proceedings for August, p. 181 f., Dr. Hoernle made the mistake of treating the name presented in the Mandasōr

records as optionally either Yaśōdharman or Yaśōvarman, and preferentially as Yaśōvarman, in spite of a distinct warning given by me in editing the records (IA, xv, p. 255, note 6, and GI, p. 145, note 2). And, in doing so, he made a mistake the influence of which distinctly underlies his proposal, advanced in his article on some problems of ancient Indian history, to attribute to Vishṇuvardhana-Yaśōdharman certain coins which present the different name Yaśōvarman. On that same occasion, Dr. Hoernle accounted for the double appellation by saying that "Yaśōvarman" changed his name to Vishṇuvardhana on "conquering the countries "around him and thus founding an empire and a family,— "possibly of no long duration." Subsequently, Dr. Hoernle asserted more definitely the identity of Yaśōdharman with Vishṇuvardhana, but did not repeat the use of the erroneous name Yaśōvarman (JASB, lviii, 1889, Part i, p. 95 f., and note † on p. 96). And consequently, in making some comments on what he then said, it did not occur to me to notice the erroneous name Yaśōvarman; but, on the point of the identification of Yaśōdharman with Vishṇuvardhana, while remarking that I had no special reasons to urge against it, I did say that "the question demands further consideration, "before Dr. Hoernle's proposal can be accepted" (IA, xix, 1890, p. 227). Here, again, I did not combat Dr. Hoernle's view in any vehement fashion. And my hesitation to accept it outright was simply natural; anyone who, having a knowledge of the various subsidiary matters involved, but not glanced at by Dr. Hoernle, will read thoughtfully what he has written in his article on some problems of ancient Indian history, and will note the assumptions, unsupported by facts, which run through it, will recognise at once that a considerable amount of hesitation about accepting his views of early Indian history is unavoidable.

I do not recall any occasion on which I have exhibited any controversial hostility against views propounded by Dr. Hoernle, either on the above-mentioned point or on any other. And, as regards the particular point, at least seven years ago I actually adopted the identification which

he is still asserting in opposition to me; in giving a short notice of the Mālava country in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, I said:—"And in A.D. 532–33 it was a part of "the dominions of a king of Northern India named Vishṇu-"vardhana-Yaśōdharman, who overthrew Mihirakula, and "of whom we have records at Mandasōr" (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. i, Part ii, 1896, p. 312). Why, then, has Dr. Hoernle in his article now under reference made use of the peculiar expression "*pace* Dr. Fleet"?

It is out of the question to attempt a general review of Dr. Hoernle's article indicated above. We should have to take it piecemeal, and explain one by one in detail the fallacies which underlie all the more important parts of it. But a remark may be made. The best proposal that has been advanced for the identification of the legendary Vikramāditya, is that propounded in 1900 by Dr. Bhandarkar; namely, that the original of him is to be found in the Early Gupta king Vikramāditya-Chandragupta II., for whom we have dates ranging from A.D. 401 to 413 or 414 (JBBRAS, xx, p. 398): and it was foreshadowed in 1888 by me, but with a hesitation between Chandragupta II. and his grandfather (GI, Introd. p. 37, note 2; and see, later, *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.*, p. 579 f.). And a question may be asked: Whence has Dr. Hoernle obtained the territorial name "Kangudeça" which he has used on pp. 546, 547; and what country exactly does he intend by it? He would seem to have in view a country the real name of which was Koṅgu. But the Koṅgu country lay on the south of Mysore. And the elephant-emblem belonged to the great Western Gaṅga princes of Mysore. And, though it is no doubt a fact that the plundering of the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital Mānyakhēṭa-Mālkhēḍ was effected, in A.D. 972–73, not by the Paramāra king Muñja of Mālava as was at first thought, but by his father Sīyaka-Harsha, still it is quite certain that neither Harsha nor Muñja nor any member of that dynasty extended his conquests to the Koṅgu country, far to the south from Mālkhēḍ, and beyond the territories of the Western Gaṅga princes, who, on the overthrow of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, became independent, and,

until their territories were gradually absorbed by the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi, remained powerful enough to withstand any other invasion from the north. It was certainly not by means of an acquisition of the Koṅgu country, that the elephant came to appear on any coins attributable to Sīyaka-Harsha of Mālava.

J. F. FLEET.

ON THE TRUE READING OF THE WORD 'IRMĀS.'

There is a word which was coined by Akbar to signify gifts to his officers, and which, so far as I know, only occurs in the works of Abūl Faẓl and Badayūnī. Abūl Faẓl uses it four times, twice in the Āīn and twice in the Akbarnāma. The two passages in the Akbarnāma are both in vol. iii, Bib. Ind. ed., and on p. 458, four lines from foot, and p. 459, eight lines from top. In both these places the word is printed آزناس, *āznās*. In the Āīn it occurs in Bib. Ind. ed., vol. i, p. 187, six lines from foot, and at p. 193, top line. In both these places it is printed ارناس, *arnās*, but in the errata it has been altered, doubtless under Mr. Blochmann's direction, to ارماس, *irmās* or *armās*. In Badayūnī it occurs once only, viz., at vol. ii, p. 202, eight lines from foot, Bib. Ind. ed., as ارماس, *irmās* or *armās*. In his translation of the Āīn, pp. 250 and 258, Mr. Blochmann has transliterated the word as *irmās* or *armās*, and in a note to p. 250 he regards it as an Arabic word, and as the inf. iv or as the plural of *rams*, a 'grave.' This explanation has been adopted by Mr. Lowe, p. 205 of his translation of Badayūnī.

I submit, with all respect for Mr. Blochmann's great learning and his unrivalled knowledge of Akbar and his times, that the word is not Arabic, but Sanskrit or Hindī, and that the original reading in the Āīn is correct, the word being *arnās* or *arināṣ*, i.e. 'enemy-destroying.' This is, I think, apparent from the explanation given by Badayūnī, who says, in the passage above referred to, that the word means زوال دشمن, *zawāl-i-dushman*, 'destruction

of enemies.' This is exactly expressed by the word *arnās*, and not at all by *irmās* or *armās*, i.e. 'graves.' Akbar did not know Arabic and disliked everything connected with Arabia, and so he was not likely to use an Arabic word. (See Blochmann's Āīn, 195, 198, and 206.) On the other hand, he was fond of using and coining Hindī words, and Abūl Faẓl gives several instances of his changing Persian into Hindī terms. See Blochmann, id., p. 90, and his note 4, where he remarks that the passage shows Akbar's predilection for Hindī terms. Moreover, it is clear from the Bib. Ind. ed. and from India Office MSS., etc., that the word has an *n* in it and not an *m*. The Bib. Ind. ed. of Badaʾūnī, unfortunately, is not of much authority, and therefore weight cannot be given to its reading, *irmās*.

For these reasons I suggest that the word should in future be read ارناس. Apparently, *arnās* or *arnāsa* does not occur in Sanskrit or Hindī dictionaries, but it is a quite permissible compound. Akbar seems to have used it to mean gifts in money or in kind, and Gladwin translates it by the word 'donation.' In the Āīn, Blochmann, 250, we are told that Akbar used to give horses to his Aḥadīs as presents or as part of their pay, that is, he gave them horses at half-price, the half which was not demanded back being called *arnās*. So also Fatḥ-ullah Shīrāzī suggests, in the Akbarnāma, iii, 458, that the collectors of revenue should get half of their *arnās* (salary?) by assignment (*tankhwāh*). Probably the use of the term originated in the fact that the horses, or other articles presented by Akbar, were military spoil, e.g., the fruits of the conquest of Gujrāt. Or he may have meant that the horses, etc., helped his servants to destroy the enemy.

It only remains to notice that the translation by Mr. Lowe, p. 205, is defective. It was the surplus and not "which was a very good thing" that was made over to the Amīrs as *arnās*, and it was Akbar and not the Amīrs who invented or used the term.

H. Beveridge.

October 24th, 1903.

Anglo-Turkish Expedition against the Cha'b Arabs of the Shat el Arab.

I should be much obliged for any information as to an Anglo-Turkish expedition against the Cha'b Arabs about the year 1767, or as to where such information could be obtained.

In the Cha'b tribal MS. it says: "1180 occurred the siege by Mohamed Kakhiah and Mr. Zabeida the Frangi, 6th Rabia'-el-Awal."

In Dean Vincent's "Nearchus" it says: "He (Sheikh Salmān) was afterwards involved in a quarrel with the English on account of two considerable vessels which he had taken."

A note to this in the second edition by Sir H. Jones says: "The Dawrack stream was injured by the Cháb Sheikh when he was besieged in the year 1767 (I believe) by the combined forces of the Turks and English."

According to the Arabs, the expedition was a failure, and the European Abu Tawq died, and his grave exists at Felahiah in Daurakistan, Persian Arabia, as also the remains of his earthworks. He was called Abu Tawq because he fought with a gold ring round his neck.

W: McDouall.

Bidborough, Tunbridge Wells.
Nov. 21st, 1903.

The Lai Dialect.

In the *Lai* dialect of the Chin tribes living in the hills on the Burma-Manipur frontier, there is a curious use of the personal pronouns that seems worthy of record in our Journal.

The *Lai* is absolutely monosyllabic, all relations being expressed by position, by composition, or, most generally, by prefixes and suffixes.

Each personal pronoun has a full and an abbreviated form; they are—

kêma (*ka* or *k'*) = I.
nangma (*na* or *n'*) = thou *or* you.
amma (*an* or *a*) = he, she, *or* it.

Now every finite verb must invariably have prefixed to it an abbreviated form of that personal pronoun which is of the same person as its subject, no matter whether the subject itself is or is not otherwise expressed. If the subject is a noun, then the noun comes early in the sentence; but prefixed to the verb near the end must be the abbreviated form of the third personal pronoun. If the subject is a pronoun, then the longer form of that pronoun may come early in the sentence or may be omitted altogether; but in either case the abbreviated form of the pronoun must be prefixed to the verb near the end.

Thus it is right to say:—

Nangma zê da n' du?
You what you want?

Zê da n' du?
What you want?

= What do you want?

Kêma shî k' du
I medicine I want

Shî k' du
Medicine I want

= I want medicine.

Shî Boi-pâ shî a pék lai
Medicine master medicine he give will

= The doctor will give (you) medicine.

Amma shî a pék lai
He medicine he give will

Shî a pék lai
Medicine he give will

= He will give (—) medicine.

But each of the following forms would be incorrect:—

Nangma zê da du?
Zê da nangma du?

Kêma shî du.
Shî kêma du.

Shî Boi-pa shî pék lai.

Amma shî pék lai.
Shî amma pék lai.

TABLETS PRESERVED IN THE ZIARAT OF ZĀHIDĀN.

The abbreviated form of the personal pronoun is thus seen to be as essentially a part of the *Lai* finite verb as the 'personal endings' are of Sanskrit or Latin verbs.

H. H. TILBE.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM SISTAN.

I send by this mail two photographs which may interest the Society; one is of some tablets that are deposited in the Ziarat, or shrine of the 44 Pirs of Záhidán (Chihil-ơ-chahār Pir-i-Zāhidān). The inscriptions on the tablets are very clear, and refer to Fakirs who lived in past ages. I at one time thought that perhaps the inscriptions might have reference to the Maliks of Sistan, but I was disappointed. There are several of these tablets at the Ziarat, only two of which have been photographed.

The shrine is situated within the limits of the ancient town of Zāhidān, destroyed by Taimur in the month of Shawāl, 785 H. It is surrounded by ruins of houses and heaps of débris, in which lie the skeletons of an innumerable multitude of human beings, victims of the general slaughter decreed by the conqueror.

The other photograph is of the ruined minaret known, from the modern hamlet of Kāsamabad which is close to it, as the Mil-i-ḳāsamabād. The minaret is beautifully constructed of baked bricks, set in the cement which the Persians call sārūj or sārūnj. It is 75 feet in height now, and stands on a square plinth, each side of which is 18 feet square. The diameter of the minaret is therefore 18 feet. The ruins of a staircase exist within the shaft. The inscriptions and ornamentation of the minaret can be clearly seen in the picture. The plinth is 1 foot above the ground around.

No other ruin of the same nature exists in the country. And there can have only been one minaret, for if another had stood close by it, and had fallen down, the tumulus raised by its débris would have been a conspicuous landmark for miles around. Small ruins of walls and buildings exist

in the immediate vicinity of the minaret, and these are probably the remains of some religious foundation that sprang up around the minaret. Judging from its position and the fact of its being a solitary building, I am disposed to think it might have been erected to commemorate a victory, either over the ancient inhabitants by the first conquerors, or a subsequent victory over the Khawārij, of whom Sistan was full in the early days of the Caliphate. If the former, it does not follow that the minaret was raised then. The site of the battlefield was known, and the commemorative shaft raised subsequently. Perhaps some of the members of the Society could give an opinion, from the architectural details, as to the probable period when it was built. The ancient capital of Sistan in Sassanian times lies about ten miles to the north-east of this minaret, and this spot where the latter is built may have been the actual battlefield where the Marzubān was defeated by the first Muḥammadan conquerors of Sistan in the first century A.H. The plain around this minaret is strewn with débris of bricks and potsherds, and about two miles in a southerly direction from this building is situated the ruined city of Zāhidān. This year, while acting as the Chief Survey Officer of the Seistan Boundary Commission, I have been able to visit and make notes of many ancient sites.

I have mapped the ancient capital of the country; and thus I believe I have located the site of the town of Zaranj. Here also there are the remains of a minaret, of which only about 30 feet exist above the mounds of débris that surround it. This portion is, in plan, an octagon, each side being about 10 feet at the lowest part. About 30 feet from the present ground-level there are traces of a balcony having run round the building, and above this there rose the circular shaft of the minaret, of which only 2 or 3 feet are at present existing. I hope by the time I leave India that I shall have had an opportunity of visiting every site where cities and towns have existed in this country in past centuries.

I discovered the remains of a bridge with brick-arched

MINARET OF ḲĀSAMABAD.

waterways. This also was beautifully built of baked brick and sārūj. This bridge is mentioned as having existed at a very early period in the history of this country. It appears in one or two itineraries, and this affords a most excellent starting-point, by means of which other old sites can be clearly identified and accurately placed.

From an archæological standpoint a great deal of good work has thus been done—irrespective of the main object of the mission, of course.

In conclusion, I must ask you to pardon what is rather an untidy letter, but I am writing in camp, with the celebrated "wind of 120 days" giving us a specimen of what it can do when it is really bent on work! and it makes letter-writing a rather difficult matter at the best.

This Winter the Hamun of the Helmand was quite dry, and we watched it fill: a very interesting experience it was.

G. P. Tate.

Karachi, India.

Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the British Museum, has been kind enough to send the following note on these inscriptions:—

Smaller Inscription on Foundation Stone.

بنى عمارة هذه [*sic*] المسجد
ذا شرفة جلالة الملك العادل
شمس الحق والدنيا والدين ملك على
[خلد] الله تعالى ملكه فى شهور سنة ٨٤٧

"This glorious mosque was built by His Majesty al-Malik al-'Ādil Shams al-Ḥaqq wa'l-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Malik 'Alī (God perpetuate his reign) in the months of the year [A.H.] 847 [A.D. 1443–4]."

For a notice of Malik Shams al-Dīn 'Alī, see the History of Sistan, entitled Iḥyā al-Mulūk, by Shāh Ḥusain b. Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn (British Museum MS., Or. 2779, fol. 56).

LARGER INSCRIPTION ON A TOMBSTONE.

Epitaph of Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn Shaikh Muḥammad, dated A.H. 850 [A.D. 1446–7].

The lower band of inscription round the minaret of Ḳāsimābād would seem to record the name of the ruler who built it, for the titles الملك المؤيد المنصور المظفر (al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad al-Manṣūr al-Muẓaffar) are distinctly legible on the photograph.

FITZGERALD'S OMAR KHAYYAM.—According to the *Academy and Literature* of the 11th November, no fewer than twenty new editions of this popular poem had been issued within the preceding three months. Among these may be included a highly meritorious translation into French verse of the well-known English quatrains which has just been added to our library. Very different from the able rendering by M. Nicolas, this is not a mere exposition of a Persian text for the benefit of those who cannot appreciate the linguistic beauties of the original: it is also an attempt to reproduce Omar in his native dress, following as closely as possible the rhyme and style of his accomplished English exponent. It is difficult to determine whether most to admire the elegance and appropriateness of the whole version of M. Fernand Henri, or the skill with which his edition of the poems has been treated, both as regards appreciation of Fitzgerald and his own evident mastery of the English tongue and ideas.

DHAMMAPĀLA.—The British Museum has acquired a good MS. in Burmese character, dated 1764, of this author's commentary on the Cariyā Piṭaka.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(October, November, December, 1903.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

November 10th, 1903.—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

The Rev. Grahame Bailey,
Mr. C. N. Seddon,
The Rev. W. Fyfe,
Syed M. Sheriff,
Mr. M. T. Deen,
Mr. H. B. Rae,
Mr. Lin Chin Tsong,
Mr. S. P. Aiyar,
The Rev. John Bowen,
Sheykh Ḥasan Tawfiq, and
Mr. E. A. Seaton

had been elected members of the Society.

Professor Browne read a paper on the study of Arabic in Egypt and England, illustrated by a phonograph and by the recitation of an Arabic poem by Sheykh Ḥasan Tawfiq. A discussion followed, in which Professor Margoliouth, Dr. Gaster, and Professor Hagopian took part.

December 8th, 1903.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Mr. N. E. F. Corbett and
Thakur Joonjar Singh

had been elected members of the Society.

Professor Rhys Davids read a paper entitled "A Point in Historical Geography." A discussion followed, in which Dr. Fleet and Mr. Sewell took part.

II. Additions to the Library.

Presented by the Musée Guimet.

Moret (A.). Le Rituel du Culte divin journalier en Égypte. (Bib. d'Études.) 8vo. *Paris*, 1902.

Kern (H.). Histoire du Bouddhisme. Vol. ii. 8vo. *Paris*, 1903.

Moret (A.). Du Caractère Religieux de la Royauté Pharaonique. 8vo. *Paris*, 1902.

Mélanges Annales du Musée Guimet. 4to. *Paris*, 1903.

Presented by the Delegates of the Oxford Press.

Cooke (Rev. G.). Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions, Moabite, Hebrew, Phœnician, Aramaic, Nabatæan, Palmyrene, Jewish. 8vo. *Oxford*, 1903.

Presented by the Société Finno-Ougrienne.

Wichmann (Y.). Die Tschuwassischen Lehnwörter in den Permischen Sprachen. 8vo. *Helsingfors*, 1903.

Presented by the Hakluyt Society.

Beazley (C. Raymond). Texts and Versions of John de Plano Carpini and William de Rubruquis. (Hakluyt Society.) 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Presented by the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences.

Wiener (S.). Bibliographie der Osten-Haggadah. 4to. *St. Petersburg*, 1902.

Bendall (C.). Çikshāsamuccaya. Pt. iv. (Bib. Buddhica, i.) 8vo. *St. Petersburg*, 1902.

Finot (L.). Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā. (Bib. Buddhica, ii.) 8vo. *St. Petersburg*, 1901.

Speyer (J. S.). Avadānaçataka. Pt. i. (Bib. Buddhica, iii.) 8vo. *St. Petersburg*, 1902.

Presented by the Publishers.

Brooks (E. W.). The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, in the Syriac Version of Athanasius of Nisibis. Vol. ii (Translation), pt. 1. 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Vandenhoff (B.). Exegesis Psalmorum imprimis Messianicorum apud Syros Nestorianos. 8vo. *Rheine*, 1899.

Blochet (E.). Le Messianisme dans l'Hétérodoxie Musulmane. 8vo. *Paris*, 1903.

Oman (J. C.). The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India. 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Teloni (B.). Litteratura Assira. 8vo. *Milano*, 1903.

Schiaparelli (G.). L'Astronomia nell' Antico Testamento. 8vo. *Milano*, 1903.

Pizzi (I.). Litteratura Araba. 8vo. *Milano*.

—— Islamismo. 8vo. *Milano*.

Ward (G. E.). The Bride's Mirror. A tale of domestic life in Dehli forty years ago by Shamsululuma Maulavi Nazir Ahmad. 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Campbell (Rev. W.). Formosa under the Dutch. 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Davids (T. W. Rhys). Buddhist India. 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Keith (A. B.). Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākrit MSS. in the Indian Institute, Oxford. 8vo. *Oxford*, 1903.

Boer (T. J. de). History of Philosophy in Islam, translated by E. R. Jones. 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Presented by Major J. S. King.

D'Alwis (J.). Attanagalli-Vansa, or the History of the Temple of Attanagalla, translated from the Pali with notes and annotations. 8vo. *Colombo*, 1866.

Presented by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Harvard Oriental Series. Rāja-çekhara's Karpūra-Mañjarī, critically edited in the original Prakrit, with a glossarial index and an essay on the life and

writings of the poet, by Sten Konow, and translated into English, with notes, by C. R. Lanman. 8vo. *Cambridge, Mass.*, 1901.

Presented by the Zemindar of Sangamvalsa.

Vadivelu (A.). The Aristocracy of Southern India. 8vo. *Madras*, 1903.

Presented by Major-General Sir F. Goldsmid.

Henri (F.). Les Rubaiyat d'Omar Khayyam, le poète-astronome de la Perse. 8vo. *Paris*, 1903.

Bombay Asiatic Society.

Modi (J. J.). Parsees at the Court of Akbar and Dastur Meherjee Rānā. Two papers. 8vo. *Bombay*, 1903.

Presented by the Authors.

Ball (J. Dyer). Cantonese made easy. Vocabulary. Second edition. 8vo. *Hong Kong*, 1892.

—— How to speak Cantonese. Fifty Conversations in Cantonese Colloquial. Second edition. 8vo. *Hong Kong*, 1902.

Nadkarni Rao Bahadur (G. N.). Journal of a Visit to Europe in 1896. 8vo. *Bombay*, 1903.

Bhagavad (R. R.). A course of eight Lectures on the Sanskrit Language. 8vo. *Bombay*, 1903.

Liebich (B.). Das Datum Candragomin's und Kalidasa's. Pamphlet. 8vo. *Breslau*, 1903.

Euting (J.). Notice sur un papyrus Egypto-Araméen de la Bib. Imp. de Strasbourg. Pamphlet. 4to. *Paris*, 1903.

Landberg (M. le Comte de). Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie Méridionale. Vol. i: Ḥaḍramoût. 8vo. *Leide*, 1901.

Hirschfeld (Dr. H.). Jewish Conception of the Universe in the Middle Ages. Pamphlet. 8vo. *London*, 1903.

——— The Arabic Portion of the Cairo Genizah at Cambridge. Pamphlet. 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Ainslie (D.). John of Damascus. 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Davids (T. W. Rhys). Buddhism. New edition. 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Tilak (B. G.). The Arctic Home in the Vedas. 8vo. *Bombay*, 1903.

Simon (R.). Die Notationen des Somanātha. Pamphlet. 8vo. *München*, 1903.

Presented by the India Office.

Strachey (Sir John). India, its Administration and Progress. 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Benares Sanskrit College. List of Sanskrit, Jaina, and Hindi MSS. purchased during 1897–1901. 8vo. *Allahabad*, 1902.

Oertel (F. O.). Report on the Restoration of Ancient Monuments at Anuradhapura, Ceylon. Fol. *Colombo*, 1903.

Swynnerton (Rev. C.). Romantic Tales from the Panjab. 8vo. *Westminster*, 1903.

Sandberg (G.) and Heyde (A. W.). Tibetan-English Dictionary. 4to. *Calcutta*, 1902.

Tawney (C. H.) and Thomas (F. W.). Catalogue of two Collections of Sanskrit MSS. preserved in the India Office Library. 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Duthie (J. F.). Flora of the Upper Gangetic Plain. Post 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1903.

Rice (L.). Epigraphia Carnatica. Vol. xi. 4to. *Bangalore*, 1903.

Presented by the École des langues orientales vivantes.

El-Bokhâri. Les Traductions Islamiques, traduites de l'Arabe avec Notes et Index par O. Houdas et W. Marçais. Tome i. 8vo. *Paris*, 1903.

Rambaud (J. B.). La langue Wolof. 8vo. *Paris*, 1903.

Vinson (J.). Manuel de la langue Tamoule. 8vo. *Paris*, 1903.

Derenbourg (H.). Les Manuscrits Arabes de l'Escurial. Tome ii, fasc. 1. Roy. 8vo. *Paris*, 1903.

Purchased.

Nāradīya Dharmasāstra, translated by J. Jolly. 8vo. *London*, 1876.

Blumhardt (J. F.). Vocabulary of Words in the Text of the Charitābalī of Īsvarachandra Vidyāsāgara. 8vo. *London*, 1883.

Wheeler (S.). The Ameer Abdur Rahman. 8vo. *London*, 1895.

Hopkins (E. W.). The Great Epic of India: its Character and Origin. 8vo. *New York*, 1901.

Platts (J. T.). Grammar of the Persian Language. Pt. i: Accidence. 8vo. *London*, 1894.

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THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

IX.

AN AHOM COSMOGONY, WITH A TRANSLATION AND A VOCABULARY OF THE AHOM LANGUAGE.

By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt.

THE Ahoms are a tribe of the Tai branch of the Indo-Chinese. They conquered Assam early in the thirteenth century A.D., and held it, as the ruling nation, for many centuries. Their language, which is now extinct, was an old form of the Tai language from which Siamese and Shan have sprung. It is now known by tradition to a few priests of the old Ahom religion. It had a considerable literature (including several valuable historical works), manuscripts of which are still extant. Some years ago the Assamese Government deputed a native official, Babu Golap Chandra Baruā, to learn the language and translate such documents as were of value and had survived. He is, I believe, the only person who knows both Ahom and English. Through his assistance I was enabled to publish a short grammar of Ahom (with selections and a vocabulary) in vol. lvi of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. Since then I have received from him a short Ahom *kōṣa*, or dictionary, and also the text and translation of the cosmogony printed below.

The Ahom religion was a pagan one, but it no doubt

borrowed some of its terms (with its alphabet) from old Burmese. The other members of the Tai family, such as the Siamese, the Shans, and the Khamtis of Assam, have been Buddhists for centuries. This fact gives us a clue to the age of the cosmogony. The name of God used therein is Phā-tüw-chüng. After their migration to Assam the Ahoms abandoned the employment of that name, and used instead Phū-ra-ta-ra, which is that used by their Buddhist relations. The occurrence of the word 'Phā-tüw-chüng,' therefore, points to a date at latest not much after the first half of the thirteenth century A.D. In the account of the cosmogony there is (except in the employment of a few words) nothing to show any connection with Buddhism. Indeed, so far from there being anything Indian about it, the opening verses curiously recall the cosmogony described in the Babylonian tablets. This makes the text of more than ordinary interest.

Like the earlier chapters of Genesis, the text seems to include two distinct accounts of creation, the second account commencing at verse 53.

The author of the book is unknown. It is styled by the Ahoms the *Phe-lung* or "Great Creation." The Assamese call it the *Anādi-pātan*, the creation without beginning, that is to say, "The Creation *ex nihilo*."

Babu Golap Chandra Baruā informs me that the MS. from which the present text is reproduced was found in the possession of a Deodhai (or member of an Ahom priestly family) named Chakradhar Baruā, of Mauzā Gadhulibazār, in the district of Sibsāgar. A somewhat similar, but much shorter, specimen of Ahom will be found in Brown's paper on the *Alphabets of the Tai Language*, in vol. vi (1837) of the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (pp. 177 ff.). There is a translation of this by Major F. Jenkins on p. 980 of the same volume. The text and translation were reprinted by me in the article in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* already referred to. It differs widely from what is now given, and, moreover, appears to have been based on an incorrectly written copy.

As very few specimens of Ahom writing have reached Europe, I give a facsimile of Babu Golap Chandra Baruā's text as forwarded to me, the letters being given half the size of the original. The transliteration is my own, but the translations have been mainly based on versions provided by him.

I have transliterated letter for letter, but as all Ahom writing is very careless, and as the pronunciation does not always follow the spelling even when that is correct, I have, when the word to be read differs from that which is written, also inserted the correct sound in parenthesis. The system of transliteration is the same as that followed in my grammar mentioned above, except that I have represented the inherent vowel by *a* and not by *ā*. In Assamese transliteration this letter is represented by *ā*, because it has the sound of the *a* in the German 'mann,' and not the sound of *a* in Assamese, which is that of *o* in 'hot.' It should be remembered that this letter has *not* the sound of *u* in 'nut.' Moreover, as all Ahom initial vowels are carried in writing on the sign for this vowel, which, in this respect, is used exactly like the Arabic *'alif*, I indicate its presence in an initial vowel by an apostrophe. Thus, *'a*, *'i*, *'u*, and so on. A reference to the table of the alphabet in my grammar will make this clear. The only other change is that I have followed the Assamese Government textbooks by representing the sound of *a* in 'all' by *å*, and not by *â*, which is the sign adopted in my grammar.

The vocabulary appended is, in the first place, based on the *kōṣa* sent me by Babu Golap Chandra Baruā. This gave each Ahom word in its own character, followed by a transliteration into Assamese and a list of Assamese synonyms. In order to secure a double check, Babu Golap Chandra Baruā very kindly gave me what he considered to be the English equivalents of the Assamese words. Taking this as a basis, I have rearranged the contents of the *kōṣa*, putting the Ahom words in the order of the English alphabet. To this I have added a large number of words and phrases collected by myself in the course of my reading. Every

word in the *Phe-lung* has also been inserted, with a reference to the number of each verse[1] in which it is to be found.

It will be noted that each Ahom word has many quite different meanings. These various meanings were originally differentiated by tones, but all tradition regarding these tones has been lost. We possess an excellent dictionary of the younger, but cognate, Shan language, by Dr. Cushing. In this the tones are always carefully registered, and, in order to assist students of philology, I insert in the Ahom vocabulary, whenever I have been able, after each meaning the corresponding Shan word, with its tone in that language. When the Shan word is the same as the Ahom one, I do not rewrite it, but give the tone only.

The following account of the Shan tones is taken from Dr. Cushing's work. The five basal tones are known by numbers. Thus:—

No. 1. The *natural* tone: in the natural pitch of the voice with a slight rising inflexion at the end.

No. 2. The *grave* tone: a deep bass tone.

No. 3. The *straightforward* tone: an even tone, in pitch between Nos. 1 and 2.

No. 4. The *high* tone: more elevated in pitch than No. 1.

No. 5. The *emphatic* tone: an abrupt or explosive tone.

There are three series of these tones, according as the word is pronounced with the lips partially closed (*closed* series, indicated by 'c'), with lips well opened (*open* series, indicated by 'o'), or with the lips moderately open (*mediate* series, indicated by 'm'). We thus see that it is possible for a word to be pronounced in fifteen different ways, i.e. in each of the five tones, in each of the three series. The tone of a Shan word is indicated by writing after it the number of the tone and the letter of the series. Thus *kip*, 3c, means that the word *kip* must be pronounced in the straightforward tone with the lips partially closed. It

[1] In using the word 'verse' I do not mean that the *Phe-lung* is in poetry. It is not. I employ the word 'verse' in the sense of a short sentence.

then means 'a screen.' On the other hand, *kip*, 4m, is to be pronounced in the high tone with the lips moderately open, and then means 'to choose'; while *kip*, 5o, is to be pronounced in the emphatic tone with the lips well opened, and then means 'a moment.'

Since my grammar was written, I have come across two very similar signs in Ahom writing which require explanation.

A small hook suffixed to the bottom of a letter is said to give it a prolonged sound. A similar sign is employed in written (but not in printed) Shan to indicate the closed series of tones. Very probably this was the original power in Ahom. An example of its use is the word [illegible] *bång* or [illegible] *bå̊ng*, the edge of an axe. It will be seen that here the word is written both with and without the loop. *Bång* should rhyme with 'gong,' while the vowel in *bå̊ng* is longer, like the *aw* in 'yawn.'

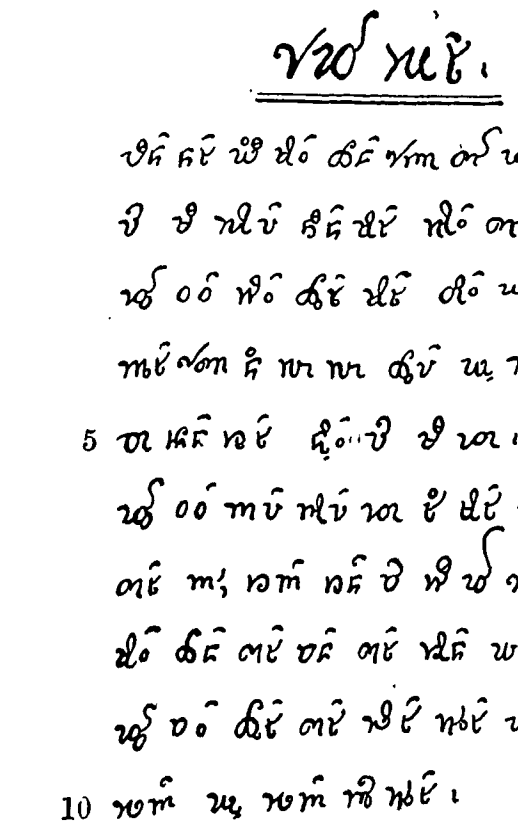
The non-initial form of *ā* is usually [illegible]. Thus [illegible] *kā*. There is a loop somewhat larger than the one just described, which is said to be a shortened form of this non-initial *ā*. I have only met it as a medial vowel followed by a consonant, and it is very rare. On the other hand, I have only found the usual form of non-initial *ā* in an open syllable. I am not at all sure that this loop is not also a tone indicator. In every case in which I have met it, it is appended to the vowel *å*, and the pronunciation of the whole compound is said to be *ā*. Thus, we have [illegible], written and pronounced *kå̊ng*, poison, but [illegible], pronounced *kāng*, measure, in verses 41 and 51 of the *Phe-lung*.

I may also note that an alternative way of writing the letter [illegible] *da*, is [illegible].

I first give the Ahom text of the *Phe-lung*, with a transliteration and word-for-word translation. This is followed by a free translation. The article is concluded by the Ahom vocabulary.

AN AHOM COSMOGONY.

(*Scale half the size of original.*)



TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION.

Phe lung.
Giving-birth great.

Pīn (pin) nang jīm (jim) - müw ran-ko taü
Be thus beginning - time layer-establish below
phā pai mī dī.
heaven exist not good.

pai mī lüp - dīn (din) müng shüw taü.
exist not island - earth country level below.

phau (phraü) baw shiw (sheu) rắng müng tüw
anyone not hold uphold country animal
jū.
remain.

kắng (klắng)-to nam-lā-lā rắp jū-koi.
only ocean surround exist-did.

5. bā-'an khung (khrung) nüw pai mī phā.
and highest-part above exist not heaven.

phau (phraü) baw kap-küp phā ngam
anyone not bite-take-by-force heaven beautiful
müng cham koi.
country and did.

tang - ka khak-khan bai shī pau (plau)
all-finished (all) quiet-peace place full void
te-jaü (jau).
verily-was.

müw ran tang ban tang khün jang (ñang) mī
time confused all day all night be not
rū.
knowledge.

phau (phraü) baw rung tang ling (lüng) shắng phā.
anyone not shine all one illuminate Phā.

10. lak jū lak koi shắng.
uncommon remain uncommon did light.

ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠀꠣꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠀꠣꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ।
ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠀꠣꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ।
ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠀꠣꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ।
ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠀꠣꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ।
ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠀꠣꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ।
ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠀꠣꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ।
ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠀꠣꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ।
ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠀꠣꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ।
ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠀꠣꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ।
ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠀꠣꠉ ꠇꠞꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠇꠣꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ ꠉꠞꠉ।

müng ran tang ban tang khün jang (ñang)
country confused all day all night be
mī rū.
not know.

lum pau (plau) tang phun tang lum jang (ñang)
all void all rain all air be
mī daï.
not get.

lum phun daï cham phā khaü (khau) khaü (khau)
all rain get and heaven they-all enter
jū chau 'ing te-jaü (jau).
dwell Chau body verily-did.

khan to phā-ko jū shaü (shau) raü (rau).
alone solitary Phā (nom.) abide remain air.

15. jū tam kang (klang). raü (rau) lak-koi
remain there middle air shine-did
kho-koi-jaü (jau).
glitter-did-complete.

man-ko ñang mī pak khan shing (sheng).
he (nom.) be not mouth word speak.

baw rū kīng (kling) chū müw jang (ñang)
be-not head assume name hand. be
ran-koi-jaü (jau).
confused-was-did.

tün-lün phā-ko jaü (jau) poi tün.
then-after Phā (nom.) did then take-shape.

mün (mlün)-ta ñang mī han ngam müng.
open-eyes be not see beautiful country.

20. tang-ka taü phā ñang mī shak mī
all-finished (all) land heaven be not place not
shing (sheng) te-jaü (jau).
speak verily-did.

khung (khrung) phā lüp-müng bai shī-dai.
highest-part heaven island-country place break-get.

baw mī phī (phrī) baw mī phī (phrī)-mī
not be-not demigod not be-not demigod-female
shang shak kūn (kun) koi-jaü (jau).
spirit crowd man was-did.

ꩡꩲ ꩉ ꩍꩬꩫ ꩉꩭꩫ ꩈꩲ ꩉꩫ ꩉꩬ ꩁꩲ,
ꩬ ꩉꩬ ꩬꩭ ꩈꩲ ꩉ ꩉꩫ ꩈꩲ ꩍꩬ ꩈꩲ,
ꩡꩲꩁ ꩍꩬꩫ ꩉꩭꩫ ꩈꩲ ꩬꩫ ꩍꩬ ꩈꩲ,
ꩬ ꩬꩬ ꩬꩭ ꩈꩲꩍ ꩉꩲ ꩬꩬ ꩉꩬ,
ꩉꩫ ꩉꩫꩲ ꩉꩬ ꩈꩲ ꩉꩫꩲ ꩈꩲ ꩬ,
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ꩉꩫ ꩉꩫꩲ ꩉꩬ ꩈꩲ ꩉꩫꩲ ꩈꩲ ꩬ,
ꩈꩲ ꩡꩲꩁ ꩉꩬ ꩈꩲ ꩉꩫꩲ ꩈꩲ ꩬ,
ꩉꩫ ꩉꩫꩲ ꩉꩬ ꩈꩲ ꩉꩫꩲ ꩈꩲ ꩬ,
ꩈꩲ ꩡꩲꩁ ꩉꩬ ꩈꩲ ꩉꩫꩲ ꩈꩲ ꩬ,
ꩉꩫ ꩉꩫꩲ ꩉꩬ ꩈꩲ ꩉꩫꩲ ꩈꩲ ꩬ,
ꩈꩲ ꩡꩲꩁ ꩉꩬ ꩈꩲ ꩉꩫꩲ ꩈꩲ ꩬ,

shang bā kaw-ko lak jū kho baw dī.
Shang say I (nom.) shine remain neck not good.

phaü (phraü) baw kaü jū phā shak phū
anyone not I remain heaven near male
cham koi.
and did.

25. shang poi kaw-ko lak jū choi chaw.
if then I (nom.) thief remain power supernatural.

phaü (phraü) baw laü (lau) hūng (hung) rang
anyone not speak fame body
te-jaü (jau).
verily-did.

khan to phā-tüw-chüng-ko shup kūm (kum)
alone solitary Phā-tüw-chüng (nom.) mouth down-drooping
khaü (khau)-chau (chaü)-dū.
in-heart-saw.

pâng (plâng) shiñ (shen) khâm jū tâng
consider very-important subject remain belly
koi-jaü (jau).
did-completely.

phā-ko tak bā ko lüp-müng shiñ (shen)
Phā (nom.) word say create island-country very-good
khung (khrung) dai-jaü (jau).
highest-part get-did.

30. chang-tak phā-ko naü-chau (chaü) khun-thiw (theo)-kham
then Phā (nom.) breast Khun-thiw-kham
'aw-'âk.
take-out.

po nang mai ro bâk (blâk)-kīp (kip)-lam.
say like wood shoot-out mushroom.

ngaü müng 'âk kai-kai.
light quickly come-out all-about.

ngā-ngā tâng shiñ (shen) müng ngaü phā
many-moles belly very-good quickly light pierce
'âk khiw-khiw.
come-out very-bright.

khaü (khau) jang ngam thā khâm phā-tüw-chüng-ne
all glitter beauty wait word Phā-tüw-chüng-from
püng.
instruction.

35 ꩱ

35. khup-bai tham kham müng kū-kho.
kneel-down ask news world fear-with.

raw-ko baw rū ban-'åk cham müw-naü.
we (nom.) not know day-come-out (east) and now.

chang-nai raw jū cham pin nang rüw
now we remain and become sit know

cham koi.
also may.

chang-tak phā-tüw-chüng-ko haü-khaü (khau)-pan
Then Phā-tüw-chüng (nom.) allow-enter-uphold

daü jū müw-nan.
Dēva remain for-ever.

khan | to püng (plüng) lüng jin (jün)-pin pū
word only half one pattern-become crab

rång müng shüw taü.
sustain world level bottom.

40. man jang (ñang) jū nüw nam koi jū
he be remain above water did remain

shaü (shau) cham jaü.
column and long.

khing (khring) khüw (khrüw) kwāng (kāng) baw rū
body length breadth not know

king (küng) shiñ (shen) chū te-jaü (jau).
measure a-hundred-thousand yuga verily-did.

püng (plüng) lüng jin (jün)-pin lā-ka shaü (shau)
half one pattern-become Lā-ka remain

råp jū tam-nüw man koi-jaü (jau).
surround exist place-above he did-complete.

poi püng (plüng) lüng cham jin (jün)-pin
again half one and pattern-become

thük-chang rång-ñgā (?) tam shaü (shau)-jū
male-elephant tusked upon remain-exist

man cham jaü (jau).
he and did.

ꩡ ꩍ ꩉ ꩋ ꩌ ꩍ ꩉ ꩋ ꩌ ꩍ ꩉ ꩋ ꩌ

tam-nüw man cham jin (jün)-pin khak khan
place-above he and pattern-become solitary quickly
kån-phā (phrā)-phük rū-müng
mass-rock-white (Mēru) head-country (north)
te-jaü (jau).
verily-did.

45. poi püng (plüng) lüng jin (jün)-pin shai ring
again half one pattern-become thread thousand
müng råp phā.
country link heaven.

nåk ran ñang han shang.
weight roll be see not.

dap shiñ (shen) ñang mī shak ming (mling)
emit-light very-good be dark bright firefly
mī koi-jaü (jau).
like did-complete.

poi püng (plüng) lüng jin (jün)-pin
again portion one pattern-become
shai-chüng-müng shī ching (chüng).
thread-god-country (Vāyu) four god.

kån chüng-phā nai-cham pak-bai kån-phā-ñaü
good Chüng-Phā now call-place Kån-phā-ñaü
cham jaü (jau).
and did.

50. poi püng (plüng) lüng jin (jün)-pin
again half one pattern-become
shai-chüng-müng tüw khån.
thread-god-country (Vāyu) animal life.

baw rū kwāng (kāng) shiñ (shen) chū
not know measure one-hundred-thousand yuga
phiw müng te-koi.
be-in-excess the-world verily-was.

man jang kūng (kung) pung (plung) pün
it glitter bow bring-down island
tamng (tam-tang) müng.
place-all world.

ଦୀ ଶିନ୍‌ ନା ଦିଂ ଗଦି ମ୍‌ ସ୍ନ ସ୍ନା ଅ୍‌ ।
ଜି ଦିଂ ଦ୍ଦଂ ଏଗ୍‌ ଦିଗ୍‌ ଗଂ ନ ଗ୍ମ ଗଂ ଦ୍ଦ ।
ଗ୍ମ ଗ୍ମ ଦ୍ଦ

tam ran phā-tüw-chüng shaü (shau) kho te-jaü (jau).
will foundation Phā-tüw-chüng remain with verily-did.

poi püng (plüng) lüng jin (jün)-pin cham phū
then half one pattern-become and male
kau kham tū ñaü.
spider gold animal gigantic.

55. man mạ khī khiñ (khüñ)-bai cham ko
he shed excrement help-place and create
jün din 'ån phā te-jaü (jau).
solitary earth before heaven verily-complete.

man poi khün-mạ nang jauw run-pin
he then rise-up-come difficulty great bring-out-become
phā ko le-pai lē-mạ rung pin
heaven create backwards forwards bright become
thin bai.
throne smooth.

pin chik pin chång nang thin
make highest-part-of-heaven make umbrella sit throne
man te-jaü (jau).
he verily-did.

khan to jauw kau-kham-ko lâk-pin phā.
quickly alone gigantic spider-gold (nom.) transform-become heaven.

nā ring bū chu (chū) müng tī pün te-jau.
thick thousand fathom yōjana country place world verily-was.

60. pin tang müng lai khång (khrång)
become all country all thing
shiñ (shen) lüp-müng te-jaü (jau).
one-hundred-thousand island-country verily-did.

tang-kạ khung (khrung) phā phaü (phraü)
all-finished (all) highest heaven anyone
nang kam chaw.
sit be king.

khak khai (khrai) thün jin kün (kun).
lonely solitude fill quiet man.

kång (klång)-to 'ai muñ (mui) doi ña tī pün.
only vapour hoar-frost with forest place world.

tün-lün jū müw poi jū ban.
after-that remain time again remain day.

FREE TRANSLATION.

The Great Creation.

(1) Thus was it in the beginning-time—the foundation below (i.e. the earth) and heaven (*phā*[1]) did not exist.

(2) No island or level country existed below (the heaven).

(3) There remained no animal to support the country.

(4) Verily only ocean surrounded (the universe).

(5) And the highest part of heaven (*phā*) did not exist above.

(6) There was no one to quarrel and take possession of the lovely heaven (*phā*) and the country.

(7) All was still and verily was full of void.

(8) Time was confused. There was no knowledge of day and night.

(9) There was nothing to give light except one illuminating Phā.[2]

(10) He remained, giving unusual and extraordinary light.

(11) The country (i.e. the earth) was all confused, and there was no knowledge of day and night.

(12) All was void. Neither rain nor air could be found.

(13) Air, rain, and heaven (*phā*)—they all dwelt in the body of Chau.[3]

(14) Only the solitary Phā remained abiding in the air.

(15) He remained in the middle of the air, where he shone and glittered.

(16) He spoke not word by mouth (i.e. He had no mouth to speak with).

(17) He had no head, he assumed no name, he had no hand, and was in a confused condition.

[1] See note to verse 9.

[2] *Phā* in this cosmogony is employed in two senses. In one it means 'heaven,' and corresponds to the Shan *phā*, 5c (compare verse 1 and elsewhere). In the other, it corresponds to the Shan *phrāḥ*, 4c, and is the general word for 'God.' It is the Pali-Burmese *bhu-rāḥ*, a Buddha, nowadays pronounced *pha-yāḥ*.

[3] *Chau*, 'master, owner, king, a *dēva*,' is here translated 'God.' I do not know if it is a proper name or not. Compare verse 61, where it means 'king.'

(18) After that Phā assumed shape.

(19) He opened his eyes, and did not see the beautiful country (i.e. the world).

(20) (He saw that) all lands and heaven (*phā*) were verily not in their places.

(21) The highest part of heaven (*phā*), the islands, and all places were destroyed.

(22) The Phrī (demigods),[1] and the female Phrī, the Shang (spirits),[2] and the crowd of men were not.

(23) The Shang (i.e. Phā) said (to himself), "It is not proper (that) I should remain alone and give light from my neck.[3]

(24) "There is not anyone, or any male, to remain with me in heaven (*phā*).

(25) "If I, the supernatural power, remain like a thief,

(26) "Then no one will sing the fame of my body (i.e. offer prayers to me)."

(27) Solitary, Phā-tüw-chüng[4] thought within himself, drooping his mouth downwards.

(28) He considered this most important subject within his belly (i.e. within himself).

(29) Phā said, "I will create the islands, the country, and the highest part (i.e. heaven)."

(30) Then Phā took out Khun-thiw-kham[5] from his breast.

[1] *Phrī* = Shan *phī*, lc, a being superior to man and inferior to the Brahmās, and having its dwelling-place in one of the six inferior celestial regions. The word *phrī*, in Ahom, also means "a ghost."

[2] *Shang* = Shan *hsang*, lo, a Brahmā, a being superior to men and Nats, and inhabiting the highest celestial region. In the next verse the word is used as the equivalent of Phā himself. Note that *shang-bā* means 'if.' In verse 23 the traditional interpretation of *shang bā* is 'Shang said,' not 'if.'

[3] This is apparently the traditional interpretation. *Kho* certainly does mean 'neck,' but it also means 'to shine, glitter.' I am therefore inclined to translate *lāk-jū-kho* by 'shine-remain-glitter,' i.e. remain brilliant, instead of 'shine-remain neck.'

[4] *Phā-tüw-chüng* is a name of Phā. *Chüng* means 'a god,' and *Chüng-phā* is used in verse 49 as another name of Phā. In verses 48 and 50 *Shai-chüng-müng*, 'thread-god-country,' means 'thread of air,' and is the name of the air-gods identified with the *Vāyus* of Hinduism. I do not know the meaning of *tüw* in *Phā-tüw-chüng*. The only meanings I know of this syllable are 'a dwarf, ignorant, an animal.'

[5] *Khun-thiw-kham* is the name of a god. The component parts seem to be *khun*, 'king'; *thiw*, 'a strong, good-looking person'; and *kham*, 'gold.' In the 38th verse he is called a *Daü*, or Dēva.

(31) He shot out as a fungus does from a piece of wood.

(32) Light came out very quickly all round his body.

(33) On his beautiful belly he had many moles, through which, piercing, a bright light quickly issued.

(34) In all his beautiful sheen he waited for the word of instruction from Phā-tüw-chüng.

(35) He knelt down, and with fear asked for news of the world.

(36) (He said to Phā-tüw-chüng), "And now we do not know where the east is.

(37) "At present we may remain there if we know."

(38) Then Phā-tüw-chüng allowed the Daü [1] to exist for ever.

(39) By (Phā's) word alone, from half [2] of him (Khun-thiw-kham) there was created a crab to remain straight at the bottom and support the country.

(40) He (the crab) remained above the water as a great supporting column.

(41) The length and breadth of the body (of the crab) would not be known if one were to measure for a hundred thousand ages.

(42) From another half there was created (the serpent) Lā-ka,[3] who remained (in the region) above (the crab) and surrounded him.

(43) From another half of him,[4] there was created a male tusked elephant, who remained upon the crab.

(44) Above (the crab) in the north region there was quickly created the solitary Kån-phrā-phük.[5]

(45) Again, from another half of him,[6] there were created thousands of threads to link the earth with the heaven (*phā*).

[1] I.e. Khun-thiw-kham. The word *Daü* is identified at the present day with the Sanskrit *Dēva*, God.

[2] The word *plüng* means 'half,' but it is here and in the following verses apparently used to mean 'portion.'

[3] Lā-ka, the cosmic serpent. Like the Sēṣa of Sanskrit mythology. It does not appear whether the serpent issued from half Khun-thiw-kham or from half the crab.

[4] Not certain whether the half was of Khun-thiw-kham or of Lā-ka.

[5] The name means 'mass of white rock,' and is nowadays identified with the Mount Mēru of Sanskrit mythology.

[6] It does not appear who it was that was halved. Possibly Kån-phrā-phük.

(46) The weight of the rolls of thread cannot be seen.

(47) They (the threads) emitted an excellent light, bright as that of a firefly in the dark.

(48) Again, from another half, there were created the four (air-)gods (*chüng*), Shai-chüng-müng.[1]

(49) Good Chüng-phā[2] now gave them the name of Kån-phā-ñaü.

(50) Again, from the half of the Shai-chüng-müng,[3] was (the thread of) animal life created.

(51) We should not know (the extent of the thread of animal life) if we were to measure it for a hundred thousand ages. It is far greater than the world really is.

(52) It gleamed like the rainbow sent down to all islands[4] and places of the world.

(53) Phā-tüw-chüng by his will verily laid the foundation of the work that was with him.

(54) Then from one half there was created a gigantic male spider of gold.

(55) He shed excrement (which) helped to the creation of the solitary earth, verily before the heaven was finished.

(56) Then the spider rose with difficulty and began to weave and create the heaven, going backwards and forwards. It became a bright smooth throne.

(57) He verily made the highest heaven, and the royal umbrella, and the throne (for Phā-tüw-chüng) to sit upon.

(58) Quickly, alone, did the gigantic spider of gold fashion the heaven.

(59) Verily in the world there was a country a thousand fathoms and leagues thick.

[1] Regarding the meaning of *chüng*, see note to verse 27. *Shai-chüng-müng* means 'thread of God-country,' i.e. 'thread of air.' These four are nowadays identified with the Sanskrit *Vāyus*. It is not certain from half of whom they were created. Possibly the threads.

[2] Regarding Chüng-phā, see note to verse 27. The word translated 'good' is *kån*, which is repeated in the first syllable of *Kån-phā-ñaü*. It also occurs in *Kån-phrā-phük* in verse 44. *Ñaü* means 'great, gigantic'; compare verse 54.

[3] Here it is certain that it is the Shai-chüng-müng that were halved.

[4] This frequent employment of the word *pün*, 'island,' recalls the *dvīpas* of the Sanskrit cosmogony.

(60) All countries and hundreds of thousands of islands were created.

(61) All was finished, but no one became king (*chau*)[1] to sit in the highest heaven (*phā*).

(62) Lonely solitude filled (the place) of quiet man.

(63) The world was only filled with vapour, hoar-frost, and forest.

(64) After that (Phā-tüw-chüng) remained for a time and again for days (i.e. he passed a long period in this manner).

[1] See note to verse 13.

VOCABULARY.

'ā, in *'ā-nan*, that (see *'an*); *me-'ā*, a father's sister.

'ạ, to untie; a mother's father; wife; *'ạ-lâng*, wide-power, God; *'ạ-'ik*, faultless; *'ạ-pit*, (pron. *-pet*), offence, crime, fault; *'ạ-nik*, extreme misery; *'ạ-ki-'ân*, the humble-bee; *'ạ-râng*, virtue, a virtuous act; *'ạ-kā*, a person of the Mishmi tribe; *'ạ-kā-mī-lī*, a person of the Dafla tribe; *tham-'ạ-mū*, a plough.

'ai, the eldest son of a family; shame (Sh. 1o); vapour (Sh. 1o) (63); to eructate (Sh. 1c, to cough) (cf. *uñ*); *an interjection*, O! (always written *hạ*); *lūk-pī-'ai*, an eldest son.

'ak, happiness of mind.

'âk, the brain (Sh. 4c or 2c); to come out (32, 33), appear, rise (of a heavenly body) (Sh. 2c); outside; one's own; *'aw-'âk*, took out (30); *ban-'âk*, day-appearing, the east (36); *pin-'âk*, ripe.

'am, to charm (Sh. 1c); the third child of a family; full; *'am-po*, to bargain; *'am-shū-lā*, a crocodile.

'ăm, to tie or fasten up: to fill up a hole; to bask a little in the sun (Sh. 2c, to warm oneself by the fire); to take on one's own shoulder.

'an, a saddle; to count (Sh. 2o); and; before, in front; *'an-nạ*, before, in front; *bā-'an*, and (5); *poi-'an*, and; *'an-nan* or *'ā-nan*, that (pronoun) (Sh. *'an-nan*, 1c, 5c).

'ăn, soft (cf. *'un*); young; a diminutive termination; before (55), to come in front (Sh. 1c); first; *'ạ-ki-'ân*, the humble-bee.

'ang, a wash-bowl; wished or expected (Sh. 3o, to intend); ancestral property; any property; *'ang-kạ*, ability, power.

'ăng, to move anything, to shake; *'ăng-mang*, water in which rice has been boiled, congee.

'ap, to wash the body (Sh. 2o).

'at, to get a sudden strain on the waist.

'aŭ, **'aw**, or **'aŭ**, to take (Sh. *'aw*, 1c); an uncle (father's brother) (Sh. *'aw*, 1o); to liquify metals (Sh. *'aw*, 2c); to catch fish while they advance in a shoal; *'aŭ-dai*, to fetch; *'aŭ-mạ*, to bring; *'aŭ-mī*, to marry; *'au-chau*, an uncle, the younger brother of a father; *'aw-'âk*, took out (30).

'aw, see *'au* and *'aŭ*.

'e, to sing; to feign.

'ī, the youngest of several (Sh. 2c, a young girl; *ū*, 2c, to be the youngest); one (cf. *lūng*) (cf. Sh. *'it*, 4m); *'ī-'ū*, this (pronoun).

'ik (pronounced *ik*), a yoke (Sh. 2o); hope, reliance; *'ạ-'ik*, faultless.

'in, a sinew (Sh. 1m); a crocodile.

'ing or **'ing** (pronounced *ing*), a large water-pot; a small earthen pot (Sh. *'ing*, 2o, a glazed pot); to lean (Sh. *'ing*, 1c); an earthquake; the body (13); *'ing-kan*, to fall down when ripe (of fruit); *rang-'ing*, the waist.

'ip, the side of a hill; a small covered bamboo basket (Sh. 2o, a cylindrical box; *'ip-kŭw*, 4o, 1o, a small closed basket); to be famished (Sh. *'ŭp*, 4c), properly *'ŭp*, q.v.

'it, to strike with the finger; to produce a sound by striking against a hard thing, to rap.

'iw, the seed of a kind of plant (the entada creeper) used by children as marbles in play (Sh. 2c, a small hole dug in the ground for placing these seeds erect for the game); to fill the belly.

'o, a pipe, tube; ambrosia or nectar; a particle of interrogation (cf. Sh. *hŭw*, 1c); a particle added to *jau* (the particle of past time) to make the suffix, *jau-'o*, of the pluperfect; *'o-chā*, nectar, ambrosia.

'oi, sugar-cane (Sh. 3c); to cause to eat, to feed (Sh. 2c); sweet; a particle signifying continuance.

'ū, to remain (cf. *jū*); used as a particle indicating the present definite tense; to boil paddy; straight; to apply heat; *'ū-jau*, particle forming imperfect; *'ū-koi*, particle forming continuous past; *'ī-'ū*, this (pronoun).

'ūk (pronounced *uk*), the breast, the chest (Sh. *uk*, 4o) (cf. *'ung*); to catch fish while coming in a shoal; a frog (cf. Sh. *'ūng*, 2c); all; *'ūk-chā*, all.

'ük, to lame, to cause to limp.

'ūm (pronounced *um*), to offer a present; to take a mouthful (Sh. *um*, 5o, to hurry in eating).

'un, gladness (cf. *'uñ*); warm (Sh. 2c); to soften, soft (Sh. 3o) (cf. *'ân*); to mould; to be affected with menorrhagia (cf. *hüng*).

'ün, other (Sh. 2c); in another place; to cut into slices.

'uñ (pronounced *ui*), fatigue; to eructate (cf. *'ai*); to sigh; happiness of mind (cf. *'un*); *'uñ* (*ui*)-*chaü*, happiness of mind.

'ung, the breast; the heart: cf. *'uk*.

'üng, a kind of plant (Assamese *deotarā*, cf. Sh. 3o, an orchid); to proceed crawling.

'up, a betel-nut box (Sh. 4c, a box with a conical cover) (cf. *'üp*).

'üp, difficulty (cf. *'ip*); a small pot for keeping lime; a very small box, a betel-nut box (Sh. *'ip-pu*,' 2o, 5c); an embankment across a rice-field; previous, before; to remain at hand.

'ut, to get the body shampooed.

'uw, to praise.

bā, why?; a fathom, four cubits (Sh. *wā*, 4c) (59); to say (Sh. *wā*, 3c) (cf. *bạ*) (23, 29); *bā-'an*, and (5); *shang-bā*, if; *tüw-bā*, but.

bạ, a bundle of hair; mad, crazy, to become mad; to say, speak (Sh. *wā*, 3c) (cf. *bā*); a very poor man, one who lives by drudgery.

bai, a cane, rattan (Sh. *wai*, 1o); to be aslant; to lay by, put, place (Sh. *wai*, 5c); a place (7, 21); smooth, polished (56); *khup-bai*, to kneel down (35); *pak-bai*, to name (49); *khüñ-bai*, to help (55); *bl̂k-bai-haü*, a certain flower (Assamese, *bhāt-phūl*); *hup-bai* to store, lay by; *bai-lang*, after; *chī-r̂p-ch̄p-khâp-bai*, a finger-ring.

bak, to weave.

bâk, to mean; to speak, tell, explain.

bam, dusky.

ban, the sun, a day (Sh. *wan*, 4c) (8, 11, 64); a village (Sh. *wan*, 3o); a kind of paddy; sweet, agreeable (Sh. *wan*, 1o); to sow (Sh. *wan*, 2o); to beg (Sh. *wan*, 4o); to open; *ban-'âk*, the east (36); *ban-tuk*, sunset; *ban-khau*, to sow paddy; *ban-khau-khrai*, to sow paddy broadcast (generally under water); *thiw-ban*, a bud; *ban-cham*, of or belonging to a village. (In 64, *ban*, day, is used to signify an indefinite long period of time.)

bân, the *kachu* (arum) plant and its root (Sh. *mân* or *wân*, 1c); to smell; flabby, pulpy; *bân-hoi*, to be fully ripe and full of juice.

bâñ, see *boiñ*.

bang, a prostitute, harlot; a kind of tare that grows among autumn rice; thin (Sh. *wang*, 1o); the inside of a pipe; to break (cf. Sh. *wang*, 2c, to tear); to copulate (Sh. *wang*, 1o); to glitter; *ñạ-bang-she*, a kind of sharp-edged grass (Assamese, *mādurī ban*); *bang-shau*, a harlot.

bâng or **bâng**, the edge of an axe; a favourite friend; a dam across a river (cf. Sh. *müng*, 1o); a net for catching deer; a sprout; asthma; soot, sooty; to spread an umbrella; to be a king; intelligent; to attend upon anyone; to pierce through (cf. Sh. *mâng*, 2c, a hole or opening); a rope tied to the neck of an elephant; *bâng-to*, laborious.

bap, a kind of fish trap; to rob; paddy ready to be husked; uneven.

bat, a kind of louse found on the body of a dog (Sh. *mat*, 4c, a flea); one time, once; to become sore; to get relief from illness, be convalescent; to praise.

bât, imperfect, not well developed; blind (Sh. *mât* or *wât*, 2c).

bau (cf. *baw*), a youth, a young unmarried man (Sh. *waw* or *maw*, 2o); company, companionship; to stand still.

baü, a leaf (Sh. *maü*, 1c).

baw (cf. *bau*), a miser; a handmill for grinding corn; to hold; no, not to be, not (Sh. *maw*, 2c) (cf. *bū*) (3, 6, 9, 17, 22 *bis*, 23, 24, 26, 36, 41, 51). All these words are often spelt *bau*.

be, to bleat; to rebuke, to reproach; to bark.

bī, a fan (Sh. *wī*, 4c); to comb the hair, a kind of comb (Sh. *wī*, 1c); a cowry (Sh. *we*, 3c); to fear.

bīn (pronounced *bin*), to fly (Sh. *win*, 1c); aslant; to place aside, on one side (cf. Sh. *win*, 5m, to leave; *wit*, 4c, to be drawn aside).

biñ (pronounced *ben*), a bracelet, a bangle (Sh. *wiñ*, 1o); the end of a nut to which the foot-stalk is attached; to cast into water and drag out again (as a net); to throw out.

bīng (pronounced *bing*), a town, a city (Sh. *wing*, 4m); a small potsherd; to jump; to divide (Sh. *wing*, 2o, to be divided); *bing-hâng*, a whitlow; *bing-tang-tūt*, the mason wasp (*Sphinx asiatica*); *bing-shī-lā*, bezoar, a calculous concretion found in the intestines of certain ruminant animals.

bīp (pronounced *bip*), to press (Sh. *wip*, 2c, to knead or press with the hands).

bīt (pronounced *bit*), mind; a fish-hook (Sh. *wit*, 4m); adorned with figures of flowers (as a cloth); an ear of corn before it shoots out of the culm; a phial; to soak; to move one of the pieces in a game; to smooth a narrow piece of bamboo (Sh. *wit*, 5c, to smooth with a knife); *khau-bit-hing* (*heng*), barley.

blâk, a flower (Sh. *mâk*, 2c); *blâk-kham-shân*, a marigold; *blâk-phang*, a certain flower (Assamese, *garīyā-phūl*); *blâk-bai-haü*, a certain flower (Ass. *bhāt-phūl*); *blâk-kīp* (*kip*)-*lam*, a mushroom (31); *nam-blâk-rung*, the water of the Ganges.

bɔ, an occurrence; a salt-mine (Sh. *mo*, a pit, a mine); a dooly or palanquin (Sh. *wo*, 4c); a sheet of water.

boi, to pray; to bow down (cf. Sh. *mâm*, 4c); to serve.

boiñ or bañ (pronounced *boi*), to join the hands; to pray; to pay regard to a person.

bū, a lotus, a water-lily (Sh. *wuw* or *muw*, 1c); a bud; the seventh female child; blunt; dumb; fat; to paint the forehead with sandal; not (cf. *baw*); *bū-khriw*, not-yes, no (interjection).

bum, to remain dumb.

bun, noon; one's own man; a rattan-sprout (cf. Sh. *mun*, 4c, to sprout); poison; mad; to be perplexed; to be excited; to extend and arrange the warp previous to weaving (Sh. *wun*, 5o); *bun-hai*, a certain creeping plant (Assamese, *guwā-mātī latā*).

būn, to fall; to be bent, distorted; a crooked word (*sic*).

būñ (pronounced *bui*), country liquor; the end of a waist-cloth being dragged along the ground.

bung, a narrow-necked basket for keeping fish; a basket; a silkworm (Sh. *wung*, 3o, a worm); a hog's den (cf. Sh. *mung*, 5c, a place prepared by dogs or cats for their litter); outside; now; to remove nightsoil; *shang-bung*, a blackboard (used as a slate for writing).

büng, a frying-pan; a kind of worm; a large basket; to go swiftly.

būp (pronounced *bup*), to beat (Sh. *wup*, 4c); to be agitated (as water); to be overcrowded.

būt (pronounced *but*), blind of one eye; to raise (Sh. *wut*, 3o); to last; a disorder of the bowels; to trample upon.

büt, the lines on the palm of the hand; a conical basket used by hill people.

büw, a wheel; disgust; to poison fish; muddy land.

cha or **chā**, rough (Sh. *chā*, 4c); thick; bad (Sh. *cha*, 5c); not come, unarrived; *nik-chā*, alas!; *shit-chā*, to promise; *'o-chā*, nectar, ambrosia; *'uk-chā*, all.

chai, a man, a male, a masculine suffix (Sh. 4o); a male child; to come into use (Sh. 2o, to use); to break, to cause to be broken.

chak, to cause to be recognised (Sh. 4c, to know well); to clean, polish; to make string from bamboo; to cut or trim the edge of a field embankment.

chăk, a corner (Sh. 5c, Assamese *chuk*); raw provisions supplied to a guest; to scoop, to take a handful out of a large quantity (cf. Sh. *chuk*, 4o).

cham, a kind of net (Sh. 1c); the fringe of a cloth (Sh. 4o); a bog, quagmire; to beg; and (sometimes written *chang*) (6, 24, 36, 37, 43 *bis*, 44, 49, 54, 55); also (37, 40); swift; *khan-ma-cham*, as soon as; *ki-cham*, how many? (cf. *chan*); *ban-cham*, of or belonging to a village; *dai-cham*, etcetera (13); *nai-cham*, now, next, thereon (49) (cf. *chang-nai*).

chȧm, to assemble, to accompany, to take company; vicinity (cf. Sh. *cham*, 1c, to be near); to load (as a gun) (Sh. 2c, to put into); to sweep; contagious; *chȧm-doiñ* or *doiñ-chȧm*, together with.

chan, the verandah of a house with raised floor (Sh. 4o, a floor extended beyond the roof of a house); a layer, *esp.* a division of the universe (Sh. 5c); having several stories one above the other (of a house, etc.); teasing; horizontal; good, excellent, nice; *tai-chan*, manifold. Cf. *cham*.

chȧn, one side of anything; nice, beautiful (cf. *chan*); to dance; to smooth with an adze.

chȧñ (pronounced *chȧi*), a borer, an awl; a child's penis; to come to anyone's assistance.

chang, an elephant (Sh. 5o) (43); an offering made to an officiating priest at the end of a ceremony; jugglery; a scale (Sh. 3c, to weigh); a person blind of the right eye; to be afflicted with sorrow; to cause to be subjected to an ordeal by magic; and, cf. *cham*; a verbal particle denoting present time (Sh. 2c); a particle denoting the apodosis of a conditional sentence; *chang-nai*, now, at present (37) (cf. *nai-cham*); *chang-tak*, then (30, 38); *chū-chang-nai*, because, therefore.

chȧng, an umbrella (Sh. 3c) (57); light, brilliancy; a hair-tie (Sh. 5c, false hair); a whip; a wheel; a high platform used for watching crops; kind, manner; *chȧng-me*, improper, not suitable; *chȧng-che*, religious rites.

chap, to bend; to perch on a branch (Sh. 4c); to go and live at the home of another person; an owl.

chȧp, brimful; sincere, honest, pure; to search; *chī-rȧp-chȧp-khȧp-bai*, a finger-ring.

chȧt, to boil anything (as milk); to free from alkali; to cut to pieces; to spread (Sh. 1c, to pervade).

chau or **chaw**, a master, owner (Sh. *chaw*, 3c) (cf. *chū*); a king (61); a *dēva*, God (13) (cf. *chū*); to boil rice; great; supernatural (25); to promise; to happen suddenly; *'au-chau*, an uncle, the younger brother of a father.

chaü, the heart, mind (Sh. 1c); an ambassador, a messenger (Sh. 5c, to commission, send); to reflect, consider; to say "yes"; *khau-chaü-dū*, to think in one's heart (27); *naü-chaü*, the breast (30); *hit-chaü* or *hit-müng-chaü*, to present a gift; *taü-chaü*, to fast; *'uñ* (pr. *ui*)*-chaü*, happiness of mind.

chaüm, in *che-chaüm*, q.v.

chaw, see *chau*.

che, a town (cf. Sh. 3o, a province); all (Sh. 4c, to be complete); to wet; cold; *che-chaüm*, all; *che-ching*, ornaments; *chȧng-che*, religious rites.

cheng, handsome.

chī, paper (Sh. *che*, 3c); to burn; a piece of high land; to show (Sh. *chi*, 5c); a jewel, a precious stone; *chī-rȧp-chȧp-khȧp-bai*, a finger-ring.

chīk or **chik** (pronounced *chik*), a pig-tail (of the hair) (cf. Sh. *chik*, 4c, a top, head); the metal ornament attached to the top of a *yāpi* or wicker hat-umbrella; the highest part of heaven (57).

chīn (pronounced *chin*), an incarnation (Sh. *chin*, 5c, a Buddha); a cloth (Sh. 1m, felt); a long slice; an insect like a dragon-fly.

chiñ (pronounced *chen*), a flat piece of gold; a kind of fly; the other side.

chīng or **ching** (pronounced *ching*), a vagabond; a curse affecting a whole kingdom; to conquer; to take by force; *che-ching*, ornaments; *tū-ching*, a ram.

chīp (pronounced *chep*), to pain (Sh. *chip*, 4m); to seek; to get fever.

chīt (pronounced *chit*), the seven *dvīpas* or worlds; rage, anger (Sh. 3m, to be angry); to feel affronted; to diminish; to select (Sh. 3o or 4o, to examine); the number 7 (Sh. 4m).

chiw, swiftness, to go quickly (Sh. 4m); a saddle; to be disordered; to behave piously.

cho, an earthen cooking-pot.

choi, the male organ; a friend, assistance (Sh. 3c, to help); a tax, paid to the king or to a spiritual guide; power (25).

chū or **chüw**, a *yuga* (cf. Sh. *chuw*, 3c, time) (41, 51); a god (cf. *chau*); an owner (cf. *chau*); a *yōjana* or league (59); moral instruction (*nīti*); dark (of light);

favour, politeness; to believe (Sh. *chŭ*, 3c); to seek company (cf. Sh. *chŭ*, 4o, a company); to apply heat to paddy to dry it; to bend; to liquify gold; a man's name, a name (Sh. *chŭ*, 3c) (17); *chŭ-chang-nai*, because, therefore; *ke-chŭ*, a quality (*guṇa*); *ñŭ-chŭ*, an ant.

chŭk or **chuk** (pronounced *chuk*), the top of a kind of grass (*Saccharum spontaneum*); to set on a dog; thrice, three times.

chŭk, a turban, a pāgaṛī; a rope for tying cattle (Sh. 3o, a rope); to come near, approach.

chum, pleasure, love; to kiss (cf. *chuf*); to corrode with lime; *chum-kan*, to love.

chun, to whitewash.

chŭn, creation; the number 32; establishing; having branches; a cause; to ask; in any direction; very beautiful (Sh. 3c, to be clear, pure, bright).

chŭñ (pronounced *chui*), to understand, to feel a tingling sensation; to lean.

chung, a large box (cf. Sh. 4c, a kind of outer coffin); a kind of iguana (cf. Sh. *chung-cha*, 2o, 4c, the common house lizard); to remain holding, to hold and keep; pointed.

chŭng, a female attendant (Sh. 5o); a god (cf. Sh. 2c, to be unmoved, as a god in deep meditation) (48, 50); not to be late, not to delay; *chŭng-phā*, God (49); *phā-tŭw-chŭng*, God Almighty (27, 34, 38, 53); *shai-chŭng-mŭng*, thread-god-country, a thread of air, a *Vāyu* (48, 50).

chŭp (pronounced *chup*), to kiss (cf. *chum*); to wet (Sh. 5c); to suck (Sh. 2c).

chŭt (pronounced *chut*), a clod of earth; to lessen; a little; to clear with a hoe.

chŭw, see *chŭ*.

dā, to strike.

dạ, to bite as a serpent; a bundle of clothes; to take on the lap.

dai, thread (? Sh. *lai*, 3o, silk); to get, possess (Sh. *lai*, 3c) (frequent in compound verbs) (12, 13, 29); to hear; *dai-cham*, get-and, etcetera (13); *shī-dai*, to be destroyed (21); *aŭ-dai*, to fetch; *han-dai*, to curse.

dam, black (Sh. *lam*, 1c); the spirit of a dead person (Sh. *lam*. 3c, the guardian spirit of a family); to dive into (Sh. *lam*. 1c).

dan, a club, a heavy stick; to go straight.

dân, high land, land not liable to inundation (Sh. *lân*, 1c, a mound) (cf. *dit*)

dañ (pronounced *dui*), to shave (with a razor); to frighten with a sudden angry voice.

dang, a latch (Assamese, *dāng*); a long shield; the nose (Sh. *khŭ-lang*, 3c, 1c); to be affected with white spots on the skin (Sh. *lang*, 2o); spotted; to sound; *kā-dang*, to play at shield (a kind of game).

dâng, the father of one's son-in-law or daughter-in-law (Sh. *lâng*, 1c).

dap, to put out a fire (Sh. *lap*, 4c); a bamboo or wooden door-bar; to emit light (but Sh. *lap*, 4c, to be dark) (47).

dat, to make straight (Sh. *lat*, 4c).

dau or **daw**, a star (Sh. *law*, 1o).

daŭ, a *dēva*, a god (38).

daw, see *dau*.

de, to move the waist backward and forward; a kind of animal (Assamese, *nephiyā*); to cleanse.

dī, good (Sh. *lī*, 1c) (1, 23); bile (Sh. *lī*, 1c); *lŭk-ngin-dī*, to ride in a sedan chair; *also*, to speak.

din or **dīn** (pronounced *din*), land, the earth (Sh. *lin*, 1c, the earth, ground) (2, 55); a month (Sh. *lĭn*, 1o) (cf. *dŭn*); a torch; *ṇa-din*, a field; *ñạ-din-kī*, a certain creeper (Assamese, *phājā latā*); *pang-din*, a man of the Miri tribe.

diñ (pronounced *den*), a boundary (Sh. *liñ*, 1o); to do work.

ding, see *dŭng*.

dip (pronounced *dip*), to be alive (Sh. *lip*, 4c); *phī-dip*, a large boil.

dit, land not under water (cf. *dân*); (pronounced *det*) hot; (id.) pressure.

diw, having no companion (Sh. *liw*, 4o, single) (cf. *liw*).

do, an offshoot.

doi, a mountain or hill (Sh. *loi*, 1c); work; with (for *doiñ*) (63).

doiñ (pronounced *doi*), company (cf. Sh. *luñ*, 3o, with) (spelt *doi* in 63); the spur of a cock (Sh. *luñ*, 1o); *doiñ-chân* or *chân-doiñ*, together with. Cf. *lêñ*.

dŭ, to see, behold (Sh. *lŭ*, 1c); *han-dŭ*, to look carefully; *khau-chaŭ-dŭ*, to think within oneself (27).

dŭk (pronounced *duk*), a bone (Sh. *luk*, 2c).

dük, to give a slap; to teach to read.
dūm (pronounced *dum*), a scabbard; to smell.
dūn (pronounced *dun*), a crowd; foundation work.
dün, the moon (cf. *din*, Sh. *lün*, 1o).
duñ (pronounced *dui*), vapour.
dūng (pronounced *dung*), jungle (Sh. *lung*, 1o); a low field; leprosy.
düng or **ding**, red (cf. Sh. *ling*, 1o, to be yellow; but *ling*, 1o, to be red); bowed, bent (cf. Sh. *ling*, 2c, having one side higher than the other).
dūt (pronounced *dut*), to suck (Sh. *lut*, 2c).
düt, hot (cf. *lüt*); the sun's light or ray.
ha, hā, the number 5 (Sh. *hā*, 3c); vapour; (written *hạ*, but pronounced *ai*), an interjection, oh!; *kan-hā*, towards; *hā-ship*, fifty.
hai, a jar, a water-pot with a spout; cultivation (Sh. 3c, an upland field); light, shining; to mix together; to fall with the face upwards; to cry, weep (Sh. 3c); to shout; *rảng-hai*, to shout loudly; *bun-hai*, a certain creeping plant (Assamese, *gurcā-mālī latā*).
hák, ripe; grey hair.
ham, conclusion; to beat; to be in excess; to become dusty or dirty.
hám, to smell (Sh. 1c, to be fragrant).
han, a goose (Sh. 2o); a Kshattriya; to see (Sh. 1c) (19, 46); *han-dai*, to curse.
hán, to make, to prepare (cf. Sh. *hiñ*, 4o); the comb of a cock (Sh. 1c).
hang, a raised bamboo platform; not dense, having interstices (Sh. *hang*, 2o, to be wide apart); to feel hatred.
háng, a room; *bing-hảng*, a whitlow.
hap, to shut up (Sh. 4c); immature corn.
hat, a large stone pot; to dry up (of water) (Sh. *hit*, 5o).
haü, swelling of the mouth; sunned rice; to come to work; to give, offer (Northern Shan, 3c); to cause, allow; to bark as a dog; bitter; (adjectival demonstrative) that; *haü-dai*, to give out and out; *haü-kin-klin* (*klen*), to cause to eat and drink; to pasture cattle; *haü-khaü-pan-jū*, to allow enter uphold remain, to allow to remain (38); *blắk-bai-haü*, a certain flower (Assamese, *bhāt-phūl*).
he, not tame, said of an animal (Sh. 1o).
hī, the female organ (Sh. 1c); to be a little aslant; *hī-ñák*, to throw down by force, to break by throwing down violently.
hik, in *ña-hik-koi*, a certain medicinal herb (Assamese, *lāijābari*).
hin, a certain animal of the squirrel kind.
hiñ (pronounced *hiñ*), a water-fowl; to look upwards (Sh. 1o).
hing (pronounced *hing* or *heng*), a kind of water-fowl; dry, to dry (Sh. *hing*, 3o); a small tinkling bell attached to something (Sh. *hing*, 2c); a wild cat (Sh. *him*, 1m); *khau-bit-hing*, barley; *shaü-hing*, to use, make use of.
hīp (pronounced *hip*), hoarseness of voice (Sh. *hip*, 2o).
hīt (pronounced *hit*), front; to look with pity; to be; (pronounced *het*), to do (Sh. *hit*, often written *hich*, 4m) (in Āhom often written *kam*, q. cf.); *hit-chaü* or *hit-müng-chaü*, to present a gift; *hit-shaü*, a reproach; *hit-mün-hit-khün*, to rejoice; *ña-kaw-ka-hit*, a kind of creeping plant used for medicinal purposes (Assamese, *bhedāi latā*).
ho, a large building, a palace (Sh. 1c); a dwelling; to chase (Sh. 3c).
hoi, a shell (Sh. 1c); *bản-hoi*, to be fully ripe and full of juice.
hoiñ (pronounced *hoi*), to suspend (Sh. *hoi*, 3c).
hū, an animal of the bovine species (*hū-me*, a cow) (Sh. *wuw*, 4c, or *ngnw*, 4c); to bristle, to have the hair erect; to throw the body forward with the arms extended, as in swimming.
hük, the gum, the gums (Sh. 2o).
hūm (pronounced *hum*), a slap; *phạ-hum*, a certain plant (Assamese, *barun-gachh*).
hun, an idol; wrinkled (Sh. 3c).
hūñ (pronounced *hui*), to ask again to take, to press a thing upon one; a seed; high; to sigh; to see uncovered.
hung, hūng (pronounced *hung*), fame (Sh. *hung*, 1o, to be celebrated) (26); relationship; to pass through anything; a noise, sound (cf. Sh. *hsing*, 1m).
hüng, to be affected with menorrhagia (cf. *'un*); to be thin, not fat.
hūp (pronounced *hup*), a piece; to hold by grasping; to gather together, to collect (Sh. 3c); *hup-bai*, to store.

hŭp, to hold within the arms; to fall down with the face upwards.

hūt (pronounced *hut*), to go away; to compare with; to be pure; to select out.

hŭt, to utter short angry words quickly and loudly, to intimidate (Sh. 4c); to extort; to beat severely.

jā, to quit, be free (Sh. *yā*, 2c, to have done with); to prevent, prohibit; *ñing-jā*, a wicked woman.

ja, a grandmother (Sh. *yā*, 3c); to decompose, become rotten.

jă, to peep.

jai, see *jañ*.

jak, difficulty, trouble, misery, sorrow (Sh. *yak*, 3o); to prepare for cooking, to wash vegetables for cooking.

jăk, a good man, a gentleman; to frighten; to be defeated in a fight; to be fit, worthy.

jam, a husband's elder brother; bell-metal, a bell; a moment (Sh. *yam*, 4o, time); respect (Sh. *yam*, 1c); one born after two, a third child; wet (Sh. *yam*, 4c); to reflect (Sh. *yam*, 4c, to shine); to be mouldy; round-faced.

jăm, gain, profit; to establish; to hate; to yoke.

jan, an enemy; shallow; the straight portion of a river; standing in a connected row (cf. Sh. *yang*, 3c, a row of things); to glitter; to stretch out the legs; to suspend (cf. Sh. *yan*, 2c, to be placed in a perpendicular position, the initial point of action being from above); to stride (cf. *jang*. Cf. Sh. *yang*, 3o).

jăn, to ask, beg (Sh. *yăn*, 4c); to endure; to make the body dance (cf. Sh. *yăn*, 3c, to tremble); *jăn-shā*, to ask; *năn-jăn*, nursing a child, or a sick person.

jañ or **jai** (pronounced *jai*), one born after three others, a fourth-born child.

jang, a bunch of plantains or the like; anything white; to stride, walk on tiptoe (Sh. *yang*, 3o, to step; cf. *jan*, *jing*); to pile; pressure put on the ground with the toes in order to prevent slipping; to sparkle, glitter (34, 52); heat applied to paddy to dry it for husking (Sh. *yang*, 3o, to dry on a frame); to be (Sh. *yang*, 4c) (cf. *ñang*); to kneel down.

jăng, fame, glory (Sh. *yăng*, 3c, to praise); clotted, coagulated into many clots.

jap, to strike against anything with the foot in walking (cf. *jat*).

jăp, to cause to be raised.

jat, to glitter, to dazzle; to plaster; to be divided into many lumps; to strike with the foot against something (cf. *jap*).

jăt, the coarse fibrous part of a silk cocoon; to yield slightly to the pressure of the foot.

jaŭ or **jau**, the handrail of a narrow bridge; to strike with something blunt; long (Sh. *yaw*, 4o); completed, particle denoting the past tense of a verb (Sh. *yaw*, 5c) (7, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 26, 28, 29, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 49, 53, 55, 57, 59, 60); to be lost in thought; simple, foolish; a fibre, filament; the same as *ñaŭ*, great, gigantic (40); very (Sh. *yaw*, 3c, an assertive particle); distant, far; *jaŭ-kau*, a spider's thread.

jauw, see *ñaŭ*.

jī, a granary (Sh. *ye*, 4c); the eldest daughter of a family; aslant, oblique; *jī-mŭw* (for *jīm-mŭw*), in the beginning (see *jīm*).

jīk (pronounced *jik*), a rag; damp.

jīm (pronounced *jim*), olden times; *jīm-mŭw* (or *jī-*), in olden times, in the beginning, *b'rēshīth* (1) (cf. *jī*).

jīn (pronounced *jin*) (cf. *jŭn*), cold; trouble; a thorn; to be quiet, still (62).

jīng (pronounced *jing*), a dragon-fly; to walk on tiptoe (Sh. *ying*, 2o; cf. *jang*).

jīp (pronounced *jip*), to walk in step.

jīt (pronounced *jit*), to clear the edge of a field; one born after five others, a sixth child.

jiw, to think, a thought (Sh. *yiw*, 1m); doubt.

jo, to praise (Sh. *yo*, 4c); *shaŭm-jo*, not to think, to be without anxiety.

joiñ (pronounced *joi*), the flow of water.

jū, to remain, to stay, to live (Sh. *yū*, 2c) (cf. *'ū*) (3, 4, 10, 13, 14, 15, 23, 24, 25, 28, 37, 38, 40 *bis*, 42, 43, 64 *bis*); *taŭ-jū*, to converse, speak mutually; to bless.

jŭk (pronounced *juk*), a plantain-tree sprout dressed for food; an ugly person; to put a thing outside the house to get it bedewed.

jūn (pronounced *jun*), to run, to proceed running (cf. *jün*).

jün, for ever (often written *jin*) (Sh. *yün*, 4c, to be long); to stretch out the hand (Sh. *yün*, 3c, 4c); to become cold (cf. *jīn*); solitary (55); to run (cf. *jun*); a pattern (cf. *jüng*); *jün-pin*, to become a pattern, to be created (39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 50, 54).

jüng (pronounced *jung*), a peacock; to eject from the mouth; roar of water.

jüng, a model, sample, ideal (cf. *jün*); to start, feel a sudden uneasy sensation; a brown-eyed woman.

jüt (pronounced *jut*), to be dinted; to stand still.

jüt, to spin thread; to be severed from a row; to cause to fall off.

kā (cf. *kạ*), things given to the parents of a girl when wooing; (or *kạ*) sufficient, as much as (Sh. *kā*, 3c); (or *kạ*) all (Sh. *kā*, 3c); seedlings (Sh. *kā*, 3c); to measure; trade (Sh. *ka*, 5c; *kā*, 3c, price); to go (Sh. *kwā*, 2c); *pai-kā*, to go; *tang-kā*, all; *kā-dang*, to play at shield (a kind of game); *kā* (or *kạ*)-*taü*, below; *'a-kā*, a person of the Mishmi tribe; *'a-kā-mi-lī*, a person of the Datla tribe.

kạ (often written *kā*), a crow (Sh. *kā*, 1c); a forehead ornament; pain; a tether block, or piece of wood tied to the neck of an animal; to dance (Sh. *kā*, 3c); finished; a suffix of the past tense; *prep.* at; *kạ-nai*, at this, now; *kā-lang*, behind, after; *tang-kạ*, all (7, 20, 61); *lā-kạ*, name of a serpent (42); *kling-kạ*, a peacock; *mai-lüng-kạ*, a kind of tree (Assamese, *bhātughilā*); *ñạ-kaw-kạ-hit*, a certain creeping plant used as a medicine (Assamese, *bhedāi-latā*); *kạ-shang*, what?; *kạ-taü*, below; *'ang-kạ*, ability, power.

kai, a fowl (Sh. 2c); to lay a bridge; plaster; to feel an itching sensation (Sh. 4o); to surround; to come across, stand in the way of; *pī-kai*, an elder brother; *kai-kai*, all round a person or thing (32).

kak, a stick used in stirring anything while cooking (Sh. 2o); a stirrup; a kind of size made from paddy boiled in water and applied to the warp in weaving; watery; to spin a *muga* cocoon; *khau-kak*, rice not properly husked.

kǎk, a horn; a water-pot; a crab; lac; to set fire to.

kam, a small bundle; harm; a basket holding five seers of grain; the reed used for making pens (Sh. 1c); to prevent, to hinder; to prop, to lean on (Sh. 5c); to be, be made (Sh. 1c) (61) (cf. *hit*).

kâm, to bend; to control; hump-backed; to bow (Sh. 4c).

kan, sulphur (Sh. 5o); fasting; an expert woman; a stem (Sh. 3o); a pole for carrying a burden; a great man; to be bent, folded; to fall; to be joined; to slip; even, level; a place; mutuality; to begin; *kan-hā* or *kan-pā*, towards; *pạ-kan*, to copulate; *rang-kan*, to consult; *chum-kan*, to love; *nā-kan-müw*, as usual; *me-kan*, to feel affection; *mut-kan*, to coincide; *pâm-kan*, means of livelihood; *ping-kan*, love, affection; *rak-kan*, to love, favour; *'ing-kan*, to fall down when ripe (of fruit).

kǎn, a rafter; a germ; cream; a pipe, tube (Sh. *kâng*, 3c); a load taken on one shoulder (Sh. 4c); nice; good (49); the front; to get warm; to receive homage; to do; a hard mass, a block (44); *kǎn-phā-ñaü*, the name of the *Vāyus*, or air-gods (49); *kǎn-chüng-phā*, the good God (49); *kǎn-phrā-phük*, a mass of white rock, Mount Mēru (44).

kǎñ (pronounced *kǎy*), to go idly, to go slowly.

kang, a cross-bow (Sh. 2o); to hide; to feel hatred.

kǎng, poison (Sh. 5c); over-sunned rice; to prune; to bring into subjection.

kap, a scale, a round flat body (cf. Sh. 2o, the husk of maize); to join (Sh. 4c); to bite (Sh. 3o); *kap-küp* (bite take-by-force), to quarrel, contend (6).

kǎp, a fortnight; simple.

kat, a market (Sh. 2o); hard, difficult (Sh. 3o); to cut to pieces; to get dust into boiled rice; *kat-kim*, a shopkeeper.

kǎt, to abandon; to embrace (Sh. 2c); to go away by force.

kau, a spider (Sh. *kung-kaw*, 2o, 1o) (54, 58); nine (the numeral) (Sh. *kaw*, 3c); to remember; the weight of the body; to swell; I (the

pronoun) (Sh. *kaw*, 1c) (also spelt *kaw*, nom. *kaw-ko*) (23, 24, 25); former, previous; *kau-kham-ko*, a golden spider (*nom. case*) (58).

kaüm, to become too salt; the cheek (Sh. *kim*, 3o).

kauw, the calf of the leg (Sh. *kaw*, 3o); injury; dew; near.

kaw, an owl (Sh. 5c); old (Sh. 2c); other; not thoroughly ripe; to mix together (Sh. 1c); the same as *kau*, q.v. (23, 25); *khau-kaw*, crushed or split chaff; *ña-kaw-ka-hit*, a certain creeping plant used for medicinal purposes (Assamese, *bhedāi latā*).

kaw, to establish, to lay a foundation; to think; to plan.

ke, the Assamese title of 'Barua'; old (cf. *kau*); to open, untie (Sh. 3o); crooked; *ke-chū*, a quality (*guṇa*).

khā or **kha**, a domestic, a slave (Sh. *khā*, 3c); thatching grass (Sh. *khā*, 4c); the thigh (Sh. *khā*, 1c); the hand; to cut; to ask (for something); to search; a stool; to curse or censure; to frighten; *khā-lik*, a male servant; *khā-ñüng*, a female servant; *lik-khā*, a boy; *khā-phan*, to cut; *lak-khā-nā*, a chaste woman.

kha, see *khā*; *kha-lang*, a man of the Barāhī caste.

khai, in *khak-khai*, in every division, everywhere.

khak, lonely, solitary (44, 62); stillness; the lines on the palm of the hand; the son of a black man; to click with the tongue; to clear the throat (Sh. 2o); *khak-khai*, in every division, everywhere; *khak-khan*, quiet and at peace, still (7).

khåk, an enclosure for animals (Sh. 3c); a chrysalis, cocoon (Sh. 2c); a cowhouse.

kham, gold (Sh. 4c) (54, 58); cloth; a word, news (Northern Sh. 4o) (cf. *khau*, *khåm*) (35); evening, to become evening (Sh. 3c); a granary; to lessen; to burst; to sting; *lat-kham*, to say; *lat-kham-lau*, to say, speak; *phan-kham*, an order; *sho-kham*, a complaint; *kham-ma-lau*, a word; *kham-kū-lā*, a servant, a pious man (also applied to a guest); *kham-man*, see *khåm*; *kham-phük*, to learn to speak; *kham-tai*, a kite (the bird); a slave; *khun-thiw-kham*, name of a god; *liw-kham*, a kind of plant (Assamese, *bangā jugiyari*); *mau-kham*, a kind of bracelet worn by men; *phiw-kham*, a gold bracelet; *tham-kham-rō*, to enquire; *bīdk-kham-shån*, a marigold.

khåm, cropped; to become upside down (Sh. 3c); to ask; a word, a subject of talk or thought (cf. *kham*) (28, 34); *khåm-man* (or *kham-*), the turning out correctly of something said, the fulfilment of a prophecy.

khan, an axe; acute pain; a sickle; a weaver's shuttle; two boats lashed together; rust; a fish spear; to sprinkle holy water; to trade (Sh. 1c, price); to neglect; to speak (Sh. 1o) (cf. *kham*); a word (16, 39); to go quickly (Sh. 1c) (44, 58); *khan-ma-cham*, as soon as; *khak-khan*, quiet, still (7); *khan-to*, alone, solitary (14, 27); *pai-khan*, to run.

khån, life (50); mind; a hammer; a club (Sh. 5c); a bridle; muddy, turbid (of liquid); slightly putrid.

khang, happiness; a dam; a loom; a basket; a top (the toy); a stick thrown from the hand; the trunk of the body; even, level; to say pleasantly; to throw something; to excite; horizontal; *khang-na*, before, in presence of.

khap, anything round and flat (Sh. *khip*, 4o); a shelf; a wheel.

khåp, a mortar; a small box; to shut up; a weaver's peg; a circle, ring; *chi-rdp-chåp-khåp-bai*, a finger-ring.

khat, to tear, to break asunder, to divide (Sh. 4c, 2o); to be defeated; to go.

khåt, to tie, to bind (Sh. 2c, to tie a knot); to frighten; to select; to fall down from above; a teacher.

khau (often written *khaü*), paddy (Sh. *khaw*, 3c); boiled rice (Sh. *khaw*, 3c); a horn; the heddle of a loom (Sh. 1c); a kind of open clothes-basket; an earring; a boil; they, they all (Sh. 1c) (13, 34); yawning; white (Sh. *khaw*, 1o); nice; to put into, to enter (Sh. *khaw*, 3c, to enter) (13, 38) (cf. *shaü*); in, within (27); to shake (Sh. *khaw*, 2c); to nurse; *khau-chaü-dū*, to think in one's heart (27); *khau-mun*, rice-frumenty; *khau-nung*, boiled *barā* rice (it becomes soft when put in water); *khau-bit-hing* (pr. *heng*), barley;

khau-ko, to grant a boon; *khau-tūn* (pr. *tun*), fine husked unbroken rice; *khau-kak*, rice not properly husked; *khau-pīn* (pr. *pin*), broken rice; *khau-kaw*, crushed or split chaff; *ban-khau*, to sow paddy; *ban-khau-khrai*, to sow paddy broadcast.

khaü, wish, desire (Sh. 3c); good; to get over-sunned.

khaw, to prepare a raft; to jump away; to consult.

khe, a casting-net (Sh. 1o); asthma; a river; to remove the effect of the evil eye (Sh. 1o, to deliver from a present evil); to enclose with a hedge.

khī, dung, ordure (Sh. 3c) (55); a peacock; distress, difficulty (Sh. 1c); to get up, rise.

khik or **khīk** (pronounced *khek* or *khik*), a guest; worship; the river Jhānjhī; to worship a god (*dēva*); a spirit.

khīn or **khin** (pronounced *khin*), distress; any injurious accident (Sh. *khin*, 1m, to be unlucky); a fence raised across a stream to catch fish; to strip off the rind of anything; to smooth a post; to clear the feathers (of a bird); to be ended; to suffer from looseness of bowels; ripe but hard; not even, uneven.

khiñ (pronounced *khen*), the spots in the moon; to be a friend; to save; to hang; to remain; cf. *khüñ*.

khing, ginger (Sh. 1c); a chopping-block on which *bhang* is minced (Sh. 1m); large, fat.

khīp (pronounced *khip*), a shoe; high land; tongs.

khīt (pronounced *khit*), a toad, frog (Sh. *khit*, 2m); to pull upwards (Sh. *khit*, 4c, to raise one end upwards); to be watery; to throw with a stick.

khiw, in *khiw-khiw*, very bright (33). Possibly the word should be *khriw*.

kho, the neck (Sh. *khō*, 4c) (23); a hoe; a pole with a hook to pull something (Sh. *kho*, 1c); a tie, a knot; a chapter, division of a book; to shine, glitter (15); with, in company with; *kū-kho*, with fear (35); *shaü-kho*, to remain with a person (53); *müng-kho*, to tease; down-stream, the country lower down a river.

khrai, a buffalo; an egg (Sh. *khai*, 2c); dirt (Sh. *khai*, 4c); a cocoon; living alone, solitude (62); sick, ill (Sh. *khai*, 3c, to ache); to count (cf. Sh. *khai*, 3c, to narrate); to write; to join; not to leave; to roar; *khrâng-khrai*, see *khrâng*; *ban-khau-khrai*, to sow paddy broadcast.

khrâng, articles, property, especially large articles (Sh. *khâng*, 1c) (60); anything thrown away; cropped; to be in disorder; the breadth of a cloth; a kind of water-grass called *dal*; *khrâng-ling*, goods and chattels; *khrâng-khrai*, a crocodile (cf. *khroiñ*).

khring, a canopy; the body (Sh. *khing*, 4c) (41).

khriw, a stack of wood; a tooth (Sh. *khiw*, 3m); sneezing (cf. Sh. *khī-cham*, 3c, 1o); a kind of snare for birds (cf. *khrüw*); a plank; full of dirt (cf. Sh. *khō*, 2c); dark in colour, deep black (Sh. *khiw*, 1m); having the smell of raw fish or flesh (Sh. *khiw*, 4o); yes; *bū-khriw*, no; *nüñ-khriw*, to sing songs in exchange, to sing against one another; *thaw-khriw*, a certain tree (Assamese, *lātarun gachh*).

khro, to laugh (Sh. *khuw*, 1c).

khroi, the male organ; dead (Sh. *khoi*, 3c, to die); zigzag; the narrow eaves of a house; a mistake made in weaving; *nang-khroi-plâng*, to sit with one leg over the other in the Ahom fashion.

khroiñ (pronounced *khroing*), a shark; a crocodile (cf. *khrâng-khrai*).

khrū or **khū**, a bridge; a wooden stand on which manuscripts are placed; to fry; to smile.

khrūm (pronounced *khrum*), a pond; bitter (Sh. *khum*, 1o); to fall upside down; to itch (Sh. *khum*, 4o); to rub; a ladder (Sh. *khuw*, 1c).

khrung, to divide or distribute equally; frost; the highest part of anything (5, 21, 29, 61); *phā-khrung-klang*, a half; *tun-khrung*, a castor-oil plant.

khrüng, a room.

khrüw or **khruw**, a beam (Sh. *khüw*, 2c); a bunch, a cluster (Sh. *khuw*, 3c); a creeper (Sh. *khüw*, 4o); the sharp edge of a *dāo* (Sh. *khum*, 4o); leafless branches; a kind of snare for birds (cf. *khriw*); great (Sh. *khüw*, 5c); size, length (41); wet; to happen; to roll along.

khu-küw, to remain continually in doubt.

khū, see *khrū*.

khūk (pronounced *khuk*), dirt (cf. *khriw*, and Sh. *khō*, 2c); a tadpole; a room with planked walls.

khūk, a kind of bamboo scoop used in catching fish.

khum, bitter (Sh. 1o) (cf. *khrūm*).

khūn (pronounced *khun*), a king (Sh. *khun*, 1c); covetousness; a priest; a kind of water worm; hair on the body, down (Sh. *khun*, 1o); a high platform used for watching elephants; to reconcile; to snore (Sh. *khun*, 1o); *khun-thiw-kham*, the name of a god (30); *num-khun*, the river *Dilih*, in the district of Sibsagar.

khün, night (Sh. 4c) (8, 11); to get up (Sh. 3c, to ascend); to return, go back (Sh. 1c); *hit-mün-hit-khün*, rejoicing.

khūñ (pronounced *khui*), a son-in-law (Sh. *luk-khuñ*, 3c, 3o); to sigh; to thrust or impel by the neck; *po-khuñ*, the husband of a father's sister.

khüñ or **khiñ** (pronounced *khun*), to be better; very, much (Sh. *khiñ*, 4o); *khüñ-bai*, to help (55).

khūng (pronounced *khung*), a leafless branch; the castor-oil tree.

khūp or **khup** (pronounced *khup*), a fortnight (cf. Sh. *khup*, 2o, any cycle of time); to kneel down (Sh. *khup*, 5c); to have a painful biting sensation in the joints (Sh. *khup*, 4o, to bite, to have an ache); to be finished; to taste salt; *khup-bai*, to kneel down (35).

khüp, a span (Sh. 3c); to kindle fire by applying cotton or the like; a shoe (Sh. *khip-tin*, 4o, 1c, sandals).

khūt (pronounced *khut*), to divide boiled rice (Sh. *khut*, 5o); to scatter boiled rice; division; to tear (Sh. *khut*, 2c, to tear the skin).

khüt, to chase; to overtake (Sh. 4c); to be scratched (cf. *khūt*; Sh. *khut*, 2c, to scratch).

khüw, in *ma-lang-khüw*, a kind of prickly shrub (Assamese, *pulikūhaṭ*).

ki (often written *kī*), how much? how many?; *ki-cham*, how many?; *kī-shai*, how far?; *'a-ki-'ăn*, the humble-bee.

kī, a bud; the calyx of a flower (Sh. 3c, to blossom); discontent; a loom (Sh. 2c); to swell; to make a bundle; but; *kī-lang*, nearness, near; *ña-din-kī*, a certain creeping-plant (Assamese, *phājā latā*). Cf. *ki*.

kīk (pronounced *kik*), a young hog; to chase with a stick.

kim, to rule, to enjoy the fruits of (a kingdom) (Sh. 4o, to take hold of, hold); *kat-kim*, a shopkeeper.

kin, to eat (Sh. 1c); to enjoy; *kūn-nā-kin*, a cultivator; *ma-lau-kin*, ever, at any time; *kin-shū*, a keeper, one who keeps.

kiñ (pronounced *ken*), of good breed; good-looking; earrings; an arrow; how many?; a kind of water-grass; to cut on all sides; the sticking of boiled rice in the throat (Sh. 5o, to choke in the throat); an intensive particle, very (Sh. 2o).

king, a protuberance caused by outgrowth of a branch, an 'eye' of a tree; to feign (Sh. 3o); a cup; to swell, as rice when boiled; to nestle. See *küng*.

kīp (pronounced *kip*), husk, chaff (Sh. 2o); a parcel of fish; a long, narrow piece of split bamboo; to perforate; to pick-up (Sh. 4m); a plot of a field; *nā-kip*, a field; *blăk-kip-lam*, a mushroom, a fungus (31).

kīt, to husk paddy with the teeth (Sh. *kit*, 4o, to bite); to scream out loudly; to be caught by a twig.

kiw, a bamboo lath; a small conical flower basket; a hint; a misfortune; sin; a long stick with a hook; a needle; to taste; an uneasy sensation felt in the windpipe; wearing out the sharp edge of a knife; to wind thread (Sh. 1c, the strand of a rope); to prevent from advancing; swift; to go quickly.

klai, near, not far, nearly, almost (Laos, *kaü*, 3c, to be near).

klang, middle (Sh. *kang*, 1o) (15); a piece of wood tied to the neck of an animal; *phā-khrung-klang*, a half.

klăng, a gun (Sh. *kăng*, 3c); a drum (Sh. *kăng*, 1c); carousing; to husk paddy; *klăng-to*, only, nothing but (4, 63).

klem, to possess (Sh. *kim*, 4o, to take hold of).

klin (pronounced *klün*), to drink (Sh. *kin*, 1c). Properly *klün*, q.v.

kling (pronounced *kling*), the screw-pine flower; a two-pronged contrivance used for raising or supporting anything (Sh. *king*, 4m); to be flung off; *kling-chū*, to assume or bear a name (17); *kling-ka*, a pea-

cock; *shī-kling* (pronounced *-kleng*), half.

kloi, to go slowly (Sh. *koi*, 3c).

klu, salt (Sh. *küw*, 1o); to cast an oblique look.

klüm, brightness.

klün, tax payable to a king; to drink (cf. *klin*); to swallow; to bend; to rub; *pin-klün*, a leper.

klwāng (pronounced *klāng*), in *mak-klwāng*, the *papaya* fruit.

ko, suffix of the nominative case (14, 16, 18, 23, 25, 27, 29, 30, 36, 38, 58); and, also, even; a friend (Sh. 5c); to create (29, 55, 56); *ran-ko*, layer-establish, a foundation (1); *khau-ko*, to grant a boon; *tai-ko*, a man fit to be dead and gone in his youth (a term of abuse).

koi, to stay, to wait (Sh. 3c); only (Sh. 4c); to be finished, suffix of the past or perfect tense (Sh. *koi*, 1c, to be finished) (4, 6, 10, 15, 24, 40, 51); used to form a sort of precative in *rau jū . . . koi*, we may remain, let us remain (37); *koi-jau*, sign of past tense (15, 17, 22, 28, 42, 47); *ña-hik-koi*, a certain medicinal herb (Assamese, *lāi jābari*).

ku, a worm; a long-necked earthen pot.

kū, a torch; a bedstead (Sh. 2c); a forehead ornament; crooked; each, every; to fear (Sh. *kuw*, 1e) (cf. *küw*); *kū-müw*, each time; *pan-kū* (rel. pron.), who, which; *kū-kho*, with fear (35); *kham-kū-lā*, a servant, a pious man (also applied to a guest).

kūk (pronounced *kuk*), a mane (Sh. *kuk*, 3c); an Abor; a piece of stone on which anything is ground; to feed chickens; attempts of fowl to fight; to mould; the act of showing excessive fondness.

kük, to sob; to finish quickly; to take a sip of water.

kūm (pronounced *kum*), to discuss in a meeting, to assemble and consult (Sh. 1c); to gather, collect; to lower, droop downwards (Sh. 3o, to stoop) (27).

kun, fighting; light, sheen; to make over oneself to another.

kūn (pronounced *kun*), a man (Sh. *kun*, 4o) (22, 62); to swell; to be uprooted (Sh. 2o); to return, come back; *kūn-mī*, a woman; *kūn-nā-kin*, a cultivator; *kūn-rik-tai*, a friend; *kūn-plāng*, one who binds himself to serve another in payment of a debt; *kūn-mā*, a fool, ignorant.

kūñ (pronounced *kui*), a plantain (Sh. 3o); to turn up dirt, to reveal secret misconduct.

kung, a hole in a tree (Sh. 1o); a snake; canker of a tree; to praise.

kūng (pronounced *kung*), a spinning wheel (Sh. *kung*, 4o); a bow (Sh. *kung*, 1o) (52); a shrimp (Sh. *kung*, 3c).

küng, to suffice, sufficiency (Sh. 2c); to measure, be of a certain length (written *king*) (41).

kŭp (pronounced *kup*), a wicker hat serving as an umbrella (Sh. 4c); pierced through; to fold; a layer.

küp, to take by force; *kap-küp* (bite take-by-force), to quarrel, contend (6).

kūt (pronounced *kut*), hypocritical (Sh. *kut*, 5o); crooked; to slip from the hand; to seize and keep.

küt, to pounce down upon; to remain sticking to something when dragged away.

küw, fat; to stare; to fear; cf. *kū* and *khu-küw*.

kwāng (pronounced *kāng*), a kind of basket; bending; measure, breadth, size (41, 51).

kwēw (pronounced *kā*), a term of friendship (used to a Nāgā); to prune.

lā or **la**, the rising of a heavenly body; open, unenclosed; to happen, occur; to fasten with lac; naked; *lā-ling*, a monkey (Sh. *ling*, 4c) (see *ling*); *lā-shung*, true; *lā-ka*, name of a serpent (42); *nam-lā-lā*, the ocean (4); *kham-kū-lā*, a servant, a pious man (also applied to a guest); *'am-shū-lā*, a crocodile; *nam-shū-lā*, a shark; *bing-shī-lā*, a bezoar, a calculous concretion found in the intestines of certain ruminant animals.

lai, a letter, paper; a book (Sh. 4o); all (60); saliva; fat, stout; again; to come; to mingle (Sh. *lo*, 4c); to chase; variegated (Sh. 4o); *tang-lai*, all; *lai-chan*, manifold.

lak, a thief, to steal (Sh. 5c) (25); an ill omen; a peg; uncommon, rare (Sh. 2o) (10 *bis*); a dwarf; to drag along the ground (Sh. 3o); to shine (15, 23); *to-lak*, nevertheless; *lak-khā-nā*, a chaste woman; *lak-thak*, prior, before.

lăk, an udder; the heart; to skin, strip off the peel or rind (Sh. 3c); to frighten (Sh. 2c); to transform; *lăk-pin*, transform-become, to make (58).

lam, to strain off (a liquid); to charm, fascinate; the branch of a tree; to boil in a bamboo vessel; to creep; *blăk-kīp-lam*, a mushroom, a fungus (31).

lan, morality (*nīti*); a grandson (cf. *lang*) (Sh. *lan*, 1o, a grandchild); having no foliage or branches, pruned (Sh. *lan*, 4o, to lop); of former times; to fly; to return; to digest.

lăn, ugly; at a word, on the word; to mix paddy; to unfasten, loosen.

lăñ or **loiñ** (pronounced *loi*), to swim (Sh. *luñ*, 4c); to join company with (cf. *doiñ*).

lang, the back (Sh. 1c); the space under a raised platform (Sh. 3o, the space beneath a house); a grandson (cf. *lan*); to lag behind; to clean utensils (Sh. 5o, to rinse); the jack-fruit tree; *kā-lang*, behind, after (see *ka*); *bai-lang*, after; *kha-lang*, a man of the Barāhī caste; *lang-maï*, after you; *poi-lān-lang*, and, thereupon; *kī-lang*, nearness, near; *ma-lang-khŭw*, a kind of prickly shrub (Assamese, *pulikāhat*); *taŭ-lang*, glass.

lăng, the pedal of a rice-pestle, etc.; glory, greatness; wide open (cf. Sh. 3c, a hole); to go down, float down (Sh. 3c); the embroidered end of a pillow; *lăng-tī*, to wager, bet; *'a-lăng*, wide-power, God.

lap, to be out of sight; to hide, conceal (Sh. 5c, to conceal); to sharpen (Sh. 5c); to startle (cf. Sh. 2o, to fear); to get profit.

lăp, talking without regard to truth or propriety (Sh. *lăp-lip*, 5c, 5o, to act or speak like a buffoon. Cf. Assamese *laplapiyā*).

lat, to speak, say, tell (Sh. 3o); to geld a bull; to show the way (cf. Sh. 4c, to make straight, a short cut); *lat-kham*, to say, a statement; *lat-kham-lau*, to say.

lăt, a piece of reed round which thread is wound for carrying in a shuttle, the quill of a shuttle (Sh. 2c); a knot of hair tied on the top of the head; short, low (Sh. 4c); to wipe; insincere.

lau, spirituous liquor (Assamese, *lāu-pānī*), wine (Sh. *law*, 3c); a place for keeping fowls (Sh. *law*, 5c); a stake; to speak (2o); to infatuate (Sh. *law*, 2c, to coax); to frighten; to fish with a baited hook, to angle; to rot; a statement, to address a superior; *lat-kham-lau*, to say, speak; *kham-ma-lau*, a word; *ma-lau-kin*, ever, at any time; *shŭw-lau*, a kind of cake (Assamese, *śur-pithā*).

le, the cork of an oil-pot; to lick (Sh. 4c); to wipe dry; *le-pai-lĕ-ma*, backwards (and) forwards (56).

lī, the tongue (Sh. *lin*, 5c) (cf. *lin*); a path; gradually thinner; a dam and tunnel-shaped trap for catching fish (Sh. *lī*, 3c); *'a-kā-mī-lī*, a person of the Daflā tribe.

līk (pronounced *lik*), iron (Sh. *lik*, 4m); paper (Sh. *lik*, 3c, a book); to remain at a distance; to take in exchange (Sh. *lik*, 3o, to exchange); to be broken by pounding; to remain grave, steady; to confess; a pill (in medicine); small (Sh. *lik*, 5m); to tend, take care of; *khā-lik*, a male paid servant (Sh. *khā-la*, 3c, 5c); *pā-lik*, a shepherd; *lik-khā*, a child; *lik-phai*, a flint; *tai-lik*, a certain term of abuse.

līm (pronounced *lim*), an arrow (Sh. 3o, anything long and slender).

līn (pronounced *lin*), the tongue (Sh. *lin*, 5c) (cf. *lī*); a great-grandfather; to be united, joined; to amuse oneself (Sh. *lin*, 3m); to run (see *liñ*); *shaŭ-lin*, a kind of play (Assamese, *guṭilatā khedā*).

liñ (pronounced *len*), to run (Sh. 3o), see *lin*.

līng (pronounced *ling*), a monkey (Sh. *ling*, 4c); a fisherman, a man of the fishing caste, a Ḍōm; light, not dark; the male organ; to adopt, adopted (Sh. *ling*, 5m, to cherish); to tame, tame; cattle; to tend cattle (Sh. *ling*, 2o, to fasten up an ox or other animal); *lā-ling*, a monkey; *khrăng-ling*, goods and chattels, property; *man-ling* (pr. *-leng*), a certain plant (Assamese, *ban naharu*).

līp (pronounced *lip*), to dash away breaking the line in one corner, to dash across a frontier or boundary, to break bounds; unripe (Sh. *lip*, 4c).

līt (pronounced *lit*), a paper, a letter; a holy book (*śāstra*); the will,

thought; to patch; to deceive; a song in honour of a god.

liw, a wicker grain-basket; a notch cut at the top of a pole; a paternal aunt; cunning; one-sided, inclining to one side (cf. Sh. *ling*, 2c); alone (Sh. 1m or 4o, a single thing) (cf. *diw*); pointed; to look behind (Sh. 1m, to turn round the head); *liw-kham*, a kind of plant (Assamese, *baṅgājugiyari*); *liw-ngin* (pr. *-ngen*), a kind of plant (Assamese, *dhalā jugiyari*).

lo, an iron spike or pin; a spindle-full of cotton (Sh. 2c); a person of the Abor tribe; the joint of two forked branches; a wine strainer; rough; to cast an image (Sh. 2c, to cast metal); to reproach.

loiñ, see *lāñ*.

lu, to be ruined (Sh. 5c); *tak-lu*, to become diminished; *tak-lu-tak-pang*, to be spent, exhausted, used up; *kham-mạ-lau lu*, to disobey an order.

lū, an elder brother's wife; to give, as a religious act (Sh. 2c); to tear in two pieces, to break; an iron instrument for digging; *lū-nai*, a father's sister; *niw-lū*, a miser; *ñam-lū*, immorality (*anīti*).

lūk (pronounced *luk*), a child (Sh. *luk*, 3c); a room (Sh. *luk*, 4c); a bud; a boy whose father is unknown; to happen; a suffix denoting the ablative case; *lūk-man*, a son; *lūk-ñūng*, a daughter; *lūk-pī-'ai*, an eldest son; *luk-ngī*, the youngest child of a family; *lūk-ngin-dī*, to ride in a sedan chair; *also*, to say.

lük, to select (Sh. 3o); bangles (on the arm) or anklets.

lum, to fall (Sh. 5o); to fill in; to sink one's leg into mud (Sh. 2o); to smooth, smooth; to forget; all, entire, complete (Sh. 3o) (12); loose, not tight (Sh. 1o); air, wind (Sh. 4o) (pronounced *lōm*) (12, 13); *lum-shī*, a sharp pain in the heart (cf. Sh. *lum-mai*, 4o, 3c, to have the heartburn).

lūn (pronounced *lun*), last, after (cf. *lün*); late born, born last (Southern Sh. *lün*, 4c, Northern Sh. *lun*, 4c); to be brimful (Sh. *lun*, 1c, to rise and overspread, as water); *lūn-lang*, afterwards; *poi-lūm-lang*, and, thereupon.

lün, not fresh; to make, construct; after (Sh. 4c) (cf. *lūn*); *tün-lün*, after that, then (18, 64).

lūñ (pronounced *lui*), to lean.

lūng (pronounced *lung*), great, large (Sh. *lung*, 1o); to eat something on a road; to come down, descend (Sh. *lung*, 4o); to pack grain in a wicker grain-basket; to beat (Sh. *lüng*, 3c); to become silted up (as a tank).

lüng, yellow (Sh. 1o); sprightly; the number 1 (Sh. *nüng*, 3c) (9, 39, 42, 43, 45, 48, 54); the indefinite article, a, an; *mai-lüng-kạ*, a kind of tree (Assamese, *bhātaghilā*).

lūp (pronounced *lup*), to rub (Sh. *lup*, 3c); to gild, plaster, overlay, daub (Sh. *lup*, 3c).

lüp, an island; *lūp-din*, an island (2); *lüp-müng*, an island (21, 29, 60).

lūt (pronounced *lut*), to endure; mixed or made soft by trampling done by a child.

lüt, blood (Sh. 3o); hot (cf. *düt*).

lüw, the *śrāddha* ceremony; a weaver's shuttle; an arm (the limb); to become reconciled; to be at the head, take precedence (Sh. 1o, to exceed); the spur of a cock (Sh. *luñ-kai*, 1o, 2c); to suck; an enclosure.

mā, an ass; a negative particle (Sh. *maw*, 2c); *kūn-mā*, a fool, ignorant.

mạ, a dog (with an abrupt tone) (Sh. *mā*, 1c); a horse (with a long tone) (Sh. *ma*, 5c); a fox (Sh. *ma-lin*, 1c); to come (Sh. 4c); to void excrement (55); *mạ-lau-kin*, ever, at any time; *mạ-pū*, a kind of gooseberry (Assamese, *jetulipakā*); *mạ-lang-khüw*, a kind of prickly shrub (Assamese, *pulikāhat*); *le-pai-lē-mạ*, backwards (and) forwards (56); *kham-mạ-lau*, a word; *khau-mạ-cham*, as soon as; *mạ-me*, a mare; *mạ-thüng*, to arrive; *'aü-mạ*, to bring.

mai, a bamboo (Sh. 5c); mischief, damage; a pole (cf. Sh. 5c above); to burn (Sh. 3c); to write (Sh. 1o, to make a sign or mark); a suffix which denotes any case except the nominative; wood, a tree (Sh. 5c) (31); *mai-lüng-kạ*, a kind of tree (Assamese, *bhātaghilā*); *thai-mai*, a man of the Muluk tribe.

mak, a fruit (Sh. 2o); a plant; old; to chew the cud; a master, owner; mature; to weave; *mak-mo-mâng*, a mango; *mak-lang*, a jack-fruit; *mak-phrüng*, a certain fruit (*Averrhoa carambola*); *mak-phit-thün*, a certain

plant (Assamese, *dighalati gachh*); *mak-klwāng* (pr. *-klāng*), the *papaya* fruit.

mâk, a cloud (Sh. 2c; cf. *blâk*); to dazzle the eyes (cf. Sh. 2o, to be dim-sighted from age).

mam, boiled rice; a miser.

mâm, to speak (cf. Sh. *mâk*, 2c).

man, a root, a sweet potato (Sh. 4c); oil, grease (Sh. 4c); fat, stout (cf. *mang*); gain (Sh. 1o, to be successful in what was sought); he, she, it (Sh. 4c) (16, 40, 42, 43, 44, 52, 55, 56, 57); a pleonastic particle, said to give the idea of respect, added to male nouns of relationship, as in *po-man*, a father; *man-no*, a kind of wild root (Assamese, *ṭakarīyā ālu*); *man-ling* (pronounced *-leng*), a certain plant (Assamese, *ban naharu*); *khâm-man* or *kham-man*, the turning out correctly of something said, the fulfilment of a prophecy; *pik-man*, disaffection, want of love; to endure; *phī-man*, a kind of headache, which comes at sunrise; *thau-man*, an arbitrator amongst the Kachārīs.

mân, trust, confidence; a pillow (Sh. 1c); Brahmā.

mañ, see *moiñ*.

mang, other (cf. Sh. 1o, some); stout, fat (but Sh. 1o, to be thin) (cf. *man*); to poke at, to break by poking at (cf. Sh. 1c, to pound); to be unfolded (of cloth); *pin-mang-shai*, an abscess; *'âng-mang*, water in which rice has been boiled, congee.

mâng, intelligent; a stake, peg; *mak-mo-mâng*, a mango.

map, a bamboo fish-trap; to rob.

mâp, to tie the body (Sh. 4c, to gather one's clothes round oneself).

mat, evening twilight, evening; a kind of ant (Sh. 4c, a flea) (cf. *mut*); an eel-spear (Sh. 2o, a pointed stick).

mât, quality; to walk in a solemn manner.

mau, a kind of ant; unable to utter articulate sounds, tongue-tied (Sh. *maw*, 3c, to have soreness of the tongue); to extort; to become pale or bloodless; light, not heavy (Sh. *maw*, 1c); fleshy, stout; to praise; *mau-kham*, a kind of bracelet worn by men.

maü, thou (Sh. 4c); *maü-pū*, a wife's elder sister.

me, a mother (Sh. 3o, but *me*, 4c, a wife, cf. *mī*); to strike; to get cleared or cleaned (Sh. 4o, to put in order); a feminine suffix employed with irrational animals; *hū-me*, a cow; *ma-me*, a mare; *me-'ā*, a father's sister; *me-kan*, to feel affection; *châng-me*, improper, not suitable.

mī, good (Sh. *lī*, 1c); a wife, a female (Sh. *me*, 4c, but *me*, a mother, 3o); a string of beads; the datura or thorn-apple; not to be (contrast Sh. *mī*, 4c, to be) (20 *bis*); not to mix; a feminine suffix used with human beings and the like (22); dark (Sh. 3c) (47); like (47); *kūn-mī*, a woman; *baw-mī*, not to be (22 *bis*); *pai-mī*, not to be (1, 2, 5); *ñang-mī*, not to be (8, 11, 12, 16, 19, 20); *'aü-mī*, to marry; *'a-kā-mī-lī*, a person of the Dafla tribe.

mīk (pronounced *mik*), ignorant (Sh. *mük*, 3o).

miñ (pronounced *men*), a Nāgā (? Sh. 2o); a porcupine (Sh. *min*, 3m); to peel; to break with tongs; a cat (cf. *miw*).

mīng (pronounced *ming*), life (Sh. 3c, fate, destiny).

mīp (pronounced *mip*), to shampoo, squeeze with the fingers (Sh. 2c).

mit, a knife (Sh. 3c; Assamese, *mit-kaṭōrī*); a rainbow in the east.

miw, a cat (Sh. 4o).

mlân, the mulberry (Sh. *mân*, 4c).

mling (pronounced *mleng*), a white ant (cf. Sh. *ming*, 4o, an insect); a firefly (47).

mlip (pronounced *mlep*), lightning (Sh. *pha-mip*, 5c, 3o).

mlün, to open the eyes (Sh. *mün*, 4c); *mlün-ta*, to open the eyes (19).

mo, a learned man (Sh. 1c, to know how to do a thing, be skilled in); a Dēodhai or Āhom priest; intelligence, wisdom; an earthen cooking-pot (Sh. 3c); an archer; a whisper (cf. Sh. 4c, to creak); *mak-mo-mâng*, a mango; *mo-ran*, a Matak or Moran, a well-known caste in Upper Assam.

moi, the short hair about parts of the body, as under the armpits, etc. (Sh. 1c); to be tired (*N.* Sh. 3c) (cf. *moiñ*); to become exhausted.

moiñ or **mañ** (pronounced *moy*), fatigue (cf. *moi*); pride, haughtiness.

mrat, a camel.

mũ, see *müw*.

mũk (pronounced *muk*), a kind of arum (Sh. 4c); a cap, hat; to attire, clothe; to ask; to be ceremonially unclean.

mük, a mosquito.

mun, virtue; the wild silkworm; lot, fate; to sprout (Sh. 4c); to empty; *khau-mun*, rice-frumenty.

mün, a cart; ten thousand (Sh. 2c); to slip (Sh. 3c, to be slippery); to open the eyes (Sh. 4c) (see *mlün*); past time; rejoicing, to be happy (Sh. *mun*, 3o); *hit-mün*, to rejoice; *pi-müw-mün*, for (so many) years.

müñ or **muñ** (pronounced *muy*), to be destroyed; to devastate; frost (Sh. 1o) (63).

müñ (pronounced *müy* or *müi*), dew; to jump.

müng, a country, a kingdom, the world (Sh. 4o) (2, 3, 6, 11, 19, 21, 29, 35, 39, 45, 51, 52, 59, 60 *bis*); to thatch a house; very quickly (32, 33); to hum, buzz; to abuse; *müng-kho*, to tease; down-stream, the country lower down a river; *rũ-müng*, the north (44); *shai-chüng-müng*, thread-god-country, thread of air, the air-gods, *Vāyus* (48, 50); *hit-müng-chaü*, to present a gift; *lüp-müng*, an island (21, 29, 60); *pun-müng*, a foreign country.

müp (pronounced *mup*), to be wavy, to be undulatory.

mut, an ant (Sh. 5o) (cf. *mat*); an eel; to clear, clean (Sh. 4o); to slip; *mut-kan*, to coincide.

müt, to tame a wild animal; to reconcile.

müw or **mũ**, a betel-nut (Sh. *mu*, 5c); a kind of wild nut; the hand (Sh. *müw*, 4c) (17); a hog (Sh. *mũ*, 1c); time, a day (Sh. *müw*, 3o, time) (1, 8, 64); the weather, the season for cultivating any crop; a gift; to have at one's hand; ancient time; *kũ-müw*, every time, always; *nã-kan-müw*, as usual; *müw-nai*, then; *müw-naü*, now (36); *jim-müw*, beginning time, in the beginning (1); *mũ-tũñ* (pr. *-tui*), to reconcile; *müw-nan*, for ever (38); *ram-mũ*, powdered chaff; *shup-mũ*, to be silent; *tham-'ạ-mũ*, a plough.

nã, very, exceedingly (Sh. 2c); thi k, not thin (Sh. 1c) (59); a suffix of the future (rare except with *pai-kã*, to go); *nam-nã*, very many; *nã-kip*, a field; *lak-khã-nã*, a chaste woman; *shã-nã*, to make an offering; cf. *nạ*.

nạ (often written *nã*), a rice-field (Sh. *nã*, 4c); disease; the mouth, face (Sh. *nã*, 3c); the front; to return; *nạ-kip*, *nạ-din*, a field; *kün-nã-kin*, a cultivator; *an-nạ*, before; *nã-kan-müw*, as usual; *khang-nạ*, before, in the presence of.

ñã or **ña**, medicine (Sh. *yã*, 1c, 3c); grass (Sh. *yã*, 3c); to come in a shoal as fishes; to catch fish while coming in a shoal; opium (Sh. *yã-lam*, 3c, 1c); (*ñạ*) a forest (63); *ñạ-hik-koi*, a certain medicinal herb (Assamese, *lāi jābari*); *ñạ-din-kī*, a certain creeper (Assamese, *phūjā latā*); *ñạ-plẳng-phai*, a certain tree, *Machilus odoratissima*, identified in Assam as the *sôma* plant; *ñạ-kaw-kạ-hit*, a kind of creeping plant used for medicinal purposes (Assamese, *bhedāi latā*); *ñạ-rang*, a kind of grass (Assamese, *hārkatā ban*); *ñạ-bang-she*, a kind of sharp-edged grass (Assamese, *mādurī ban*).

nai, a day (cf. Sh. *naü*, 1c, morning); now (cf. Sh. *nai*, 1c, thus; 3c, here); to reply; to speak; to sew (cf. *naüm*); this (Sh. 5c); a particle signifying unexpectedness; *püw-nang-nai*, on account of this, in order that; *müw-nai*, now, then, to-day (cf. *müw-naü*); *tam-nai*, from this, then, thereon; *kạ-nai*, at this, now; *tī-nai*, place this, now, here; *phraü-nai*, when? *chũ-chang-nai*, because, therefore; *chang-nai*, now (37); *nai-cham*, now, next, thereupon (49); *lũ-nai*, a father's sister.

ñai, a dragon-fly; to be scattered (Sh. *yai*, 3o).

nak, an otter; heavy (Sh. 4c); to be in difficulty.

nåk, the horn of a rhinoceros; to measure; the weight of anything (46); a bone; to respect; putrid; delight, joy; sound sleep; *pin-nåk*, to be offended.

ñak, to do something unimportant; not important; to cut things while walking.

ñåk, to put pressure on; *hī-ñåk*, to throw down by force, to break by throwing down violently.

nam, water (Sh. 5c) (40); many (Sh. 1c); vapour; *nam-tăng*, a water-

pot; *nam-nū*, very many; *nam-bldk-rung*, the water of the Ganges; *nam-shū-lū*, a shark; *nam-khun*, the river Dilih, in the district of Sibsāgar; *nam-lā-lū* (4), the ocean; *tit-nam*, to draw water.

ñam, bell-metal; false (of an accusation) (cf. *ñåm*); a beam, the support of a roof; a kind of hairy caterpillar the touch of which causes irritation; to chew; to laugh; to eat with the lips (from a bamboo joint) as children and persons who have lost their teeth (Sh. *yam*, 5c); a couple; *ñam-lū*, immorality (*anīti*).

ñåm, false, falsehood (cf. *ñam*) ▸ to colour or be coloured (cf. Sh. *yåm*, 5c, to dye).

nan, lateness (Sh. 4o, to be long in doing); to quarrel; demonstrative pronoun, that (Sh. 5c); *an-nan*, *ā-nan*, that; *pŭw-nan*, on account of that, therefore; *mŭw-nan*, for ever (38).

nån, to nurse (a child or sick person); to watch over; to sleep (Sh. 4c); *nån-jån*, nursing a child or sick person.

ñan, all-knowing (Sh. *ñan*, intellect = Skr. *jñānam*).

ñåñ (pronounced *ñoy*), drizzling rain (Sh. *yoi*, 4c).

nang, a girl (Sh. 4o, a sister); to sit (Sh. 3c) (37, 57, 61); to be in distress, difficulty (56); of what sort? according to, *adv.*, like, as (31), thus (1) (Sh. 2c); *pŭw-nang-nai*, in order that; *nang-khroi-plång*, to sit with one leg over the other in the Āhom fashion.

nång, a lake, a pond (Sh. 1c); a younger brother or sister (Sh. 5c); *nång-ñŭng*, *ñŭng-nång*, a younger sister; *pī-nång*, a younger brother; *nång-shaŭ*, an adult younger sister.

ñang, to be (Sh. *yang*, 4c) (cf. *jang*) (46, 47) (written *jang*, but pronounced *ñang* in 8, 11, 12, 17, 40); *ñang-mī*, not to be (16, 19, 20); *ñang-mī*, to be dark (47).

nap, to count (Sh. 5c); to thrust in, to stick up in the ground.

ñap, distress (Sh. *yap*, 2o, to be difficult).

ñåt, a young leaf not yet opened (Sh. *yåt*, 3c).

nau or **naw**, a mistress, a paramour; a wife; inside (see *naŭ*); putrid (Sh. *naw*, 3c); slightly putrid, not fresh; to raise and bring; to march; to be cold (Sh. *naw*, 1o).

naŭ, inside, in, into, the inside (cf. *nau*; Sh. 4c); *naŭ-chaŭ*, the breast (30); *mŭw-naŭ* (cf. *mŭw-nai*), now (36).

ñaŭ (also spelt *jaŭ* and *jauw*), a great or large man (Sh. *yaŭ*, 2c, great, big); great, gigantic [40 (*jaŭ*), 54 (*ñaŭ*), 56 (*jauw*), 58 (*jauw*)]; *kån-phā-ñaŭ*, the name of the air-gods (49).

naŭm, to sew (cf. *nai*).

ñaw, to draw a line.

ne, to give oneself to; to leak through (as the roof of a house); a certain squirrel-like animal; to push against; *phā-tŭw-chŭng-ne-pŭng*, instruction from God (34) (*ne* apparently means 'from').

ngā, a mole (on the body), *ngā-ngū*, many moles (33); a tusk (Sh. 4c) (cf. *ngą*); *pe-ngā*, a goat (Sh. *pē-ngan*, 5o, 1o); *rång-ngā*, tusked, of an elephant (43).

nga, ivory (cf. *ngā*); the sesamum and its seed (Sh. *ngā*, 4c); hair-lipped: to aim at (Sh. *ngā*, 1c); the spikes attached to a fish-trap.

ngai, lust, sexual desire; to wish; to come quickly into being; easy (Sh. 3o); a pair; *ngai-shī*, to separate a pair.

ngak, dropsy; to rend asunder; to go aside.

ngåk, to thrust in; to look with the head raised (Sh. 3c, to raise the head); crooked (Sh. 5c).

ngam, a hole; a leaning or reclining, pressure (cf. *ngap*); to hatch, incubate (Sh. *ngåm*, 4c); to cover the body from head to foot with a cloth (Sh. 4c, to shade by covering); nice, beautiful, handsome (Sh. 4o, to be good) (6, 19, 34); to warp (as a board).

ngåm, to swell, to be puffed up.

ngan, a cobra; a kind of disease (a form of diarrhœa); *pin-ngan*, to seek company, join oneself to.

ngån, a knoll, a hillock; handsome.

ngap, to take away; a kind of basket; to lean (cf. *ngam*).

ngåp, to be afraid of; to sleep.

ngau, **ngaŭ**, or **ngaw**, a wild cat; light, a ray of light (Sh. *ngaw*, 4c, emitted brightness) (32, 33); to tear off; moss; to manure.

ngaŭm, a stick thrown from the hand.

ngaw, *to* roar; to peep through; to grope for; to suck.

nge, a boundary; a well-doer, one who does kindly actions; a stopper made of soft materials, a cork (cf. *ñiw*); ashes; even, straight; bowed, bent (of the body); a prop.

ngī, the barking deer; the youngest son of a family; *tū-ngī*, *tūw-ngī*, a deer; *lūk-ngī*, the youngest child.

ngik-rū-shī, to strike the head against something.

ngīn (pronounced *ngin*), to hear (Sh. *ngin*, 4m); *ngin-kū*, to get frightened; *liw-ngin* (pr. *-ngen*), a kind of plant (Assamese, *dhalā jugiyari*); *lūk-ngin-dī*, to ride in a sedan chair; *also*, to say.

ngīp (pronounced *ngip*), a kind of stand.

ngiw, a eunuch.

ngū, the fifth son of a family; a snake (Sh. 4c).

ngük, an imaginary water animal, a water *nāga*.

ngün or **ngūn** (pronounced *ngun*), mutual pleasure.

ngün, silver (Sh. 4c); a skein of thread. See also *ngūn*.

ngūp (pronounced *ngup*), to remain with the head raised.

ngüp, to break a piece of split bamboo.

ngüt, to aim at.

ngüw or **nguw**, a chasm; to lay down a pole; to break by trampling; to go with the body bent.

nī, to go away (Sh. 1c, to go); overripe; to get into debt (Sh. 3c, a debt); remote, far; *shai-nī*, distant.

ñī, to plan, consult; to coincide (Sh. 2c).

nīk (pronounced *nik*), to flow down the neck (of water in bathing); *nik-chā*, alas!; *'a-nik*, extreme misery.

ñīk (pronounced *ñik*), to make a ticking sound.

nim, to be dinted (Sh. 4o, to be concave, a concave spot of ground); to push with the elbow.

niñ (pronounced *nen*), to become compact (Sh. 3o, to be hard, not pliant; 5o, to compress, crowd); to bury in the earth; small in stature; to walk with the breast elevated (cf. Sh. *ning*, 3o, to walk with the shoulders thrown back); a kind of plant (Assamese, *kapāl-phuṭā*).

nīng (pronounced *ning*), a kind of stand; a kind of tray mounted on a leg.

ñīng (pronounced *ñing*), a female (Sh. *ying*, 4c) (cf. *ñūng*); to creep; the eaves of a house; to sit close, each touching the other's body; *ñing-jū*, a wicked woman.

niw, matted hair; any kind of bean or pulse; a finger or toe (cf. *ñiw*) (Sh. the same, 5c); *niw-lū*, a miser.

ñiw, a cork, a stopper made of soft materials (cf. *nge*); a finger (cf. *niw*) (Sh. *niw*, 5c); a block of wood; to make water (Sh. *yiw*, 3m); sweet juice.

no, a sprout, shoot (Sh. 2c); a wen, a painless tumour; *man-no*, a kind of wild root (Assamese, *ṭakariyā ālū*); *no-rō*, *nüw-rō*, on the head, against; cf. *nüw*.

ño, to charm; to bend.

noi, small (Sh. 5c, to be small); low.

ñoi, threshed paddy; a kind of fly (Assamese, *nagājhili*).

nū, see *nüw*.

ñū, a broom (Sh. *yū*, 4c); *ñū-chū*, an ant.

nūk (pronounced *nuk*), a bird (Sh. *nuk*, 5o); deaf (Sh. *nuk*, 2o); *nuk-tū*, a dove.

nük, in *shüw-nük*, a stitch in sewing.

ñuk, to raise (Sh. *yuk*, 5c or 5o); to push with pressure.

ñük, to patch with thread; to feel a sullen resentment at an affront.

nūm (pronounced *num*), a handsome-looking man; the breast, udder (Sh. *num*, 4o).

ñūm (pronounced *ñum*), a bush (Sh. *yum*, 4c, a clump of bushes); to be barren; to smile (Sh. *yum*, 5c).

nūn (pronounced *nun*), cotton (Sh. 3c, the product of the red cotton-tree); weariness (Sh. 4c, to be exhausted from fatigue, illness, or the effect of medicine); verdigris.

nuñ (pronounced *nui*), in *pat-nuñ*, a certain plant, Job's tears.

nüñ (pronounced *nui*), to throw away; *nüñ-khriw*, to sing songs in exchange, to sing against one another.

ñuñ (pronounced *ñui*), to feel the hands and feet asleep.

nūng (pronounced *nung*), to stir, shake, move; to go astray; to happen; a method of cooking rice (it is put in a covered pot without water, which is placed over boiling water); to put on (clothes); *nung-tang*, to put on (clothes); *khau-nung*, boiled *barā*

rice (it becomes soft when put in water).

ñûng (pronounced *ñung*), a mosquito (Sh. *yung*, 4c); displeasure.

ñüng, to prevent from advancing by standing in the way (cf. Sh. *yüng*, 3c, to remain gathered together in a crowd); a plant (*Plumbago rosea*); a female, a woman (cf. *ñing*) (Sh. *ying*, 4c); a suffix or prefix denoting the female of human beings; *khā-nüng*, a female servant; *nâng-nüng*, *nüng-nâng*, a sister; *lûk-ñüng*, a daughter.

nûp (pronounced *nup*), a species of flying insect (Assamese, *kēṭā mākḥī*).

ñüp, the measure of the hand with the fingers extended; to proceed trampling down.

nût (pronounced *nut*), a beard (Sh. *nut*, 2o) (cf. *ñut*); to split up by bending the end of a thing (cf. Sh. *nut*, 3o, to reduce to small particles).

ñut, a beard (Sh. *nut*, 2o) (cf. *nût*).

nüw or **nū**, a rat or mouse (Sh. *nū*, 1c); flesh (Sh. *nüw*, 5o); race, lineage (Sh. *noi*, 2c); up, above, on (Sh. *nüw*, 1o) (also *no*) (5, 40); white; *tam-nüw*, place above, on (42, 44).

pā, a conical basket used by Nagas for carrying a burden on the back (cf. Sh. 4c, to suspend from the shoulder); to copulate (cf. *pạ*); half of anything, a side (cf. Sh. 3c, a side); to graze; *kan-pā*, towards; *pā-lik*, a shepherd; *pā-kan*, to copulate.

pạ, to accompany (Sh. 4c); *pạ-kan*, to have sexual intercourse with (cf. *pā*).

pai, a kind of tree (*Tamarix indica*); to go, march (Sh. 1c); oblique (Sh. 2c, to turn aside); front; to bow low (cf. Sh. 5o, to hang over); quickly (cf. Sh. 3o, to run); negative, not (Sh. 1c, prohibitive particle); *le-pai-lē-mạ*, backwards (and) forwards (56); *pai-kā*, to go; *pai-khan*, to run; *pai-mī*, not to be (1, 2, 5).

pak, the mouth (Sh. 2o) (16), the inside of the mouth; the numeral 100 (Sh. 2o); regular; to become; to raise a post (Sh. 4c); a pumpkin (Sh. 5c); *pak-bai*, to call, to name (49).

pâk, to return; to wrap a cloth round the body; to skin, peel (Sh. 2c) (cf. *pük*); *tū-rū-pâk*, a blunder, mistake.

pam, to kick (Sh. 1c, to push away violently); to braid.

pâm, the palate; the heel; a pillow, a bolster; a short post to which a buffalo-calf is tied; to unite, to reconcile (Sh. *pam*, 4o); to be removed, separate, off; *pâm-kan*, means of livelihood.

pan, a kind of hemp plant, rhea (Sh. 2o); to twist, rotate (Sh. 2c); to hold, grasp; to uphold (38); to become cold; to divide; *pan-kū*, relative pronoun, who, which.

pân, to clean cotton (Sh. 3c); to cause to pass through; to put into the mouth (as food) (Sh. 3c).

pang, a plain (Sh. 2o, to be level); a hare (Sh. *pang-lai*, 1o, 4o); a fallow-deer; a mithan or Indian bison; rich; the spleen (Sh. 3o); an altar (Assamese, *pāng*); high land; to break (Sh. 4c, to break down); to open, untie; to be ruined; *taṙ-pang*, to become ruined; *tak-lu-tak-pang*, to be spent, expended; *pang-din*, a man of the Miri tribe.

pâp, living as a dependent in another's house.

pat, a gem; to cut with a sliding motion (Sh. 2o); to be in a leaning position; to warm; *pat-nuñ* (pr. *-nui*), a certain plant, Job's tears.

pât, to rub (Sh. 3c); to plaster; cropped (cf. Sh. 4c, to be short); the afterbirth of a lower animal.

paü (pronounced *pō*), a daughter-in-law (Sh. *luk-paü*, 3c, 5c); a sentinel, see *paü* below; to put on, clothe (Sh. *paü*, 4c).

paü or **paw** (pronounced *pau*), to pole, push with a pole; uneven; blowing of wind, to blow with the mouth (Sh. *bau*, 2c); to keep watch (Sh. *paü*, 5c); to wait for, attend on (Sh. *paü-kang*, 5c, 1o, to stand sentry); to select; to curse.

paüm, to startle.

paw, see *paü*.

pe, a goat (Sh. 5o); a raft, two boats tied together, with a platform between (Sh. 4o); to conquer (Sh. 5o); to go behind; *pe-ngā* (Sh. *pe-ngan*, 5o, 1o, a he-goat), a goat.

phā or **phạ**, a king; cloth, a garment (Sh. 3c); heaven, the sky (Sh. 5c) (1, 5, 6, 13, 20, 21, 24, 45, 55, 56, 58, 61); a wall, partition (Sh. 1c); to split (Sh. 2c); to

divide (Sh. 2c, to split); to pierce (33); God (Sh. *phrāh*, 4c) (9) (nom. *phā-ko*, 14, 18, 29, 30); *phā-tüw-chüng*, the Supreme Deity, God Almighty (27, 34, 38, 53); *phahum*, a certain plant (Assamese, *barun-gachh*); *kân-phā-ñaü*, the name of the *Vāyus* or air-gods (49); *chüng-phā*, God (49); *kân-chüng-phā*, the good God (49); *phā-khrung-klang*, a half; *taü-phā*, earth and heaven.

phai, fire (Sh. 4c); a side (Sh. 2o); a high land; a layer; a strong person; an embankment (Sh. 1o, a small dam); to jump; to beckon; to walk, go (Sh. 3o, see *phrai*); *lik-phai*, a flint; *ñą-plâng-phai*, a certain tree, *Machilus odoratissima*, identified in Assam as the *Sōma* plant.

phak, a vegetable; a bribe (Sh. 2o, to send a present); the embroidered end of a round pillow; a side; an army; a scabbard; smooth, plain; to ram down, press closely down; the bank of a river (Sh. *phang*, 2c).

phăk, an unskilled woman (Sh. 2c, to be incapable of learning); ugly; sappy, full of sap; a feast; to sprinkle water on the body (Sh. 4c, to sprinkle).

pham, the part of a limb between two joints (cf. *plâng*); a kind of aquatic grass; to remain in a compact body.

pham, morality (*nīti*); all; an example; to ramble, wander; low and bushy (as shrubs).

phan, an order, command; a dream (Sh. 1c); difficulty, distress (Sh. 1o), poverty; sorrow; calumny against an absent person; to create (Sh. 2o); to do; to call; to sow broadcast; seed kept for sowing (Sh. 4c, a seed); to cut (Sh. 1o, to slice, pare); *phan-kham*, an order; *phū-phan*, to float on poverty, to be destitute; *khā-phan*, to cut.

phăn, a house; a sip, the quantity drunk at one gulp; to remain grave, serious.

phañ, see *phoiñ*.

phang, a foreigner, a Bengali, a Musalmān; a false statement; a plant (*Plumbago rosea*); stubble of paddy; netted, reticular; night-blind; to cheat by imperfectly performing a work, to scamp; to fill up a hole (Sh. 1c, to bury); to draw a line; near, close to (cf. *phring*); *blâk-phang*, a certain flower (Assamese, *garīyā-phūl*).

phap, to strike with a hoe; to beat with a club.

phăp, to run on all fours.

phat, a bridge; to beat, to strike with a cane (Sh. 5c, to strike with a sharp stroke); to pour syrup (into a pot); to cut a leaf (cf. Sh. 2o, to sever); a joint; to fall; the striking of grass by an elephant; to read (Sh. 4c); to be bitter (Sh. 2o); yet, nevertheless.

phăt, to sew a border, sew on a border; to make an elephant kneel down; to search minutely.

phau, to scatter about (cf. *phaw*); a wish (Sh. *phaü*, 2c); dust (Sh. *phâng*, 1c). Often incorrectly written for *phraü*.

phaw, a housekeeper, a wife; to be scattered (cf. *phau*).

phe, a plate (Sh. 1o); a piece of plain cotton cloth; a wash-bowl; a piece of wood on which *bhang* is minced; to spread (Sh. 2o), to pervade; to give birth to, bring forth; to spread straw (cf. Sh. 2c, to unfold; 1o, to be scattered); to sun paddy; to blow with the mouth; to smooth with an adze.

phī, in *phī-man*, a kind of headache which comes at sunrise; *phī-dip*, a large boil; *to-phī*, a whirlpool.

phik or **phīk** (pronounced *phik*), a kind of high coarse grass; to recognise; to feed by ejecting from the mouth, to feed from mouth to mouth.

phīn (pronounced *phin*), a cotton gin; a shelf; a cartwheel.

phiñ (pronounced *phen*), a layer; a flat piece of silver or gold (Sh. 2o, what is flat and hard).

phīp (pronounced *phip*), to wink with the eye.

phīt (pronounced *phit*), cold, warmthless; pungency, salty (Sh. 4m, be pungent); to be offended; to offend the goddess of smallpox; to make a mistake in playing chess (Sh. 4c, to miss the mark, be in error); to sin; *mak-phit-thün*, a certain plant (Assamese, *dīghalati gachh*).

phiw, a bracelet; a tick; the fibrous outer bark of plants (Sh. 1c); slightly dry; to clear up, clear away, put in order (Sh. 3m); to be in excess (51); to vacate a place;

to speak vehemently; *phiw-kham*, a gold bracelet.

pho, an eel-hole, an eel-pit; to roll in a green leaf and then to roast (cf. Sh. *phaw*, 1c, to roast); to move the legs backwards and forwards in agony; to remain for good, permanently.

phoi, a mole (the black spot); a tumult.

phoiñ or **phañ** (pronounced *phoi*), to drizzle (of rain) (Sh. *phoi*, 4c, to sprinkle); one who fills up a hole.

phra or **phrā**, a rock; *kûn-phrā-phük*, a mass of white rock, Mount Mēru (44).

phrai, to go, walk (Sh. *phai*, 3o; see *phai*).

phrang, a cart; a guard; a means of deliverance, delivery, the act of saving or delivering; counsel, advice; to rest; to support, nourish, take care of a person; dust (Sh. 1c).

phraü (often written *phaü*), who? (Sh. *phaü*, 1c); any, a certain, anybody; *phraü-baw*, no one (3, 6, 9, 24, 26, 61) (in 61 the *baw* appears to be omitted); *phraü-nai*, when?.

phrī, a god, a spirit (Sh. *phī*, 1c, a being superior to man and inferior to the Brahmās, and having its dwelling-place in one of the six inferior celestial regions) (22); a ghost, a devil; a discharge from the eye (cf. Sh. *phī*, 1c, a boil, an ulcer); to form into layers; *phrī-mī*, a goddess (22).

phring, a wooden stand on which religious manuscripts are placed; near (cf. *phang*); a custom, former habit (Sh. *phing*, 3c); to throw off; to be many, suffix of plurality (Sh. *phing*, 3c; cf. *phrung*, a swarm).

phrum, hair (Sh. *phum*, 1o); a crowd, a herd.

phrung, a swarm (Sh. *phung*, 1c, a collection) (cf. *phring* and *phrum*); to divide into two parts (cf. Sh. *phak*, 2o, to divide into two); to be flung off, to fall off (Sh. *phung*, 5c, to fly off scatteringly); to be renewed; a honeycomb (cf. *phrüng*).

phrüng, honey (Sh. *phüng*, 3c, the honey-bee) (cf. *phrung*); to spread, as water on blotting-paper; to distribute; to sweat, perspire; *mak-phrüng*, a certain fruit (*Averrhoa carambola*).

phū, a man, a male (Sh. 3c) (24, 54); a husband (Sh. *phuw*, 1c); in former times; to float (Sh. 4c); to change shoulder, to ease a burden on the shoulder; *kūn-phū*, a man, a male; *phū-ṛa-ṭa-ṛa*, God (cf. *phā*); *phū-phan*, to float on poverty, to be destitute.

phuk, a mat; to tie, knit (Sh. 2c, to bind).

phük, a kind of root, Parum; a bamboo fence set up in a stream to intercept fish (Sh. 2o); to be white (Sh. 2o); to learn (Sh. 4c, to begin to learn to do anything); *kûn-phā-phük*, a mass of white rock (Mount Mēru) (44); *kham-phük*, to learn to speak.

phūn or **phun** (pronounced *phun*), rain (Sh. 1o) (12, 13); one who revolts, an insurgent; to revolt; to upturn; firewood, fuel (Sh. *phün*, 4c); a four-legged platter or tray (especially for betel-nut) (Sh. *phün*, 1o); a long, narrow strip of split bamboo; to give the first binding to the edge (in basket-work).

phün, a metal plate used by Ahoms of rank; to disperse a meeting (Sh. 1c, to scatter).

phūñ (pronounced *phui*), the eaves of a house; shadow (Sh. 4o, the under foliage of a tree); to fly.

phūp (pronounced *phup*), to split.

phūt (pronounced *phut*), to boil; nausea; to be agitated (of a human being) (cf. Sh. 2c, to rise up suddenly).

phüt, to be bent (of a *dao*).

phüw, a plank bored with many holes; a *rākshasa*, greedy (cf. Sh. *phī-lū*, 1c, 4c, a monster which devours human flesh, a word borrowed from Burmese); as much of anything as can be clasped in the arms; to slip; to go arm in arm (Sh. 4o); to burst (of paddy).

pī, a year (Sh. 1c); an elder brother or sister (Sh. 3c); fat (Sh. 4c, be corpulent) (cf. *plüw*); ill for a long time, suffering from a chronic disease; a horn, a pipe (the wind instrument) (Sh. 2c); a pencil; a plantain-bud (Sh. 1c); to whisper; *lūk-pī-'ai*, an eldest son; *rō-pī-lüng*, a year ago; *pī-kai*, an elder brother; *pī-ñüng*, an elder sister; *pī-müw-mün*, for (so many) years.

pīk (pronounced *pik*), a feather (Sh. *pik*, 2c, a wing); a net; the ear;

to save money; *pik-man*, disaffection, want of love; to endure.

pīn, pin (pronounced *pin*), to be, become (Sh. *pin*, 1m) (i, 37, 56 *bis*, 60); to get; to make (57 *bis*); to be turned back or over (Sh. *pin*, 3c); used to form potential verbs, as in *kau-pin-po*, I may strike; *pin-klün*, a leper (cf. Sh. *pin*, 1m, to be sick); *pin-shan*, a widower; *pin-ngan*, to seek company, join oneself to; *pin-rung*, spongy, yielding to pressure; *pin-nâk*, to be offended; *pin-mang-shai*, an abscess; *khau-pin*, broken rice; *pin-'âk*, ripe; *jün-pin*, to become a pattern, to create (39, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 50, 54); *lâk-pin*, to become transformed, to create (58); *rün-pin*, bring-out-become, to weave (of a spider) (56).

piñ (pronounced *pen*), a plank, a board (Sh. 3o); to prune; to beg alms.

ping, pīng (pronounced *ping*), love, affection (Sh. *ping*, 4o, to love); a cake; a leech (Sh. *ping*, 1c); white; sufficient (Sh. *ping*, 4m, be even, equal); to roast on a spit (Sh. *ping*, 3c); to worship the dead; *ping-kan*, love, affection.

pit (pronounced *pet*), the number 8 (Sh. 2o); toothless; *'a-pit*, offence, crime, fault; *ship-pit*, eighteen.

pīt (pronounced *pit*), a duck (Sh. *pit*, 4m); a sticky substance, gum; to pluck fruit (Sh. 4c); to admit, confess; to take.

piw, the edge of the eyelid; the sharp edge of a *dao*: a crab's hole (Sh. 1m, a hole); thin-bodied; an estate, landed property; torn, rent; to go late, be late in going; to subside (Sh. 3o, to decrease a little); to be flung away.

pla, a fish (Sh. *pā*, 1c); the chief priest of a Hindu temple.

plai, thus.

plâng, that part of anything included between two joints or knots, as in the arm, or in a bamboo (Sh. *pâng*, 3c) (cf. *pham*); to consult, consider (Sh. *pâng*, 1c, to consider) (28); one suffering from elephantiasis (cf. *püng*) (cf. Sh. *pâng*, 4c, to swell up); selection; a kind of bead; a rhetorical or ornamental word; to burst (Sh. *pâng*, 2c, to be pierced); outspoken; simple, artless; clear, transparent; *kün-plâng*, one who binds himself to serve another in payment of a debt; *nang-khroi-plâng*, to sit with one leg over the other in the Ahom fashion; *ña-plâng-phai*, a certain tree, *Machilus odoratissima*, identified in Assam as the Sōma plant.

plau, an arrow (cf. Sh. *pün*, 1c); empty, vacant (Sh. *paw*, 2c) (7, 12).

plüng, plüng (pronounced *plüng*), half, a portion (39, 42, 43, 45, 48, 50, 54); to bring or put down (Sh. *pung*, 1o) (52); to throw away (Sh. *pung*, 3c, to throw in or at).

plüw, betel (Sh. *pu*, 5c); a cause (Sh. *püw*, 3o, because of); fleshy, corpulent (cf. *pī*); to go round and round over anything.

po, a father (Sh. *pō*, 3c); people at large, the whole body of people in a state; a benediction, blessing; fame, renown; praise; to say, speak (31); to beat (Sh. 5c); *po-man*, a father; *po-tai*, to kill; *po-khuñ* (pr. *-khui*), the husband of a father's sister; *'am-po*, to bargain.

poi, a thread, twine, string (Sh. *mai*, 1c); to exceed, be more, moreover, again, then (Sh. *pai*, 1o, or *poi*, 4c, to exceed; *poi-lüng*, 4c, 1c, moreover) (18, 25, 43, 45, 48, 50, 54, 56, 64); to open; *poi-'an*, and; *poi-lün-lang*, and, moreover.

pū, a fallow deer; a grandfather (Sh. 2c); a crab (Sh. 1c) (39); to fall; *pū-'ai*, a father's sister; *maü-pū*, a wife's elder sister; *ma-pū*, a kind of gooseberry (Assamese, *jetulipakā*).

pūk (pronounced *puk*), a tortoise; to tie up the hair (cf. Sh. *puk*, 5o, to bind up a package); foam, scum (Sh. *puk*, 2o); to scatter seed; to climb (as a creeper).

pük, bark, peel, rind (Sh. 2o) (cf. *pâk*); to worship; to ooze out.

pūm (pronounced *pum*), a Brāhman (Sh. *pung-nā*, 2c, 4c); the entrails; a kind of covered bamboo basket; a stack, a rick; pot-bellied.

pūn (pronounced *pun*), a secret counsel; a spell, charm; a person other than oneself (cf. *pün*); beyond; *pun-müng*, a foreign country.

pün, an island (cf. Sh. *kun*, 1c) (52); the world (59, 63); other than oneself (cf. *pūn*) (Sh. 3o); the thigh of an animal; to wear (clothes); to turn the eyes back; one who has no relation; *tī-pün*, the world; *pün-shan*, to be in doubt.

pūñ (pronounced *pui*), rotten (cf. Sh. *puñ*, 2o, to make soft by cooking,

etc.); a small bamboo fish-trap; naked (Sh. *puñ*, 1o).

pung, a water-hole or spring (Sh. 2c).

püng, morality (*nīti*, cf. Sh. 1o, pattern, example, rule); instruction (34); one suffering from elephantiasis (cf. *plâng*); to trample, tread down.

pŭp (pronounced *pup*) to gallop (of a horse).

püp, a hole in which fishes live.

pŭt (pronounced *put*), a document; to get open, to unloose (Sh. *put*, 4o); resin; a substitute (cf. Sh. 3c, to change).

püẅ, on account of; *püẅ-nan*, therefore; *püẅ-nang-nai*, in order that.

ra, illness, sickness, ill, sick (Sh. *hā*, 3c, an epidemic); a long bamboo for hanging up clothes; difficulty; a person of the Chutia tribe; to rain heavily (Sh. *hā*, 2c, a shower); much; *phū-ra-ta-ra*, God; *tañ* (pr. *tai*)-*ra*, of the same family.

rai, a net for catching pigeons (Sh. *hai*, 2o); a kind of louse, a kind of mite (Sh. *hai*, 4c, the minute lice of animals or fowls; cf. *rau*); poor (cf. *rau*); liable to tax; to leave, abandon, lose (cf. *rau*); bent; a confirmed invalid; to shine; bad (Sh. *hai*, 5o); *rai-dai*, to lose.

rak, affection (Sh. *hak*, 5c); a root (Sh. *hak*, 3o); to break (Sh. *hak*, 4c); to wet; *rak-kan*, to love, to favour.

rāk, a spear (Sh. *hâk*, 2c); a squirrel.

ram, a sedan (*ḍōlā*); rice (cf. Sh. *ham*, 4c, rice dust); a load carried by two persons (Sh. *ham*, 1o); the world; many; lonely; to relapse, to return (of a disease); to put together jute fibres for making a rope (cf. Sh. *ham*, 4c, to roll up); *ram-mū*, powdered chaff; *shā-ram*, a sugar-cane mill; *tai-ram*, to draggle at the heels (like the end of a waist-cloth).

rām, pregnant (Sh. *hâm*, 4c); to assemble at a place (cf. Sh. *hum*, 1c, to collect in numbers in order to seize upon anything); to do; to pay rent; to collect, to collect fuel (Sh. *hâm*, 1c, to collect together, as money); to join the palms (Sh. *hâm*, 4c, to unite). See *rân*.

ran, vermilion, cinnabar (Sh. *han*, 1o); a layer, a stratum (Sh. *han*, 5o, to place one above the other); a foundation (53); a buffalo-horn used as a wind instrument; a conch-shell; a cross-beam under a platform (cf. Sh. *hun*, 4o, the main timber under a floor); confused, chaos (cf. *rân*) (8, 11, 17); a roll of thread (46); *ran-ko*, layer-establish, a foundation (1); *mo-ran*, a Matak or Moran, a well-known caste in Upper Assam.

rān, heat (Sh. *hân*, 5c, to be hot) (cf. *rau*); to ring, to cause to sound; to join; to inform; (or *rām*) deserted, confused, chaos (cf. *ran*).

rang, the body of a man (26); a dead body of a man; a skeleton; a bird's nest (Sh. *hang*, 4c); the castor-oil tree; a tail (Sh. *hang*, 1o); an image, form (Sh. *hang*, 3o, appearance, form); to cause to be laid, to establish (Sh. *hang*, 3o, to construct); to raise the floor of a house; *rang-kan*, to consult; *rang-'ing*, the waist; *ña-rang*, a kind of grass (Assamese, *hāṛkaṭā ban*).

rāng, a palace with a raised platform (Assamese, *kāreng*; cf. *rūng*); a creek, a canal (Sh. *hâng*, 3c); to raise, uphold (Sh. *hâng*, 3c, to hold up) (3, 39); to call out (Sh. *hâng*, 5c); *rāng-hai*, to shout loudly; *rāng-ngā*, tusked (of an elephant) (43); *'a-rāng*, a virtuous act.

rap, to carry on the shoulder (Sh. *hap*, 2o); to show eagerness (cf. Sh. *hap*, 5c, to go to meet).

rāp, to encircle, surround (Sh. *hâp*, 3c) (3, 42); to bind, join together, link (45); *aü-rāp-dai-nang*, to take and keep, to make a servant; *chi-rāp-chāp-khāp-bai*, a finger-ring.

rat, to pull down with a noose; to become sticky.

rāt, to be severed; to milk; to remove or press out the entrails (of fish, etc.).

rau or **raw**, we (Sh. *haw*, 4c) (36, 37); poor (cf. *rai*); the air, atmosphere (14, 15); the sky; in the air, unsupported; a louse (Sh. *haw*, 1c; cf. *rai*); heat (cf. *rân*); a rib; a hand-rail (Sh. *haw*, 4o, a balustrade); a sleep, a nap (cf. Sh. *haw*, 1o, a yawn); to lose (cf. *rai*); the dry season (Sh. *haw*, 3o, to become dry); to abandon (cf. *rai*).

raüm, to take for certain, to consider as settled.

raw', see *rau*.

re, the umbilical cord (Sh. *he*, 2o); to rape; to speak ill of another; (according to Hodgson) what?.

rī, a temple; long, not short (Sh. *hī*, 4c); to make; to be agitated; lonely.

rik or **rīk** (pronounced *rik*), a march; relation, a relative; a cause (Sh. *hik*, 3c, a prime motive of an action); to call (Sh. *hik*, 3m); *kun-rik-tai*, relations and playmates, friends; *rik-tang*, to cause a religious ceremony to be performed.

rīm (pronounced *rim*), a border (Sh. *him*, 4c).

rīn (pronounced *rin*), a stone (Sh. *hin*, 1c); a flea (Sh. *hin*, 5c, a sandfly); oblique; to endure; *rin-shum*, sulphate of copper, blue vitriol.

ring or **rīng** (pronounced *ring*), a thousand (Sh. *hing*, 1m) (45, 59); a list; to strike with a stick.

rīp (pronounced *rip*), a hailstone (cf. *rīt*); to press (cf. *rīt*) (cf. Sh. *hip*, 2c, to pinch); *rip-rup*, a tick (the insect).

rīt (pronounced *rit*), a boil; a hailstone (cf. *rīp*); to press, to extort by pressure (cf. *rīp*).

riw, a burial-ground; to be splashed; to take by force; to carry anything suspended by a string (Sh. *hiw*, 3c); to uproot.

ro, a certain measure of paddy (a *purā* or 15 seers); a small package, a bundle (Sh. *ho*, 2c); a stalk of paddy; the shoot of a tree from the parent trunk, an offshoot, to shoot forth (cf. *rūn*) (31); weak and stunted in growth; to grind; to boast.

rō, see *rū*.

roi, to ask for something; to get marks or scars on the body (Sh. *hoi*, 4c, a mark). See *roiñ*.

roiñ (pronounced *roi*), to yoke; a peg; a sharp point; a mark (Sh. *hoi*, 4c); marks on the body. See *roi*.

rū or **rō** (pronounced *rū*), the head (Sh. *huw*, 1c) (17); before; a hole (Sh. *hū*, 4c); a raft; a *dēva*; a load carried by two persons; a bunch (of fruit, etc.); the stump of a tree; a hedge (Sh. *huw*, 5c); knowledge, to know (Sh. *hu*, 5c) (cf. *rūw*) (8, 11, 36, 41, 51); to leak (Sh. *huw*, 3c); perspiration; *no-rō*, on the head, against; *thom-kham-rō*, to enquire; *ru-müng*, the north (44); *tū-rū-pāk*, a blunder, mistake; *ngik-rū-shī*, to strike the head against something.

ruk, a kind of bamboo (Sh. *huk*, 4o); to pass the time by doing some unimportant work; transplanted paddy seedlings; a disease of the teeth, toothache; the number 6 (Sh. *huk*, 4o).

rük, uneven, undulating; a border; to tickle a person under the armpits.

rum, a scheme, a crafty scheme; a knot in wood; to trample upon; to cover, a cover (Sh. *hum*, 2o); to till the ground.

rūn (pronounced *run*), to cry, weep (Sh. *hun*, 5c, to call out); to grow, shoot out, an offshoot (Sh. *hun*, 3c) (cf. *ro*); to scrape; to be squeezed, to shrink (Sh. *hun*, 3c, to be wrinkled up, as a garment); *run-pin*, bring-out-become, to weave (of a spider) (56).

rün, a house (Sh. *hün*, 4o).

ruñ (pronounced *rui*), a hill-stream (cf. Sh. *huñ*, 3o, a ravine); a long, broad hollow in which water collects during the rains.

rūng (pronounced *rung*), a wave, billow; a bunch of paddy (Sh. *hung*, 4o, an ear of grain); to boil (Sh. *hung*, 1c, to cook); to put as cargo into a boat; to be; to shine (Sh. *hung*, 3c) (9, 56); ripe (Hodgson); *nam-blāk-rung*, the water of the Ganges; *pin-rung*, spongy, yielding to pressure.

rüng, a palace with a raised platform (cf. *rāng*; Assamese, *kāreng*); late (Sh. *hüng*, 1o, to hold off, as the rains when due); a long time, many days (Sh. *hüng*, 1c, to be long in time).

rup, a handful, a fist (cf. Sh. *hup*, 3c, to gather together); *rip-rup*, a tick.

rūt (pronounced *rut*), a sty on the eye; a bamboo tray; to pull or tighten a rope (Sh. *hut*, 5c); to be agitated (of water) (Sh. *hut*, 4o, to throw water).

rüt, malice, enmity; to be at a distance.

rüw, a boat (Sh. *hüw*, 4o); to know (cf. *rū*) (37).

sha or **shā**, a slipper; a single bamboo used as a ladder in climbing trees (Sh. *hsā*, 4c); well-being (Sh. *hsā*, 2c, to be comfortable); to fry; to remain; to spread; to make noise; good-looking; other; sorrow; *sha-tha*, good and evil (Skr. *śubhāśubha*); *shā-ram*, a sugar-cane mill; *shā-nā*, to make an offering.

shai, the entrails of a fish; to press; a thread, a rope (Sh. *hsai*, 1o) (45); sand (Sh. *hsai*, 4o); to rinse a pot

(Sh. *hsai*, 2o); to push; to liquidate debt (Sh. *hsai*, 3o); the appearance of a rainbow in the east; over-ripe; far; *shai-nī*, distant; *kī-shai*, how far?; *shai-chŭng-mŭng*, thread-god-country, thread of air, the *Vāyus* (48, 50); *pin-mang-shai*, an abscess.

shak, the pestle of a rice husking pedal (Sh. *hsak*, 2o, a pestle); a washerman (Sh. *hsak*, 5c, to wash by beating); a mat; impure; to husk paddy; to thrust a pointed instrument; to come near, be near (24); a place, the proper place for anything (20); a crowd, multitude (22); bright, brilliant (47).

shåk, the elbow (Sh. *hsåk*, 2o, a cubit); a calumniator; to rebuke; to sharpen; a corner.

sham, the number 3 (Sh. *hsam*, 1o); three; a woman who is not preferred by her husband; to ask for again (cf. Sh. *hsam*, 5c, to repeat); to give weight, press; to be defeated (Sh. *hsum*, 4c); good.

shåm, things sufficient for one meal; rice-frumenty (Sh. *hsåm*, 4c); not pure, vile (Sh. *hsåm*, 4c); to collect; to supply regularly; to transplant paddy seedlings (Sh. *hsåm*, 3c); green (cf. Sh. *hsåm*, 2c, to be blue).

shan, a girdle; to shake (Sh. *hsan*, 2c); to be scattered; to throw off; *shan-the*, a goddess (Skr. *mātṛ*, the divine mothers); *pin-shan*, a widower; *pĭn-shan*, to be in doubt.

shån, cotton; a kind of fish-trap; a dress; pregnant; to teach, to cause to learn (*hsån*, 1c, to learn) (cf. *shang*); to use a *jakai* (a bamboo scoop used in catching fish) in water to catch fish (Sh. *hsån-pā*, 3c, 1c); to apply the weight of the body; to take a handful out of a heap; to bring to terms and catch hold of; *blåk-khum-shån*, a marigold.

shang, a god, a spirit (Sh. *hsang*, 1o, a Brahmā) (2?, 23); misery; to give information, instruct (Sh. *hsang*, 2c) (cf *shån*); to know; to stretch out the hands; if (Sh. *hsang*, 1c) (with *chang* in apodosis) (25); a negative particle (46); *shang-bā*, if; *ka-shang*, what? how many?; *shang-hung*, a blackboard (used as a slate for writing on).

shång, a piece of pointed bamboo for digging earth (cf. *shŭng*); a cage (Sh. *hsång*, 4c, a kind of basket); to glitter (Sh. *hsång*, 2c); to illuminate, give out light (9, 10); the number 2 (Sh. *hsång*, 1c); a white ant.

shap, the edge of water; to learn to speak.

shåp, brimful; to play false, tricks and falsehoods..

shat, a rod (Sh. *hsat*, 3o, to strike); to collect (Sh. *hsat*, 5c, to be crowded).

shåt, to burn; to spread, be noised abroad.

shau or **shaw** (often written *shaŭ*), a young unmarried woman (Sh. *hsaw*, 1o); a post, pillar, prop (Sh. *hsaw*, 1c) (40); the number 20 (Sh. *hsaw*, 4o); to punt a boat; to remain in one place, stop, tarry, dwell (Sh. *hsaw*, 4c) (14, 42, 43, 53); to shampoo the body to relieve pain; to moisten; to be mouldy; *bang-shau*, a harlot; *nång-shau*, an adult elder sister.

shaŭ, to take away; transparent, clear (Sh. *hsaŭ*, 1c); to enter (Sh. *hsaŭ*, 2c, to insert) (cf. *khaŭ*); *shaŭ-hing* (pronounced *-heng*), to use, make use of; *shaŭ-lin*, a kind of play (Assamese, *guṭilatā khedā*); *hit-shaŭ*, a reproach. See *shau*.

shaŭm, to pin; a patch; *shaŭm-jo*, not to think, to be without anxiety.

she, to pin, to peg (Sh. *hse*, 2o, to thrust in); a kind of hog; to unfasten a bar attached to something (cf. Sh. *hse*, 3o, a bolt, a crossbar); to eructate; to excite; *ña-bang-she*, a kind of sharp-edged grass (Assamese, *mādurī ban*).

shī, the number 4, four in number (Sh. *hsī*, 2c) (48); the tooth of a rake (Sh. *hsī*, 3c); to fill up, be full (7); to break; to rub mud on the body (by a child) (cf. Sh. *hsī*, 1c, to rub); a suffix giving a participial force to a word used as a verb; a particle optionally added to the imperative; *shī-kling* (pr. *-kleng*), half; *shī-dai*, break-get, to be destroyed (21); *bing-shī-lā*, bezoar, a calculous concretion found in the intestines of certain ruminant animals; *lam-shī*, a sharp pain in the heart; *ngai-shī*, to separate a pair; *ngik-rū-shī*, to strike the head against something.

shik, shīk (pronounced *shik*), a dirty place, a place where rubbish is thrown; a slice (Sh. *hsik*, 2c, to tear); to lose one's good looks.

shīn (pronounced *shin*), a female's undercloth, a petticoat (Sh. *hsin*, 3c); one shot (of a gun); tribute; censure; virtue (Sh. *hsin*, 1c, a religious duty); to uproot.

shiñ (pronounced *shen*), a *lākh*, one hundred thousand (Sh. *hsiñ*, 1o) (41, 51, 60); very good, very important (28, 29, 33, 47); to shout (Sh. *hsiñ*, 2o); over-sunned (of rice) (Sh. *hsiñ*, 1o).

shing or **shīng** (pronounced *shing*), the goddess of learning, Sarasvatī; voice, sound, a word, to speak (Sh. *hsing*, 1m) (16, 20); to clear; to rub gently with the hand, to stroke; (pr. *sheng*) a ray of light.

shīp (pronounced *ship*), the number 10 (Sh. *hsip*, 4c); to transfix, impale (Sh. *hsip*, 2m); *hā-shīp*, fifty; *shīp-pit* (pr. *-pet*), eighteen.

shīt (pronounced *shit*), a promise; the jute-plant; to deliver, free; *shit-chā*, to promise.

shiw (pronounced *shiu*), army; a chisel (Sh. *hsiw*, 2c); to catch hold of, hold (3); to proceed lying on the back, as a boat.

shīw (pronounced *shiu*), pointed; to dry paddy by applying heat.

sho, to bake earthen vessels to harden them; a complainant; to complain; a complaint; *sho-kham*, a complaint.

shoi, a long pole with a hook at the end used for seizing and pulling anything (cf. *shoiñ*); betel-pepper; immature jack-fruit; a kind of ornament; to cut into small pieces (Sh. *hsoi*, 4c, to slice).

shoiñ (pronounced *shoi*), the hair on the neck, a mane; a stirrup; to poke with the finger; to pull something with a hooked stick (cf. *shoi*); a side; to shake with a stick.

shū, a tiger (Sh. *hsüw*, 1o); a piece of cloth spread under a seat (Sh. *hsüw*, 2o, to spread a mat); a coat; gift; arrival (Sh. *hsū*, 2c); gain; straight (Sh. *hsüw*, 3c) (cf. *shüw*); to be successful; to feel sorrow; to come to terms, consent, acknowledge allegiance; a wish, to wish; *jan-shū*, to ask that, to ask a person to do a thing; *kin-shū*, a keeper, one who keeps; *'am-shū-lā*, a crocodile; *nam-shū-lā*, a shark.

shūk (pronounced *shuk*), to ripen (Sh. *hsuk*, 4c); to wash (Sh. *hsuk*, 3c); to sit; to boil; to learn to walk.

shük, fighting, a battle (Sh. *hsük*, 4c); to sleep after moving to the head end of a bed.

shūm (pronounced *shum*), sour (Sh. *hsum*, 3o); to throw a kind of basket (*pala*) to catch fish (Sh. *hsum*, 2c); a fishing instrument (Assamese, *juluki*); to go away by force; to solder; *rin-shum*, sulphate of copper, blue vitriol.

shūn (pronounced *shun*), a hedge (Sh. *hsun*, 1o, an enclosure for cultivation); the ground round a house; a high place; to trip and fall prostrate (Sh. *hsun*, 4o); to patch a cloth with thread; to return.

shün, a garden (Sh. *hsun*, 1o) (pronounced *shun*); money saved up from a long time (cf. Sh. *hsün*, 4c, time passed) (pronounced *shün*).

shūñ (pronounced *shui*), tribute; oblique, slanting; to envy; cloudy.

shūng (pronounced *shung*), high (Sh. *hsung*, 1c); to supply regularly (Sh. *hsung*, 4c, to employ); to be born; a thriving man; a piece of bamboo for digging a hole (cf. *shāng*); to take away (Sh. *hsung*, 2o, to convey); *lā-shung*, true.

shüng, an outside sitting-room (Sh. *hsüng*, 2c, a shed); a gem (Sh. *hsing*, 1o); to hide (Sh. *hsüng*, 2o); mind.

shūp (pronounced *shup*), the mouth (Sh. *hsup*, 4o) (27); to raise; to separate the coarse from the fine, as of grain, etc., by shaking in a basket; *shup-mū*, to be silent.

shüp, to rest.

shūt (pronounced *shut*), a curtain (Sh. *hsut*, 4c); to be ended (Sh. *hsut*, 4c); sufficiency.

shüw, you (Sh. *hsū*, 1c); to proceed forward slowly in darkness, feeling the ground with the feet; even, level, straight (Sh. *hsüw*, 3c) (2, 39) (cf. *shū*); *shüw-nük*, a stitch in sewing; *shüw-lau*, a kind of cake (Assamese, *sur-pitha*).

tā, to feel; *kū-kan-tā*, to begin to feel fear.

ta, the eye (Sh. *tā*, 1c); a tooth; a bathing-place on a river bank (Sh. *tā*, 3c, a landing-place); a box; to sow; to rub oil, anoint (Sh. *tā*, 4c, to smear); to think; to amuse or play with a child; good, fine,

excellent; *phū-ṛạ-tạ-ṛạ*, God; *mlün-tạ*, to open the eyes (19).

tai, an Āhom (Sh. 4c, a Shan); to move on all fours, to creep (cf. Sh. 2c, to move along); to die (Sh. 1o); near (Sh. 3o, border, side, space near); an associate, companion; *po-tai*, to kill; *tai-ram*, to draggle at the heels (like the end of a waist-cloth); *tai-ko*, a man fit to be dead and gone in youth (a term of abuse); *tai-tik* (another term of abuse); *tai-lik* (another); *kān-rik-tai*, a friend; *kham-tai*, a kite (the bird); a slave.

tak, a snail; a word (29); to occur, become; to dry; to click with the tongue against the palate; misery; to consider; *tak-lu-tak-pang*, to be spent, expended; *tak-pang*, to become ruined; *tak-'ip-tak*, to fall into destitution; *chang-tak*, then (30, 38).

tăk, a rattan (Sh. 2c, a strip of bamboo); a balance; to help; to measure (cf. *tik*); to be woven; a numeral auxiliary used with money.

tam, intention, will (53); low, not high (Sh. 2c, to bend down); to thump, pound (Sh. 1c); to drag along the ground; to burn (Sh. 1o, to push fuel into the fire); a place (Sh. *tan*, 4c); *luk-tam*, from; *tam-nai*, from this, thereon; *tam-nüw*, place-above, on (42, 44). In 43 the word which I have transliterated *tam* means 'upon.' Possibly it is for *tam-nüw*, but the word is not clear in the original. In 52 *tamng* is for *tam-tang*, place-all, everywhere.

tăm, to assemble, crowd together (Sh. 1c); to be thirsty; to seek company.

tamng, for *tam-tang*, place-all, everywhere (52).

tan, pleasure; a pole eight cubits in length; a line, a long mark (Sh. 4o); another place, elsewhere (Sh. 4c, a place); speechless; pulling; to call (Sh. 3o, to speak); to fill up a hole (Sh. 1c, to be solid).

tăn, a town; affection; excellent (cf. Sh. 4c, to exceed); a bundle of sticks; a piece (cf. Sh. 3c, to be short); produced, born.

tañ, to put on a turban; to walk with a torch; anything that gives pain to the body, a thorn in the flesh; *tañ-* (pronounced *tai*)*-ṛạ*, of the same family.

tăñ, to touch or strike with the hand; to be wroth; a true or honest man.

tang, a road (Sh. 4o); an enclosure; dew; a stool (Sh. 2c); an anvil (Sh. 3c); all, the whole (Sh. 4c) (8 *bis*, 9, 11 *bis*, 12 *bis*, 60); the *solah* plant (Sh. 3o, a kind of cork-tree); birdlime (Sh. 1c, viscous); to consult; separate (Sh. 2o, other); from, with (Sh. 4c, with); in company with, by means of; to put, place; *tang-lai*, *tang-kā*, *tang-kạ*, all (7, 20, 61); *tamng*, for *tam-tang*, place-all, everywhere (52); *nung-tang*, to place, put on (clothes); *rik-tang*, to cause a religious ceremony to be performed; *bing-tang-tüt*, the mason wasp (*Sphinx asiatica*).

tăng, a plank; brass (Sh. 4c, copper); a water-pot (Sh. 3c, to pour water upon); the belly (Sh. 5c) (28, 33); to consider (Sh. 4c, to recollect); to attend to (Assamese, *tang karā*); to give a blow, strike (Sh. 3c, to beat); to lock up; to push, shove; *nam-tăng*, a water-pot.

tap, to beat with a hammer (Sh. 2o, to rap); to lessen; the liver (Sh. 4c).

tăp, to be dented, depressed; to darn, to patch.

tat, to cut thatching grass; to put in the sun; to transplant; to fall upside down; to split into thin strips (as a bamboo).

tăt, to peck (Sh. 2c, to strike, as a serpent in biting); to cast into water and drag out (as a net) (Sh. 3c, to throw down into); to throw off; to fatten.

tau, a gourd (Assamese, *tāo*) (Sh. 3c); a stick (Sh. 5c, to support oneself with a stick); a tortoise (Sh. 2c); ashes (Sh. 3c); a line, a mark; to arrive at a place (Sh. 3c, to come); a bone.

taü, the heart; a wish; devotion, austerities; moss (Sh. *tāw*, 4c); to wash for gold (Sh. *tāw*, 4o); to melt iron; a smith's bellows; down, not up, at the bottom of, below (Sh. 3c) (1, 2, 39); land, earth, as distinguished from heaven (20); *kā-taü*, below; *taü-phā*, earth and heaven, the universe; *taü-lang*, glass; *taü-chaü*, to fast; *taü-jü*, to converse, speak mutually; to bless.

taüm, to write (cf. *tim*); to aim, direct, point.

taüw (pronounced *tau*), a fault.

tåw, a conical ball of thread; a wart on a tree.

te, truth; a dam (Sh. 4o, a long elevation); to throw a clod or stone at anything or anyone; to set up, establish, be established, be; *te-jau*, was verily (7, 13, 20, 26, 41, 44, 53, 55, 57, 59, 60); *te-koi*, was verily (51); *te-tī*, to throw the shuttle from side to side in weaving.

tha or **thā**, a sofa with boxes underneath; to shave (Sh. *thā*, 1c); to wait (Sh. *thā*, 3c) (34); *sha-tha*, good and evil (Skr. *śubhāśubha*).

thai, a ploughshare (Sh. 1c, to plough); to change one's clothes (Sh. 2c, to exchange old for new); to put on a cloth wrapper; to pull out with force; caused to be abused by a female slave; *thai-mai*, a Muluk (a man of the tribe of that name).

thak, to be cut by a razor; to cut with a *dāo*, to hew (Sh. 2o); *lak-thak*, prior, before.

thåk, to empty; to be aslant.

tham, a chasm (Sh. 3c, a cave); full (cf. *tim*); to ask, enquire (Sh. 1o) (35); *tham-kham-ruw* (or *-rō*), to enquire; *tham-'a-mū*, a plough.

thåm, to hear (Sh. 2c).

than, a cowshed enclosed with planks (Sh. 3o, a stable); a cloth girdle; a live coal (Sh. 2o, coal); a *thān* (or roll) of cloth.

thån, to give a sudden pull or jerk (Sh. 1c, to pull out); to strip feathers, pluck; to suffice.

thañ (pronounced *thai*), to open; to change leaves (as a tree).

thåñ or **thoiñ** (pronounced *thoi*), backbiting; to ask a question.

thang, a hole in the ground (Sh. 1o); an iron instrument for digging; a spring; a slice, a bit; to attain an object.

thång, to poke at; to tuck in one end of a waist-cloth behind; to bend by pressing; to congeal; to come near, approach; to destroy by trampling (cf. Sh. 4c, to pound).

thap, a shelf, layer, stratum; to flow in drops; to make a patchwork quilt of rags; to throw mud; to be besmeared with mud; to pounce down upon.

that, to startle; to unloose forcibly; to be rent asunder.

thau or **thaw**, old, aged (Sh. 3c, to be old, aged); a creeper (the plant); in a row or line (cf. *thiw*); *thau-man*, an arbitrator amongst the people of the Kachārī tribe. See *thaw*.

thaüm, to fill; to fling.

thaw, in *thaw-khriw*, a certain tree (Assamese, *lātarun gachh*). See *thau*.

the, to cut (as meat or fish) (cf. Sh. *thū*, 1o, to slice); *shan-the*, a goddess, see *shan*.

thī, a flower- or leaf-bud (cf. *thiw*); a bamboo fish-trap; thick.

thīk (pronounced *thik*), to tear with a lancet.

thīñ (pronounced *thin*), a throne (56, 57); to punish.

thīng (pronounced *thing*), a field; a kind of ornament worn on the neck; a thin plank; to alter one's speech.

thip (pronounced *thip*), to kick (Sh. 2c) (cf. *thiw*).

thiw, a strong, good-looking person; to smooth from one end to the other; to kick (Sh. 2c) (cf. *thip*); to whistle; in a line or row (Sh. 1o) (cf. *thau*); *thiw-ban*, a bud (cf. *thī*); *khun-thiw-kham*, the name of a god.

tho, see *thwo*.

thoi, secret; to pull off; to ask; to torture; to liquidate (a debt).

thoiñ, see *thåñ*.

thū, pulse, beans; a roasting-spit; to touch (cf. Sh. 1c, to rub against).

thuk, to come in contact; having no companion; exact.

thük, a male (used as a suffix denoting the masculine gender) (43); to touch the bank of a river; to come in contact with, to arrive at; *thük-chang*, a male elephant (43).

thüm (pronounced *thum*), a bag, a small bag (cf. *thūng*); hot; to sink (Sh. 3o, to submerge); a piece of fish.

thün or **thün**, a plough, to plough (Sh. *thün*, 2o, a harrow); lime (Sh. *thun*, 1c); full of, complete, to fill (62).

thün, see *thūn*; a forest (Sh. 2o); the bottom of a sleeping platform; *mak-phit-thün*, a certain plant (Assamese, *dīghalati gachh*).

thūñ (pronounced *thui*), to uproot; very.

thūng (pronounced *thung*), a wallet, a bag (Sh. 1o; cf. *thüm*); to close the fist.

thüng, to arrive at (Sh. 1c); quickness (Sh. *thüng*, 4o, is 'to be slow'); *ma-thüng*, to arrive.

thüp, to overtake a person, to join his company.

thüt, near.

thüw, a turner's lathe; to imagine; to put in proper order.

thwo or **tho**, to push with a stick (Sh. *tho*, 1c, to propel by pushing); a punting pole; a song sung by two persons (Sh. *tho*, 3c, to sing alternately as a man and woman, or as people and priest at a monastery on worship day).

tī, a place (Sh. 3c) (59, 63); to peep through; particle indicating the dative case, and the future tense (Northern Sh. 4c); to stand up; *tī-nai*, place this, now, here; *tī-pün*, the world; *lâng-tī*, to wager, bet; *te-tī*, to throw the shuttle from side to side in weaving.

tik or **tīk** (pronounced *tik*), to have a hole, be perforated (Sh. *tik*, 2o, to be split); to measure land (cf. *tåk*) (Sh. *tik*, 3o, to measure); to push; to get torn (cf. Sh. *tik*, 2o); to assemble; to hide; *tai-tik*, a certain term of abuse.

tīm (pronounced *tim*), to write (cf. *taüm*) (Sh. *tim*, 3o); to fill (Sh. *tim*, 1m, be full) (cf. *tham*); to happen, come to pass; to suck.

tin or **tīn** (pronounced *tin*), a foot (Sh. *tin*, 1c); to jump (Sh. *tin*, 3m, to move actively); to act rashly.

tiñ (pronounced *ten*), a moth (cf. Sh. 1o, a small kind of hornet); a road (Sh. 3o, a ridge of earth; *tiñ-tang*, 3o, 4o, a raised road); a slight notice, a clue.

ting or **tīng** (pronounced *ting*), a lute, a harp (Sh. 2c); morality (*nīti*); a cucumber (Sh. 1o); to strike with the fist (Sh. 5m, to strike); to put a cold application on the head when ill (cf. Sh. 2m, to carry on the head); to thrust (Sh. 4o); to weed.

tip (pronounced *tip*), to press, compress; to retreat; to give up drinking, become a teetotaler.

tīt (pronounced *tit*), to conceal (Sh. *tit*, 2m); to assemble, come together; (pronounced *tet*) there; *tit-* (pr. *tet-*) *nam*, to draw water.

tiw, to be bent; to suckle.

to, to fight (Sh. *tō*, 2c); a boundary; a hornet (Sh. *tō*, 2c); the heald or heddle of a loom (cf. Sh. *tō*, 4c, to weave); a copy; the stump of a tree (Sh. *tō*, 1c); alone, only (39, 58); to do; a bush; now, present time (Sh. *tō*, 3c); *to-lak*, nevertheless; *to-phī*, a whirlpool; *khan-to*, solitary and alone (14, 27), but *khan to*, only by his word (39), quickly alone (58); *klâng-to*, only (4, 63); *bâng-to*, laborious.

toi, ambrosia; to squeeze with the finger.

tra, a rupee.

tū, a door (Sh. 1c); an animal, a body (cf. *tüw*) (Sh. *tuw*, 1c) (54); a hole; a temple official (Laos, *tu*, 5c, a priest); to catch, seize; to fall (cf. *tuk*); to see (Sh. *tuñ*, 4o); a numeral particle used in counting animals; *tū-ching*, a ram; *tū-rū-pâk*, a blunder, mistake; *nuk-tū*, a dove; *tū-ngī*, a deer.

tūk (pronounced *tuk*), to fall (cf. *tū*) (Sh. *tuk*, 4o); to become putrid (of a dead animal) (cf. *tük*) (Sh. *tū*, 2c); fatigue; to blow a horn, sound a trumpet (cf. *tūt*); *ban-tuk*, sunset.

tük, a mole (the animal); satisfaction, pleasure; to putrify (cf. *tūk*); a cloth girdle; a buffalo plough.

tūm (pronounced *tum*), mud; a flower-bud (Sh. *tum*, 2c); the anus; a fish-trap (Sh. *tum*, 3c); to fascinate; to boil food without seasoning (cf. Sh. *tum*, 3o, to boil).

tūn (pronounced *tun*), a tree (Sh. *tun*, 3o); origin (Sh. *tun*, 3o, a beginning); family, race, lineage (cf. Sh. *tün*, 4c); to return, turn back; *tūn-khrung*, a castor-oil tree; *khau-tūn*, fine husked unbroken rice.

tün, liveliness, sensation, intelligence; to be torn (of a cloth); to sit down; to be agitated, to start (Sh. 2c, to be frightened); after that, afterwards; to try, make efforts; to assume shape (18); *tün-lün*, afterwards (18, 64).

tūñ (pronounced *tuñ*), a tuskless male elephant; a kind of basket cover (Sh. 1o, a cover made of the leaves of the screwpine); impotent, a hermaphrodite (Sh. 4c, a hermaphrodite); *mū-tūñ* (pr. *-tuí*), to reconcile.

tūng (pronounced *tung*), a plain (Sh. 3o, a rice-plain); a kingdom; a kind of bamboo fish-trap; to gather one end of a cloth into a bag to receive something; to be restless (Sh. 5o, to be unstable); to coax,

allure (Assamese, *tung - tungā*) ; praised by one's mother.

tüng, a pool of water (Sh. 4c, a deep place in a body of water) ; an ass (cf. Sh. 1c, a wild ox) ; public difficulty, a general calamity affecting a whole country ; to be awake (Sh. *tün*, 2c).

tūp (pronounced *tup*), the gable end of a house (Assamese *tup*, Sh. *tup*, 3c) ; to flap the wings (Sh. *tup-pik*, 4o, 2c) ; to wash cloth ; to bend (cf. Sh. *tup*, 5o, to fold double).

tüp, to stamp with the foot (Sh. 3c).

tūt (pronounced *tut*), to blow a horn, sound a trumpet (cf. *tūk*).

tüt, to break wind (Sh. *tut*, 4o) ; *bing-tang-tüt*, the mason wasp (*Sphinx asiatica*).

tüw, a dwarf ; ignorant ; an animal (3, 50) (cf. *tŭ*) ; *tüw-bā*, but ; *tüw-'ân*, a boy ; *tüw-ngī* (cf. *tū*), a deer ; *phā-tüw-chüng*, the Supreme Deity, God Almighty (27, 34, 38, 53).

X.

SIAMESE ARCHÆOLOGY:

A SYNOPTICAL SKETCH.

By COLONEL G. E. GERINI, M.R.A.S.

The Indian Influence.

FROM several centuries before the Christian era a double stream of traders and adventurers began to flow into Indo-China from, respectively, Northern and Southern India, reaching the upper parts of the peninsula by land through Burmā and its southern coasts by sea, and founding there settlements and commercial stations. Brahmanism and, later on, Buddhism (third century B.C.), with most other achievements of Indian culture, followed in the wake of these pioneers; and thus it is to ancient India that Indo-China owes her early civilization. By the dawn of the Christian era, as I have elsewhere demonstrated, Buddhism had already gained a firm foothold on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula near the head of the Gulf of Siām, whence it advanced and soon spread all over the country of the Më-Nam Delta. On the other hand, Brahmanism had established itself in Central and Northern Siām, where Swankhalôk and Sukhôthai formed its principal foci. It is not till about four centuries later that we begin to hear of Nagara Śrī Dharmarāja (*Dharmanagara*), or Ligor, as the chief centre of both Buddhism and Brahmanism on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula; and to find both faiths—but more especially Buddhism—firmly established in the territory of P'hraḥ Prathom in the present Nakhōn C'hai Śrī province, in the Më-Nam Delta.

Siām's most ancient Cities.

By the sixth century A.D. no less than three cities had risen in Central Siām, to wit: 1, Swankhalôk (*Svargaloka* or *Sajjanālaya*, 95 B.C.); 2, Sukhôthai (*Sukhada, Sukhodaya, circâ* 70 B.C.); and 3, Kamp'hëng-p'het (*Vajra-prākāra*, A.D. 457); and in the north, not far from the headwaters of the Më-Nam, another one, Lamp'hūn (*Haribhuñjaya*), which had just been founded (A.D. 527). The two first-named were alternately for the next eight centuries the capitals of the famous Swankhalôk-Sukhôthai State, which for so long held hegemony over Central Siām. The last one became the capital of the first Thai kingdom in the Më-Nam valley, holding its own until A.D. 1281, when it was supplanted by the newly rising Lāu power that soon afterwards established its seat at C'hīeng-Māi (A.D. 1296).

In Southern Siām we find at the same remote period the cities of Śrī Vijaya, on and about the site of the present P'hraḥ Prathom village; and the then but recently founded Lop'hburī (*Lavapura, Lavakoṭa*, or *Lohkoṭ*, A.D. 493), which was soon to become the chief centre of power for Southern Siām.

All these, conjointly with Ligor already referred to, are Siām's most ancient cities. Accordingly, it is on their sites and adjoining territory that the oldest monuments and about all that remains of Siāmese antiquities of that early period, are to be found.

Extant Monuments.

In Northern and Central Siām.

The oldest of religious structures are to be found at Swankhalôk, in the shape of gloomy shrines and hermit cells, erected mostly on the tops and flanks of the hills, and carefully oriented according to the cardinal points. They are characterized by massive cyclopean walls, surmounted by gable roofs, all built of laterite blocks excavated

near by, and laid throughout in horizontal courses without any cement; their unique entrance, which faces the east, converging towards the top into a pointed, often lancet-shaped, arch. The style quite resembles that of the ancient Central and even Northern Indian temples, thus evidencing that their planning, and perhaps construction, was due, at least in part, to immigrants and settlers from those quarters. The shrine, apparently Śivaite, erected on the summit of the Laōng Samlī hill near the centre of Old Swankhalôk city is, no doubt, one of the most ancient of these structures, for it is made by tradition almost coeval with the foundation of the city itself (*circâ* 95 B.C.).

Later on follow more elaborate creations, characterised by the same massive style of building, but embellished with portals (*gopuras*), railings, and symbolical decorations devoted to Brahmanic worship; and further, Buddhist spires and pagoda-shaped reliquaries, royal palaces and city walls, and smaller monuments, some of which are of an exceedingly graceful architecture, which may be seen in considerable numbers all over the sites of Old Swankhalôk, Sukhôthai, Kamp'hëng-p'het, and other ancient cities of Central and Northern Siām (such as, for instance, Bisṇulôk, etc.).

The masterpiece of all, and withal the best preserved specimen, is, however, the spire of Wat P'hraḥ Prāng (*Prāṁgaṇa*), at the south-eastern corner of Old Swankhalôk city, dating from the latter part of the eleventh century. Notable also is the Brahmanic temple of Śrī Swāi in Old Sukhôthai, with its three finely ornamented tapering domes, built somewhat after the style of the Angkor Wat and the Mī-buñ shrine in Kamboja.

The material exclusively employed in the oldest monuments of Central and Northern Siām is laterite hewn into fair-sized blocks. Later on, but not before the eleventh century, this becomes associated with gray or greenish-gray sandstone, used for statues, doorways, railings, and decorative sculptures. A striking example of its employment in huge monoliths occurs in the gateways of the walled enclosure

surrounding Wat P'hraḥ Prāng at Old Swankhalôk. From the twelfth century A.D. brickwork comes into evidence and soon prevails, forming in after ages the characteristic of Thai architecture, which elaborated and developed in brick, plaster, and mortar the old architectural motives just described.

In Southern Siām.

This being a deltaic country, where neither laterite nor other natural building materials are to be found except at the foot of the hills flanking both sides of the Më-Nam valley, lithic structures do not occur except on the eastern borders on the one side and in the province of Rājburī on the west, and then but very sparsely and in considerably diminutive sizes. The prevailing material is brick, and it is accordingly of this that we find the oldest monuments built; though not unfrequently coarse-textured sandstone—either yellowish or reddish, more rarely gray, in colour—occurs associated with it in terminals, wall-crests, stelæ (Wat Mahā Thāt [*Mahā-dhātu*] at Rājburī); in statues (gray, P'hraḥ Prathom); and even in square blocks (Wat Mahā Thāt at Lop'hburī).

The oldest monument of Southern Siām appears to be the original P'hraḥ Prathom (*Vara Prathama*) spire, now encased in a recently erected, and far more imposing one, of over 300 feet in height. Nearly coeval with it is the neighbouring P'hraḥ Thôṇ (*Vara Doṇa* or *Droṇa*) pagoda, also in brickwork (built A.D. 656). Then follow the remains of ancient temples at Lop'hburī, on the sites of which Buddhist Wats, dating from the second half of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and later, afterwards arose; and the ruins of primitive hermitages, with débris of statues and stelæ, on the flanks of the Sabāb Hill near Chanthabūn (*Candana-pura*), a city dating itself from the eighth or ninth century A.D., if not earlier. At Ligor, Wat Nā P'hraḥ Thāt in the centre of the city, and Wat Mahčyong (*Mahiyaṅgaṇa*) on its outskirts, are undoubtedly very

ancient foundations; and ruins of considerable antiquity—never yet before this brought to the notice of the public—with statues of deities, etc., occur on the western side of the Malay Peninsula at the P'hraḥ Nārāi (*Nārāyaṇa*, i.e. Viṣṇu) Hill, on the upper course of the Takūa-pā (Takôpa) River. A thorough examination of the adjoining districts, as yet archæologically unexplored, is sure to reveal the existence of many more ancient remains.

All early structures in this region are in brick, the material generally resorted to all over the east coast of the Bay of Bengal as far north as Pegu, Arakan, and the delta of the Ganges.[1]

The chief characteristic of the old monuments of Southern Siām is, besides the almost exclusive employment in them of brickwork, their more general Buddhist destination than in the north, where Brahmanism was the prevailing form of worship in the early days. Moreover, their style of architecture is, as may easily be inferred, more Southern Indian —i.e. Drāvidian—in type, thus most closely approaching that of later Kambojan monuments. Nowhere do we find, however, in Siām, whether north or south, any sublime creations equalling in grandeur and artistic perfection those of Angkor Wat and Angkor Thom, which are, indeed, unique in that respect, not only in Indo-China or even Asia, but perhaps in the whole world.

Caves.

Limestone caves, many of which are stalactitic, abound in Southern Siām, especially in the Rājburī and P'hejburī (*Vajrapurī*) provinces; but nowhere more than on the Malay Peninsula. These, like those in Kamboja and Pegu, have been mostly utilised as Buddhist sanctuaries and places of pilgrimage; but beyond some decorations and

[1] But rare exceptions occur in the ancient buildings and city walls of early cities of Pegu, especially on the eastern coast of the Gulf of Martaban, where laterite has been to some extent employed. As regards hewn stone, only two buildings at Pagān are constructed with it, the quality being sandstone.

statues in either brick or plaster, they offer nothing remarkable in the way of architectural achievement, compared with, for instance, the rock-cut temples of Western India and even Ceylon or Burma. Buddhist clay tablets, bearing Sanskrit legends of the tenth and eleventh centuries, have been dug up in the caves to the north-east of Trang, on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. They greatly resemble those from Pagān and Tagaung in Burmā.

Epigraphy.

Although no such fruitful harvest of ancient inscriptions has been gathered in Siām as in Kamboja and Champā—owing, no doubt, to the lack of thorough and systematic archæological exploration—the petroglyphic monuments so far brought to light are of sufficient historical and palæographic importance to deserve more than a passing mention. Their chronological range extends, for the districts on the Malay Peninsula, as far back as the fifth century of the Christian era; while in Southern Siām it borders upon the sixth or seventh. No inscription has, strange to say, so far been discovered in either Central or Northern Siām earlier than the fourteenth century, i.e., than the period when Thai supremacy had already firmly established itself over the whole of the Mē-Nam valley.[1]

On the Malay Peninsula.

Leaving aside the already well-known inscriptions of Kedah and Province Wellesley (*circâ* A.D. 400), and proceeding up the Peninsula, we feel bound to notice the Pāli and Sanskrit inscribed stelæ of the eighth century A.D. from Wat Mahēyong in the province of Ligor; a Pāli inscription on a brass plate from the Takūa-thùng district (*circâ* ninth

[1] Ancient manuscripts are extremely scarce, and the oldest ones known are on palm-leaf and do not, as a rule, go back more than three centuries. No coins with inscriptions or monograms dating earlier than the fourteenth century have as yet come to light.

century A.D.); and, what will be welcome news to scholars, a petroglyphic monument of nearly the same age as those of Kedah and Province Wellesley, just discovered at Old Takūa-pā (Takôpa) within the precincts of Wat Nā-müang, in the middle of a former bed of the river.[1] This last find is of the highest importance, as evidencing that Indian influence had established itself, not merely at one or two isolated points on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, but practically over the whole length of that littoral, whence it crossed overland to the Gulf of Siām. It is, moreover, the oldest relic that has so far come out of the tract where, as I have elsewhere shown,[2] stood from the remotest age the mart and seaport of *Takōla* (*Τάκωλα ἐμπόριον*) or *Takkola*, mentioned both in Ptolemy and in the "Milinda Pañha."

In Southern Siām.

In the country of the Më-Nam Delta the earliest epigraphic records hitherto discovered are those in Pāli on terra-cotta tablets, dug out at P'hraḥ Prathom some fifty years ago (A.D. 1857). They contain the well-known Buddhist formula "*Yē dhammā*," etc.; and the shape of the characters (of a Southern Indian type closely identical to the Veṅgī and Western Chālukya) argues their age to be the sixth or seventh century A.D.

Then follows a gap stretching down until the Khmër inscription from Lop'hburī, which bears two dates corresponding to A.D. 1022 and 1025. At Chanthabūn, however, both Sanskrit and Khmër inscriptions dating from the ninth and tenth centuries occur, as well as at Battambōng and in the province of Khôrāt, on the outskirts of the Kambojan epigraphical zone. These are all the records so far discovered of the age of Kambojan domination over Southern and Central Siām, which extended, with but few interruptions, from the middle of the seventh to that of the thirteenth century.

[1] See supplementary note with plate of this inscription in the appendix to the present paper.

[2] See this Journal for July, 1897, pp. 572, 573, and Table IV, No. 79.

The dawn of Thai Epigraphy.

The following period—that of independent Thai rule—is first marked by the Sukhôthai inscription of about A.D. 1300, this being the earliest epigraphic monument extant worded in the Thai language, and engraved in the Thai characters that had then just been invented. After this, Thai inscriptions become numerous in both Central and Northern Siām, as well as in Western Lāos (C'hīeng-Māi); and we enter upon the phase of national Thai history centreing at first in Sukhôthai (A.D. 1257–1350) and then in Ayuthia (A.D. 1350–1767) as successive capitals.

Palæographic peculiarities.

Most of the inscriptions alluded to above are carved on finely grained sandstone slabs of either a gray or greenish-gray colour. At Old Swankhalôk and Sukhôthai dark-blue slate and phyllades have also been at times employed. Inscribed bricks and tiles are common on the Delta, as well as all over the Malay Peninsula, where also occur the stamped clay tablets bearing Buddhist images and inscriptions already referred to.

Until A.D. 1500 such epigraphic records as bear dates are invariably dated in the Śaka era (called *Mahā Śaka-rāj*), beginning A.D. 78, which has been the one in general use—until comparatively modern times, and with but rare and sporadic exceptions [1] — all over Indo-China and the Archipelago. This fact, as I have elsewhere more fully pointed out,[2] proves the pretended foundation of the Chula

[1] Gupta era in Burmā (fifth century A.D.); also Buddhist era (from A.D. 1084 downwards), and Śakarāj (*Culla Śaka*) era at about the same period (from A.D. 1017 downwards). In Siām the Buddhist era occurs at times on purely religious inscriptions, but not before A.D. 1357, when it is but cursorily mentioned in the Thai inscription from Wat Si-C'hum at Old Sukhôthai. Its first direct employment is in the Pāli inscription on the model of Buddha's footprint from Sukhôthai (now in the former 'Second King's' temple, Bāngkōk), dated in the year 1970 from Buddha's Nirvāṇ = A.D. 1426. In Kamboja the practice of dating documents, whether epigraphic or otherwise, in the Buddhist or Culla Śaka eras is even more recent, while the Mahā Śaka is still employed in historical literature.

[2] *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1900, pp. 375–376 and 379–381.

era (*Culla Śakarāj*) in A.D. 638 at Swankhalôk to be a pure myth absolutely unworthy of credence.

Other Noticeable Features in connection with Ancient Monuments.

In the Swankhalôk and Sukhôthai monuments from the eleventh century downwards, glazed tiles, statuettes, friezes, terminals, and other decorations in glazed pottery occur. A ceramic industry, turning out products in imitation of the crackled ware of the Chinese Sung dynasty, was started at Swankhalôk towards the close of the eleventh century.[1] Iron I found employed in the walls of Wat Sī-C'hum (Old Sukhôthai), a temple dating from the end of the thirteenth century, and built of square blocks of gray sandstone carefully fitted and clamped inside. Bronze castings of considerable dimensions also begin to appear at about the same period, as well as Buddhist statuettes carved out of jade (very probably from the mines in Northern Burma), quartz (from the Khôrāt plateau), alabaster (from either West Kamboja or Upper Burma), ivory, and other prized materials. More ancient, however, appears to be the establishment of the art of making niello ware at Ligor, where it soon attained a high degree of perfection.[2]

With the advent of brickwork structures, wood finds wide employment in buildings, where it is inserted into the masonry and utilised separately in the shape of pillars and supports for the roof, with great detriment to the solidity and durability of the constructions. On the other hand, however, its extended use gives an impetus to the art of wood-carving, which soon attains no mean excellence in ornamental pieces, but above all in door frames and panels, of which several highly finished specimens are still extant

[1] On these Swankhalôk wares see my articles in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1902 (pp. 361–368), and October of the same year (pp. 391–395).

[2] See on this industry, as well as on the bronze castings of the period, my remarks in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for October, 1902, pp. 396–397 and 404–405.

(doors of the P'hraḥ Thën sanctuary at Thung-yang, and of Wat Suthat (*Sudassana*) at Bāngkōk, brought thither from Sukhôthai, both dating from the fourteenth or fifteenth century). Later on this industry is superseded, especially in door and window panels, by the more modern one of lacquered, gilt, and mother-of-pearl inlaid work, of which perhaps the most perfect early specimen extant may be witnessed in the massive door panels of the P'hraḥ C'hinarāj (*Jinarāja*) sanctuary at Bisṇulôk (made in A.D. 1755 by order of the king then reigning at Ayuthia).

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED TAKŨA-PĀ INSCRIPTION.

When, early in 1902, my friend Mr. H. W. Bourke, of the Royal Siāmese Department of Mines, proceeded to take up his post of Superintendent of Mines for the Siāmese provinces on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, establishing his headquarters at P'hūket (Junkceylon Island), I did my best to impress upon him, as if in duty bound—seeing his keen interest and favourable natural disposition for archæological research—the importance of a thorough investigation of any ancient remains, and above all of any epigraphic relics, he might hear of or come across in the course of his official *tournées* through the districts on that coast. I especially commended to his attention the littoral facing Junkceylon, viz., the districts of Takũa-thùng and Takũa-pā (Takôpa), near the latter of which I had been led, through my own researches, to locate the famous harbour and mart of *Takōla*, as I felt certain that important archæological finds would most likely reward the efforts of the explorer, owing to ancient Indian settlements which must have left behind some visible traces of their past existence having been there. So far, only one ancient inscription on a copper-plate had been discovered in that region, and precisely in

Takũa-thùng; but that was as long as forty years ago, and as the plate was fixed on the back of a little bronze statue of Buddha, it could not be positively held to have been engraved *in situ*.[1] Moreover, such districts had so far practically remained unexplored from an archæological point of view, while from Takũa-pā itself, whence one should expect the richest harvest in relics of the past, nothing had as yet been found to attest the presence of ancient remains.

The same recommendations I repeated later on to another friend of mine, Mr. C. Allegri, the Chief Engineer of the Royal Siāmese Public Works Department, when he left towards the end of 1902 on an extended official tour through the same provinces of the Malay Peninsula.

Both these gentlemen have rendered valuable services to research by turning, so far as the pressure of their official duties would permit, their attention to these matters, and bravely devoting to the pursuit of exploration whatever leisure they could afford to spare.

Mr. Bourke, having got the start, was soon able to inform me of traces of ancient extensive mining operations, and of finds of neolithic implements and other prehistoric, as well as protohistoric, relics in various places situated lower down the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. Of these, and of whatever else of interest he had occasion to notice then and in the course of his subsequent tours, it is to be hoped he will soon give an exhaustive account himself, which should prove extremely interesting, especially if accompanied by the numerous photographs which he, being an exceptionally accomplished amateur photographer, did not neglect to take.

Coming next to the Takôpa district, Mr. Bourke was fortunate enough to discover some important remains near the upper reaches of the river, and to ascertain the site of the old Takôpa town, which stood considerably farther up-stream than the present modern settlement. Most important

[1] The plate (now preserved with the statue in the royal palace, Bāngkōk) is circular, in the form of a *cakra*; and the inscription in Pāli is a mere repetition of the famous *Yē dhammā* stanza, the characters being probably of the third century A.D.

of all, however, is perhaps the discovery of the inscribed stela that forms the subject of the present note. This was also examined by Mr. Allegri, from whom I obtained a sketch of its shape and dimensions, of which the one subjoined is a reproduction. It is a slab of finely textured sandstone, and was found in the middle of a former bed of the Takôpa river, close by a Buddhist monastery now known as *Wat Nà Müang*, 'Monastery facing the town,' so called evidently from its occupying a site opposite the old town of Takôpa.

Mr. Bourke took a carefully executed squeezing of the inscription, which he forwarded to me. I had that face of the squeezing that had come into contact with the stone photographed, and had another photograph taken from the plate thus obtained. From the last the positive reproduced below was printed. The characters are, as will readily be seen, slightly modified forms of the fourth century Veṅgī, as represented in Burnell's "Elements of South Indian Palæography," second edition, plate i; and also resemble in shape those of the Kedah inscription of about 400 A.D. deciphered and translated by Professor Kern.[1] The consonants (*k*), or (*r*), or (*t*), (*kr*), etc., are practically identical. But there are differences in some others, while the details of not a few letters and groups of letters show up far from clearly, especially the vowels *e*, *a*, and some of the consonants combined therewith, so that the reading is in many instances rendered difficult and very uncertain. These blemishes should be ascribed to the worn-out state of the stone rather than to unskilfulness on the part of the lapicide, who seems, on the contrary, to have performed his task with no mean ability, and turned out a work which compares favourably with the epigraphic productions of the same age in other parts of Indo-China.

Owing to the drawbacks just alluded to, several attempts I have made at decipherment have met with but very partial success. I have accordingly thought it expedient to forward the squeezing to my esteemed friend Professor Kern, of

[1] See "Essays relating to Indo-China," first series, vol. i, p. 234 and pl. iv.

the Leiden University, the eminent specialist for such inscriptions, who will, I hope, be able to give a complete reading and translation, and in any case elucidate all that can fairly be made out in this inscription. I trust he will soon favour this Journal with the result of his investigations. Meanwhile, it appears to me pretty certain that the language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and not Pāli; and judging from the shape of the characters I should think that the document belongs chronologically to the fifth century A.D., and cannot, at all events, be later than the sixth or seventh.

Whatever its contents and purport (which latter appears to be Buddhist), I need not emphasize its archæological importance. As it was evidently engraved *in situ*, and not imported from abroad, it proves the existence in that neighbourhood of an ancient Indian settlement, which doubtless dated from the early centuries of the Christian era, if not, as is quite possible, from a still remoter period. It forms, moreover, a hitherto missing link in the chain of petroglyphic evidence connecting the lower provinces on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula with those adjoining the Kraḥ Isthmus, and proving that the coast in question was dotted practically all the way with Indian settlements and colonies.

The remains of ancient shrines and three old statues of deities extant at the foot of the *Khâu P'hraḥ Nārāi* (the 'Hill of Nārāyaṇa' or Viṣṇu), three hours by boat further up the river from the site of the inscription above referred to, argue the former presence in that vicinity of some important settlement.[1] Still farther up-stream the anchors and débris of a sea-going vessel of respectable size, half buried in the sandy bottom of the old river-bed, were found

[1] As regards the considerable antiquity of the statues, I may mention that two gigantic trees, locally known as *Tòn Bĕ* (probably *Lagerstroemias*), have grown round the images, and so completely enfolded them as to make their disentanglement and removal impossible unless the trees themselves are cut down to the root. It appears that the three statues were brought down to their present site from an old shrine which, according to local tradition, stood on the summit of the hill. No traces of such a structure have, however, so far, been discovered, owing doubtless to the thick jungle that covers the hill and hides the remains from view.

some fifty years ago at the place called *Thà Nà*, '[Paddy]-Fields Landing.' The spot where the ship in question lay embedded stands now well up above water-level. There can be no doubt from such indications, and from the site of Old Takôpa town so far up-stream, that its river was in the old days far deeper and more accessible to sea-going craft than at present; and that its actual shallowness and increased impracticability to navigation are well-nigh entirely due to the gradual rise of the land which has been going on all over the Malay Peninsula for many centuries past, and which appears to have amounted to no less than a hundred feet within historical times.

In so far as the Takôpa district is concerned, there is even nowadays a splendid harbour at the mouth of its river, of which my old friend Mr. Warington Smyth, who visited it some nine years ago, and who is no superficial connoisseur in marine matters, says in his valuable book: "The harbour of Kopa [Takūa-pā] is a very fine one, consisting of a magnificent estuary protected from the sea by a series of islands, behind which vessels can lie in depths varying from four to seven fathoms. The chief entrance is to the north, round Kopa Head. The deep-water channel runs thence in a southerly direction for some twenty miles to the north of the Kopa River proper, where the local trading craft, which are, of course, never of very deep draft, lie in two fathoms, some fourteen miles below the town. . . . . Kopa could at trifling cost be made the first harbour in Siām, and the port of the whole of this part of the peninsula. Neither Chantabun nor Sungkla [Singora] has the possibilities of Kopa, neither has such depth of water or such commodious anchorage, neither is so well situated with regard to foreign markets, and neither has such fine provinces at the back of it. . . . . Takuapa as a harbour is, however, far superior [to Trang], and will take larger vessels than any other place, and its claims to be made the port of Lakawn [Ligor] should be seriously considered."[1]

[1] "Five Years in Siam," London, 1898, vol. ii, pp. 24–25 and 128.

There can thus be no doubt that Takôpa (Takūa-pă) was in the early centuries of the Christian era a well-known harbour and trading centre often resorted to by ships coasting along the Golden Khersonese. My previous conclusions[1] are once more corroborated that either the Pāk-chān inlet, penetrating deep into the western flank of the Kraḥ Isthmus, or Takôpa—perhaps more likely the latter—were Ptolemy's *Takōla* and withal the *Takkola* of the "Milinda Paṇha." This last, as follows from the context of that well-known Buddhist work (vi, 21), lay outside the limits of *Suvaṇṇa-bhūmi* (since this country is mentioned separately from it), i.e. the Gulf of Martaban, and cannot therefore be identified with the *Taik-kulā* on the Sittang river as suggested by preceding writers.

But the last has not as yet been heard about the Takôpa district and its harbour. Mr. Bourke is still pursuing his investigation as far as the very limited time at his disposal allows him; and there is good reason to hope that he may before long come across other remains, and discover more inscriptions, capable of throwing further light on the past history of so interesting a part of the Malay Peninsula, as yet but scarcely known to the Western world.

[1] See this Journal for July, 1897, pp. 572–573, and Table IV, No. 79. The question has been more fully dealt with in my forthcoming monograph on the Ptolemaic geography of Indo-China, now in the press. The alternative suggestion of the Pāk-chān inlet is justified from the fact of this estuary lying within the limits of the region of *Takūa* (*Takōla*), which includes the three districts now distinguished under the denominations of Takūa-thùng (the southernmost, facing Junkceylon), Takūa-pā (the central one), and Takūa-thai (the northernmost, bordering upon the Pāk-chān inlet). Moreover, the rectified Ptolemaic data as regards the position of the mart of *Takōla* argue a site near the southern point of entrance to the Pāk-chān inlet, close by the present Ranōng, and therefore on Takūa-thai territory. (See the above-cited Table IV.)

XI.

KAUSAMBI.

By MAJOR W. VOST, I.M.S.

ALTHOUGH the city of Kauśāmbī is frequently mentioned in the Pāḷi and Hindu classics, few data are given therein from which its position can be accurately determined. We shall see as we proceed that the details given in these books, when read in conjunction with what we learn from Yuan Chwang, enable us to fix with tolerable accuracy, but not with absolute certainty as yet, the probable position of this famous city.

In the *Life*[1] of Yuan Chwang the kingdom of Prayāga is defined as situated "to the south of the Ganges, on the north of the River Jumnâ." As the town of Allahabad is still known to the Hindus as Prayāga, we may conclude that the kingdom Prayāga corresponded to the easternmost part of the Ganges–Jamunā duāb. The capital of Prayāga, when Yuan Chwang was in India, lay "between two branches of the river,"[2] and we are told that to the east of the city "the two rivers join."[3] We may assume, without perhaps being very far wrong, that the confluence of the Ganges and Jamunā, which seem to be the two rivers indicated by the pilgrim, lay in close proximity to the modern town named Allahabad.

In giving measurements to the city of Kauśāmbī, or to the border of the country of this name, Yuan Chwang does not clearly state whether his distances start from the capital of Prayāga, or from the junction of the Ganges and Jamunā, or from some point on the southern border of the kingdom of Prayāga, that is, from the bank of the Jamunā, but the

[1] Beal, p. 90.
[2] Beal, i, p. 230.
[3] Beal: *Life*, p. 90.

impression conveyed to my mind is that his calculations of distance are taken from the junction of the Ganges and Jamunā rivers.

The information as to the position of the city of Kauśāmbī, founded on this pilgrim's sojourn in India, is contained in the following passages:—

Records, I. "Going from this country [Jamunā river, the southern border of Prayāga] south-west, we enter a great forest . . . . Going 500 li or so, we come to the country [border of the country of] Kiau-shang-mi (Kauśâmbî)."[1]

II. "To the south-west of the city [Kauśāmbī] 8 or 9 li is a stone dwelling of a venomous Nâga . . . To the north-east of the Nâga dwelling . . . after going about 700 li . . . we cross the Ganges, and going northward we arrive at the town of Kia-shi-po-lo (Kaśapura)."[2]

Note the bearing and distance, and that it is not stated that the Jamunā was crossed to reach Kaśapurā. This negative point is, perhaps, not of great weight.

Life, I. "From this, in a south-west direction, ... After going 500 *li* or so, we arrive at *Kiau-shang-mi* (Kauśâmbî)."[3]

The point of departure is not stated, nor is it recorded if the 500 *li* are to the border of the kingdom of Kauśāmbī or to the city. If we decide that this passage is probably abridged from the corresponding paragraph given above in brief as the first extract from the *Records*, then we are in a position to assume that the 500 li are calculated from the "country" of Prayāga to the "country" of Kauśāmbī; but we are not told the name of the tract of territory lying between the border of the district of Prayāga, that is, the Jamunā river, and the border of Kauśāmbī.

II. "From the country of Prayâga [Jamunā river] he went south-west, ... for seven days, when he arrived at the kingdom of Kauśâmbî."[4]

"Kingdom," here, seems to be an error for "city."

[1] Beal, i, p. 234. [2] Beal, i, p. 237. [3] Beal, p. 90. [4] Beal, p. 190.

III. After describing the monuments to the "south" of the city of Kauśāmbī, it is recorded that, "Going about 500 *li* [Julien's version adds to the *east*] from this, we come to the kingdom of Pi-so-kia (Viśâkhâ)."[1] Certainly the bearing *east* should be read north-east, as in the *Records*. The distance, no doubt, is the same as the 500 li from the kingdom of Prayāga to the Kauśāmbī border, as in the first quotation from the *Records*. It is, also, to be noted that the road-distance from Kaśapura to the border of the kingdom of Pi-so-kia is omitted in the *Life*.

From the comparison of these accounts, bearing in mind that the data in the *Life* are mostly abridged from the *Records*, we learn (1) that the distance was 500 li south-west from the "country," or border, of Prayāga, that is, from the right bank of the Jamunā river, to the "country," or border, of the Kauśāmbī kingdom; (2) that we must suppose that 200 li, not recorded, represented the distance from the border of the Kauśāmbī kingdom to Kauśāmbī city, and that the distance of 500 li, to which the 200 li, inferred, require to be added, correspond to the (3) 700 li north-east, from a point 8 or 9 li south-west of Kauśāmbī city, to the right bank of the Ganges river, probably to a ferry close to the east side of the junction of the Ganges and Jamunā rivers, as we are not told that the Jamunā river was also crossed to get to Kaśapura; (4) that Yuan Chwang probably retraced his steps 700 li "north-east" from Kauśāmbī city to the Ganges bank along the same road by which he had travelled 700 li to the "south-west"; and (5) that Kauśāmbī city should be found 700 li, or 92·54 English miles, by road from Yuan Chwang's starting-point, that is, at this distance to the south-west of Allahabad, which stands at the confluence of the Ganges and Jamunā rivers, or Kauśāmbī, is to be sought, possibly, at the distance of 92·54 miles, either from the right bank of the Jamunā river due south of Allahabad, or possibly from some ferry on the Jamunā some way west of the confluence of these two rivers.

[1] Beal, p. 91.

Fa-hian gives us no assistance in fixing the position of the site of Kauśāmbī city, and his description of the kingdom is very meagre. He writes:—"Proceeding north-west thirteen *yôjanas* from the park of the deer, [Sārnāth, to the north of Benares city] there is a country called Kauśâmbî. There is a *vihâra* there called Ghôshira-vana (*the garden of Ghôshira*), in which Buddha formerly dwelt; it is now in ruins."[1] Thirteen *yojanas*, or 91·65 English miles, *north*-west would have taken the pilgrim into the Sultānpur District, and if "country" be supposed a mistake for "city," the ruins at Dhūtapāpā[2] on the Gomatī river might be identified with the city of Kauśāmbī. But as Fa-hian and Yuan Chwang both speak of the garden of Ghoṣira,[3] it is extremely likely that the bearing *north*-west to the Kauśāmbī border is a mistake for *south*-west, and that the two pilgrims each allude to the same country Kauśāmbī. Fa-hian's distance of 13 *yojanas* is only of importance in telling us the position, I think, of the Kauśāmbī border when proceeding, it seems, from Sārnāth. This information is not obtainable from any other source; the difficulty in interpreting the record is to know by which road he travelled and calculated the distance, and consequently we are at a loss to define exactly the eastern limit of the Kauśāmbī kingdom as it was known to Fa-hian. His reckoning does not appear to be calculated to the vicinity of Mauganj, 62 miles from Mirzāpur, on the Great Deccan Road going towards Central India. The distances to Mauganj, calculated from Benares city, are 27 miles to Mirzāpur; from this on to the foot of the Katrā Pass another 36 miles; and thence to Mauganj 26 miles; or altogether 89 miles from Benares to Mauganj. At Mangawa, 22 miles by road to the south-west of Mauganj, the Great

[1] Beal, i, p. lxviii.

[2] *Arch. Surv. Report* (A.S.R.), i, p. 315.

[3] The Ghoṣitārāma or Ghoṣāvatārāma (Kern, *Manual*, p. 34), or garden of Ghoṣika "near" Kauśāmbī (Hardy, *Manual*, p. 369), named after Ghoṣika, Ghoṣita, Ghoṣitā, or Ghoṣila, one of the three ministers of Udayana, king of the Vatsa country. This is, probably, the same monastery which was situated in the śiṁśapā grove (*Dalbergia Sisu*) (Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 205).

Deccan Road is joined by the road coming south-west from Allahabad over the Sohāgī Pass. The distance from Mangawa to Allahabad is 62½ miles. If Fa-hian had given the distance to the Kauśāmbī kingdom by Mirzāpur, it is probable that his reckoning would have been only as far as the Katrā Pass, and not to a point 26 miles by road within the mountainous border. The whole of the hilly country in this region probably was included in the Kauśāmbī kingdom. There are no traces of a large ancient city between Mauganj and Mangawa, and it is very improbable that the city of Kauśāmbī could have been anywhere near this position, for then Yuan Chwang's bearing south-west from the kingdom of Prayāga would require to be changed to south, if we are to understand that the pilgrim's bearing also led in the direction of the city. I infer that Fa-hian's 13 yojanas must refer to some other route, as I do not believe that "country" in his narrative is an error for "city" of Kauśāmbī. The road along which the distance and bearing, which I would read to the *south*-west and to the border of the kingdom, are given, is most likely by Silpī ghāṭ, "the one ghât *viâ* which the great pilgrim road from Benares through Chunar goes to Katak and Ramessar; it comes *viâ* Chunar through Suktisgarh, Rajgarh, across the Sonat Kurari, meeting the other road near Kusmawa, thence on to Baghaia, where it divides into two, the minor one going direct past the tirath at Poari[1] and the caves of Kotar, Jarandha, and Banauli to Márá, the main one *viâ* Saipur also through Kotar to Márá, and thence on through Sonhat Mahtin, Pali, Baluda, Bachandgarh, Janjgir, to Seonarayan, everyone of the places named containing remains of antiquity . . . ."[2] If this be the route intended by Fa-hian it would appear, from what we know from other sources, that the Kauśāmbī country comprised territory lying both to the north and south of the upper course of

[1] Possibly Pāvāriya, *Buddhist India*, p. 36.

[2] A.S.R., xiii, p. 16, and pl. xx (map).

the Sone river, where it flows near the southern border of the Mirzāpur District, and contained a great part of the Rīwā State in Central India. This location of the kingdom of Kauśāmbī is, I consider, in part confirmed by the legend of Bakula,[1] from which we hear that it was customary for him to travel between the cities of Kauśāmbī and Benares "in a boat by the river Mahī." Inasmuch as the rivers from Rīwā territory flowing northwards to the Ganges are not navigable, whereas the Mahī river was, but possibly only for boats of light burden, I infer that by the Mahī river, which was one of the five great rivers[2] of Jambudvīpa, is meant the Sone, and that the city of Kauśāmbī, if not actually by the side of the Sone, was at least at no great distance from it, or from one of its upper tributaries. In this legend the Jamunā river is also mentioned, but we know from Yuan Chwang that the city of Kauśāmbī was 700 li from the course of this river, so that the city could not have been located on its left bank at Kosam, the site identified with Kauśāmbī until Mr. Vincent Smith first proved the erroneousness of the general belief. Other evidence, afterwards given, renders it improbable that Kauśāmbī city could have been situated by the side of the Jamunā river.[3]

It is difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion as to how far south the kingdom of Kauśāmbī stretched. It would appear possible that it extended to the sources of the Narbadā and Mahānadī rivers, and perhaps these rivers formed the southern boundary of the kingdom in the earliest Buddhist period. In the quotation I gave[4] respecting the supposed road by which Fa-hian reckons his distance south-west from Sārnāth or Benares to the Kauśāmbī border, there

[1] Hardy, *Manual*, p. 520; Rhys Davids, *Sacred Books of the East*, xxxvi, p. 11, note. The correct name of Bakula, or Bak-kula, 'the two family one,' was Nakula, 'mungoose' (J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 337), according to Yuan Chwang.

[2] Hardy: *Manual*, pp. 17, 455, 510.

[3] The identification of Kosam with Kauśāmbī was no longer tenable when the distance 50 li, on which the identification rested, was corrected to 500 li (Beal, *Life*, p. 91, note 1). From its geographical position it is almost a certainty that Kosam lay in the kingdom of Prayāga.

[4] A.S.R., xiii, p. 16.

are mentioned together two places named Pālī and Bāludā, at which ancient remains exist. When Gautama in the ninth year of his ministry became disgusted owing to the dissensions in the Order at Kauśāmbī, he left his followers and resided in turn in three monasteries built for him by three rich merchants in the "country"[1] of Kauśāmbī. At first "he repaired to the village of Bālakaloṇakāra . . . After a meeting with the venerable Bhagu, he proceeded to the eastern Bambu park (Pācīnavaṃsadāya), where Anuruddha, Nandiya, and Kimbila were living . . . They cordially welcomed their Master, who gladdened them with a sermon, and then went farther to Pārileyyaka. There, dwelling in the Rakkhita grove, at the foot of a Bhadrasāla tree, he felt all the happiness of a solitary life."[2] The three unnamed monasteries of the Burmese account perhaps were situated at Bālakaloṇakāra, Badarika,[3] and Pārileyyaka. Bālakaloṇakāra is, perhaps, Bāludā[4] in the Bilāspur District of the Central Provinces, 5 miles to the east of Bachaud.[5] Buddhist remains exist in towns close by. Pārileyyaka[6] is possibly Pālī, at which there is a temple "probably built on cell foundations," but the identification I suggest is possibly doubtful, as there does not appear to be a cave[8] near. The Badarika monastery, at which Jātaka No. 16 was narrated, was probably situated somewhere on the road between Bāludā and Pālī, if this Pālī corresponds to Pārālī, but I cannot point to the spot. At Malhār, about 22 miles in a straight

[1] Bigandet, i, p. 235.

[2] Kern: *Manual*, pp. 34, 35. According to Hardy, p. 369, Gautama spent the tenth rainy season at Pārālī; and at the foot of the sāla tree there was a cave. Rhys Davids (*Buddhism*, 1880, p. 72) has "in a hut built by the villagers."

[3] Jātaka No. 16.

[4] A.S.R., vii, p. 211, and xiii, pp. 15, 16, 152.

[5] Marked on A.S.R., xiii, pl. xx.

[6] It is called both a forest and village. Rhys Davids (*Buddhism*, 1880, p. 72) has 'forest of Pārileyyaka'; Bigandet (*Legend of Gaudama*, 1866, pp. 223, 224) has 'village of Palelyaka' and 'forest of Palelaka'; Hardy (*Manual*, p. 369) has 'forest of Pārālī.'

[7] A.S.R., vii, p. 219. Pālī is shown on A.S.R., xvii, pl. 1 (map).

[8] But see note 6.

line to the south-west of Bāludā, an inscription of 919 Cedi Saṁvat was obtained which mentions Kosambī,[1] a village in the Tummāṇa country.

The old road northwards from these places to Allahabad passes through Amarakantaka, Sohāgpur, Majholī, Candradīh, and Gūrgī to the east of Rīwā.[2] From Sohāgpur a branch road goes through another place called Pālī, which is situated to the north-west of Sohāgpur and to the south of Bandogaḍh. At Pālī there are early undescribed remains,[3] but I do not know if they are of Buddhist origin, or if this place can be identified with Pārileyyaka. I have supposed that we should look for Pārileyyaka or Pārālī at one or other of the places named Pālī.

Towards the south-west the kingdom of Kauśāmbī apparently marched with the kingdom of Avantī or Ujjain.[4]

When Yuan Chwang proceeded from the country of Prayāga south-west, he could have crossed the northern border of the Kauśāmbī kingdom either by the Sohāgī Pass, or at the place where the Tons river reaches the level country to the north of the Rīwā plateau.[5] The most ancient road into the kingdom of Kauśāmbī from the north was doubtless that going southwards through the pass by the side of the Tons river.[6] Along this route from the Jamunā ancient remains[7] and inscriptions abound. At Bithā, 10 miles to the south of south-west of Allahabad on the high road to Rīwā, many Buddhist remains have been discovered. On a block of stone, about 1½ miles from

[1] A.S.R., vii, p. 214; Epig. Ind., i, p. 40.

[2] A.S.R., xiii, pp. 13, 14, 15, and pl. xx (map); A.S.R., xxi, p. 149.

[3] A.S.R., xiii, p. 12.

[4] Compare with Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 7.

[5] A.S.R., xxi, pl. 1 (map).

[6] For an account of the road as it ascends to Sirmol on the edge of the tableland, see A.S.R., xxi, p. 114.

[7] At Bithā, A.S.R., iii, p. 46, x, p. 6, and xix, p. 60; Ginjā Hill, A.S.R., xxi, p. 119; Bhirpur, A.S.R., xix, pp. 62, 73; Chaukandīh, A.S.R., xix, p. 64; Piāwan, A.S.R., xxi, pp. 112, 141, and (Jhirnā) A.S.R., xix, p. 68; Ālhā Ghāṭ, A.S.R., xxi, p. 114; Kevatī Kuṇḍ, A.S.R., xxi, pp. 115, 141, 142.

Ālhā Ghāṭ, Kauśāmbī is mentioned in an inscription[1] dated 1216 Saṁvat (1159 A.D.), while at Kevatī Kuṇḍ there are two Buddhist *stūpas* carved in outline on a rock at the mouth of a cave, and on the roof of the cave can be seen an inscription of about 200 B.C. On the road from Allahabad to Rīwā by the Sohāgī Pass I have not observed that a single ancient site is described.

From Allahabad to Sirmol *viâ* Nainī, Bhitā, etc., the road-distance is 64 miles; from Sirmol along the Tons river to Satnā, 45 miles; from Sirmol to Gūrgī, 27 miles; and from Rīwā to Gūrgī, 10 miles.[2] The distance by road from Allahabad to the right bank of the Jamunā river is 3 miles, and from the river by the new road through the Sohāgī Pass to the town of Rīwā is 77$\frac{5}{8}$ miles.

It is probable, I think, that Yuan Chwang's 500 li, or 66·1 English miles, south-west from the Prayāga border, Jamunā river, to the Kauśāmbī border, are reckoned either to Ālhā Ghāṭ, or to Sirmol higher up the Tons valley on the edge of the Rīwā tableland. Yuan Chwang's distance of 500 li does not agree with the route by the Sohāgī Pass, as the distance from Allahabad, the approximate position of the confluence of the Ganges and Jamunā when Yuan Chwang visited this locality, to the Rīwā border 6 miles beyond the village of Sohāgī is only 41$\frac{1}{3}$ miles, whereas the pilgrim's reckoning is 66·1 English miles, or 500 li, to the border of the Kauśāmbī country. There are no important remains near Mauganj, as previously stated. To me it appears certain that Yuan Chwang followed the ancient road by Bhitā, etc., to Sirmol, and that he has represented the northern edge of the Rīwā State, near Sirmol, as the northern limit of the Kauśāmbī kingdom. The absence of ancient remains along the Sohāgī route from Allahabad makes it very probable that this road was not much frequented in the early centuries of the Christian era.

[1] Published in *Ind. Antiq.*, xviii, p. 214.

[2] These distances have been furnished to me through the courtesy of Major S. F. Bayley, Agent to the Bāghelkhand Agency at Satnā.

The present road by the Sohāgī Pass is of recent construction.

If we allow that Yuan Chwang travelled by the Sohāgī Pass to Rīwā, and thence to the city of Kauśāmbī, we should look for the ruins of the ancient city at the distance of 11·54 English miles beyond the town of Rīwā, if we reckon from Allahabad (3 + 78 + 11·54 = 92·54 miles = 700 li), or at the distance of 14·54 miles from Rīwā, if we calculate the distance from the banks of the Jamunā at Nainī, south of Allahabad. The distance from Allahabad to Sirmol we have seen is 64 miles, and from Sirmol by road to Gūrgī 27 miles, that is, the distance from the confluence of the Ganges and Jamunā to Gūrgī, which, I believe, corresponds to the site of Kauśāmbī city, is 91 miles, against Yuan Chwang's 700 li or 92·54 miles. Whether we travel by the Sohāgī Pass and Rīwā to Gūrgī, or by Ālhā Ghāṭ and thence by road to Gūrgī, the distance by either way is the same to Gūrgī from Allahabad, namely, 91 miles.

I think I have made it clear in the first few pages of this article that the distance south-west from the confluence of the Ganges and Jamunā, or perhaps from some point close to it on the Jamunā, which formed the southern border of the country of Prayāga, to the northern limit of the kingdom of Kauśāmbī, was 500 li of Yuan Chwang; and that from the northern border of the Kauśāmbī kingdom to the city of Kauśāmbī the distance was another 200 li, as Yuan Chwang's reckoning is 700 li from the city of Kauśāmbī to the banks of the Ganges, to a point probably somewhere near the confluence.

Mr. Vincent Smith, I am convinced, has erroneously taken 500 li,[1] instead of 700 li, as the distance to the *city* of Kauśāmbī. The 700 li are considered by this antiquary either as the distance from Kauśāmbī city to Dalamaū Ghāṭ, on the Ganges about 75¼ miles[2] to the north-west of

[1] J.R.A.S., 1898, pp. 503–519.

[2] This is the distance from Allahabad to Fatehpur by the Grand Trunk Road, and is very nearly exact, I should think, for the distance to Dalamaū, which is 18 miles by road north-east of Fatehpur.

Allahabad, or as that to Baksar Ghāṭ, still higher up the Ganges. At one or other of these two ferries Mr. Vincent Smith supposes that Yuan Chwang crossed the Ganges on his way to the city of Śrāvastī. Mr. Vincent Smith makes the pilgrim travel south-west from Prayāga to Kauśāmbī by one road, and, I presume, go north-east by another from Kauśāmbī to Dalamaū, or Baksar, and cross both the Ganges and Jamunā on the way. He believes that the city of Kauśāmbī should be found in the valley of the Tons river; that "the Satnā (Sutna) railway station marks the *approximate* position of Kauśāmbī"; that the celebrated Buddhist ruins at Bharhut (Bharaut), "situated about nine miles a little east of south from Satnā railway station, about 90 to 92 miles south-west of Allahabad," "satisfy the conditions of geographical position with almost absolute certainty"; and that Kauśāmbī will, "when properly looked for, be found not very far from Satnā, Kho, or Bharhut," but he does "*not* affirm that the known remains at or close to Bharhut are those of Kauśāmbī."

I have observed that the distance of 500 li was to the "country" or border of the kingdom of Kauśāmbī, and not to the city. It is not generally admissible to change "country" to "city" or "capital."[1] There is no particular reason, even if Satnā be the approximate position of the city of Kauśāmbī, why Yuan Chwang should have travelled in the direction of Dalamaū or Baksar Ghāṭs, as the pilgrim does not say that he went from Kauśāmbī to Śrāvastī city, as Mr. Vincent Smith makes him do from the capital of Pi-so-kia. The measurement given by the pilgrim from the capital of the Pi-so-kia kingdom is to the *country*, or border, of the kingdom of Śrāvastī, and not to the *city* of Śrāvastī. To reach Dalamaū, or Baksar, Ghāṭ, Yuan Chwang must have crossed the Jamunā, if he went by a short route, but he only mentions having crossed the Ganges to reach Kaśapura.

Not one of the places named by Mr. Vincent Smith, in my opinion, appears to suit the approximate position of the city

[1] J.R.A.S., 1903, pp. 83–86, 97, 98, 102.

of Kauśāmbī, on measuring from Allahabad. Take Satnā, the nearest to the Jamunā. The railway line between Allahabad and Satnā railway stations takes a considerable detour to the south-west, and the distance between the two stations is 110 miles by rail, and by road from Allahabad to Satnā along the Tons river it is 109 miles, whereas the city of Kauśāmbī should be distant 700 li, or about 92½ miles, by road, from the Ganges–Jamunā confluence, or bank of the Jamunā hereabouts. Nor does the site of Bharhut agree with the approximate position of Kauśāmbī city, as the distance by road from Satnā is about nine miles further south.[1] Satnā is 31½ miles by the tonga road almost due west from Rīwā, which is 80⅝ miles by road from Allahabad. The road-distance, therefore, to Satnā *viâ* Rīwā is 112⅛ miles. Satnā, by whichever way we travel, cannot, I consider, mark the approximate position of the city of Kauśāmbī, as it is, at the lowest estimate, 109 miles from Allahabad, 16·46 miles out of the reckoning by road. There are no remains on the Rīwā–Saugor road which correspond to the distance of 700 li or 92·54 miles, or approximately at this distance, from the Jamunā, that is, at a point on the Rīwā–Saugor road indicated by the distance of 12 miles to the south-west of Rīwā, if we reckon the 700 li from Allahabad, or at the distance of 15 miles on this road from Rīwā, if we calculate the 700 li from the Jamunā river south of Allahabad. The only place on this road to Saugor at which considerable remains are described is at Mahiyar (Māihar), but Mahiyar is distant 21 miles south of Satnā, and from Rīwā by road 41¾ miles. I know of no ruins situated 16·46 miles (= 109 miles from Allahabad to Satnā by the Tons river, less 92·54 miles or 700 li) north of the Satnā railway station, or at 13·46 miles north of Satnā if we

[1] Mr. Vincent Smith, reproving Cunningham in giving 120 miles for the distance from Allahabad to the Bharhut *stūpa* (J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 511, note 1), makes the distance 92 to 98 miles, which is certainly very far from accurate. Cunningham's distance is nearly correct. He seems to have taken 110 miles, the distance from Allahabad to Satnā by *rail*, and added 10 miles for the distance to Bharhut by road from Satnā. Now, Allahabad to Rīwā by road is 80⅝ miles, from Rīwā to Satnā 31½ miles, and about 9 miles more on to Bharhut, say about 121 miles altogether, by this way.

measure from the Jamunā south of Allahabad, which correspond in distance with the reckoning to the city of Kauśāmbī. The famous fort of Kālinjar, which I estimate is about 94¾ miles south-west of Allahabad by the nearest roads, agrees accurately enough, if we measure from the Jamunā, with the distance to the city of Kauśāmbī, but the remains at Kālinjar, so far as published descriptions tell us, do not appear to me to agree with Yuan Chwang's description of Kauśāmbī.

If we assume that Yuan Chwang crossed the Jamunā close to Kosam the position of Bharhut would agree with Yuan Chwang's 700 li and probable bearing to the city of Kauśāmbī. It is unlikely that the city lay to the east side of Bharhut towards Pannā, as there is in that direction no great river, such as the Mahī is described to be, which flows towards Benares city. The same objection holds good for any ancient site lying to the north of Bharhut and to the south of the Jamunā, including the country at or near Kālinjar.

My estimate[1] of the value of Yuan Chwang's li does not seem to me to allow that Mr. Vincent Smith's equation 700 li of Yuan Chwang are equal to 115 to 120 miles, but if others are disposed to agree with his estimate, the 700 li from Kauśāmbī city do not correspond to the distance by road from Satnā to Dalamaū Ghāṭ, the nearer of the two ferries he mentions. The shortest good road from Satnā to Dalamaū, that by Naugaḍh, Kālinjar, Bāndā, and Fatehpur, is 154 miles. It is not probable that by footpaths through the hills, and elsewhere, this distance could be reduced more than from 10 to 15 miles, a very liberal reduction. Thus from Mr. Vincent Smith's equation it follows that Satnā is apparently not the approximate position of Kauśāmbī, or that Yuan Chwang could not have crossed at Dalamaū, if Satnā is near the city of Kauśāmbī. It is obvious that Baksar, still farther from Satnā, is out of the question. And we have seen that Yuan Chwang does not say that he

[1] J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 80.

went to the city of Śrāvastī from the kingdom of Kauśāmbī, taking the capital of Pi-so-kia on the way, and therefore that he did not necessarily have to cross the Jamunā, so far as we know from his itinerary, to arrive at Kaśapura.

"Gurgi is by universal report said to contain innumerable numbers of sculptured stones, and in this respect to stand alone in the Raj of Rewa."[1] "It is, further, more than probable these remains mark the site of the ancient capital of this part of Central India,"[2] and I would add that not unlikely Gūrgī[3] is built on the site of the renowned city of Kauśāmbī. No other remains in the Rīwā State, so far as I know, cover so extensive an area. The position of Gūrgī practically agrees with the distance of 700 li or 92·45 miles to Kauśāmbī from the confluence of the Ganges and Jamunā, the actual distance from Allahabad by Sirmol to Gūrgī coming to 91 miles by road.

Yuan Chwang gives the circuit of Kauśāmbī city as "about 30 li," about 6,980 English yards or 20,940 feet. Garrick found that the circumference of the stone walls of the remains near Gūrgī measured 12,266 feet.[4] He adds that he "arrived at the conclusion that the original city was a quadrangle of quite 4,000 feet, if not more, either way." Cunningham's survey gave 452 feet less, or 11,814 feet.[5] There is thus seen to be a very wide divergence between 16,000 feet, the total of the quadrangular estimate, and Yuan Chwang's 20,940 feet. Possibly Yuan Chwang included some religious establishments outside the walls of Gūrgī in his 30 li, and it may have happened that the city was much altered, or perhaps was rebuilt during the

[1] A.S.R., xiii, p. 13. The sculptures are noticed at A.S.R., xix, pp. 80, 87–89, and pl. xix; xxi, pp. 143, 144, 151–153, and pls. xxxvi, xxxvii. Those with inscriptions are mostly of about the tenth and eleventh centuries; see A.S.R., xxi, p. 153. For the inscriptions consult A.S.R., xiii, p. 13, note; xxi, pp. 144, 150, 152. None earlier than about 880 A.D., the time of the Kalacuri king Kokkalla, have been found; see A.S.R., xxi, p. 150.

[2] A.S.R., xix, p. 89.

[3] Gūrgī village, which gives its name to the ruins, lies one mile to the south-west of them. The ruins are described A.S.R., xix, p. 85, with pl. xx, and xxi, p. 149, with pl. xxxv.

[4] A.S.R., xix, p. 86.

[5] A.S.R., xxi, p. 150.

dominion of the Candellas and Kalacuris in these parts, and that most of the old landmarks noted in Buddhist accounts were obliterated.

I find it impossible to say which mound inside the fortifications represents the 'old palace,' which contained a well, bathing-house, signs of the four former Buddhas, and a *vihāra*, the last enclosing a sandal-wood figure of Gautama under a stone canopy, and which was the house of Ghoṣira in the south-east angle of the city. To the south-east of the city, "not far,"[1] there existed close together the Ghoṣira *saṅghārāma*, a nail and hair *stūpa*, an Aśoka *stūpa*, where Tathāgata for several years preached the law, 'signs' of the four former Buddhas, tower of Vasubandhu, and foundation wall of Asaṅga's chamber, not even of one of which does there appear to be a trace, so far as published descriptions of Gūrgī testify. To the south-west of the city 8 or 9 li, 1 to 1·18 mile, Yuan Chwang places a group of sacred monuments comprising the Nāga stone dwelling, an Aśoka *stūpa*, 'marks' where Tathāgata walked, and a hair and nail *stūpa*. Exactly at the distance of one mile to the south-west, as noted by Yuan Chwang, there is a great mound of ruins called 'Gurgaj' or Rāja Karaṇ Ḍaharia-kākila. This mound is a mere confused mass of rough stones, the remains of a palace and temples. Here the beautifully carved Rīwā gateway[2] was discovered. The mound, I think, must at a much earlier date have been the site of the buildings that were situated to the south-west of Kauśāmbī, as mentioned by Yuan Chwang.

To the south-west of this mound of ruins, more than a mile distant, there is a solitary hill called Goragad, on the summit of which there were traces of a level flooring believed to have been used as a promenade by the former rulers of the neighbourhood.[3] The Gūrgī remains are situated on an open plain, and there appears to be only one hill anywhere near. Goragad, therefore, possibly is

[1] The *Sadharmmaratnakāre* (Hardy, *Manual*, p. 369) says "near Kosambœ."
[2] A.S.R., xix, pl. xix.
[3] A.S.R., xix, p. 89; and xxi, p. 149, with pl. xxxv.

the "hill Makula, at Kosambī,"[1] to which Gautama retired in the fifth year of his ministry. If some allowance should be made for a possible variation in spelling in the account, Makula may be Mekala, the famous Amarakantaka *tīrath*, at which the river Narbadā is supposed to have its origin. Although Professor Rhys Davids' authority places the Makula hill "at" Kauśāmbī, it is curious that Yuan Chwang makes no reference to Gautama resting at the mount. It is possible, therefore, that the hill was really not exactly at Kauśāmbī, or that it was the name of the site one mile to the south-west of Kauśāmbī where stood the 'marks' associated with Gautama which the pilgrim places in this position. I am, however, more disposed to believe that the Makula hill is either Amarakantaka or Goragad, though very possibly others can point out a site with better claims than either of these places.

At Gūrgī "only a few Buddhist figures [have been found], but Jain and Brahmanical figures are numerous."[2] One of the Buddhist figures is a half life-size seated image of Padmapāṇi,[3] now at Rīwā.

We learn from the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* that changes in the course of the Ganges brought about the destruction of Hastināpura, and that in consequence the Kurus removed their capital to Kauśāmbī,[4] I understand to the Kauśāmbī country. Kakareri or Kakareḍi, at the head of the Mamani Pass, was possibly the new capital of the Kurus, as in an inscription dated 1297 Saṁvat (1240 A.D.), belonging to the Rīwā darbār, Kakareḍi is spoken of as the city of the Kaurava race.[5]

Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* states that Kuśa, the son of Rāma, had four sons, of whom

> "Kuśamba, prince of high renown,
> Was builder of Kauśāmba's town."

[1] Rhys Davids: *Buddhism*, 1880, p. 70.
[2] A.S.R., xxi, p. 152. For references to sculptures see note 1, p. 262.
[3] A.S.R., xxi, p. 144.
[4] Haraprasād Śaśtrī, M.A.: *A School History of India*, p. 9.
[5] A.S.R., xxi, p. 147, pl. 1; x, p. 15.

Kuśamba, in the Bengal recension, is called Kuśāśva, and his city Kauśāsvī.[1] In a passage, the source of which is not known, it is related that Kuśa "ruled over Kośala at his capital Kuśasthalī or Kuśāvatī, *built upon the Vindhyan precipices.*"[2] The italics are mine. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, too, locates Kuśāvatī or Kuśasyanagarī on the edge of the Vindhyan hills.[3] Kauśāsvī, Kuśasthalī, Kuśāvatī, and Kuśasyanagarī were, possibly, names of the city of Kauśāmbī, called also Kosambiū[4] and Kausambhi,[5] which we see was situated on a spur or elevated piece of flat ground, probably on the northern edge of the Vindhyan range. It will be observed that if all these names refer to one place this topographical description of the site of the city nullifies the possibility of identifying Kosam on the Jamunā with Kauśāmbī, as Kosam cannot be said to be either near or on the Vindhyan precipices.

The position of Gūrgī, near the source of the Mahonā or Mahānadī, on a tableland or open plain close to the north side of the Kaimur range, agrees with the Hindu account of the site of Kuśamba's town.

Uttara Kośala (Ayodhya) and Southern Kośala seem to have constituted one kingdom in the time of Kuśa, or when the Rāmāyaṇa received its present literary form, as "it would appear from the Váyu, that Kuśa, the son of Ráma, transferred his kingdom [? capital] to a more central position."[6]

In an inscription of 1345 Saṁvat (1288 A.D.), obtained either from Ajayagaḍh (Jayadurgā), or from Kālinjar, and in which mention is made of Rāja Bhoja Varmma, Candella,

[1] Griffith's translation, canto xxxiv, and note 2 (book i).

[2] Wilson (Hall), *Vishńu Puráńa*, ii, p. 172, has *Vindhya-parvatasānuṣu. Sānu* in the dictionary is given as 'level ground on top, or edge of a mountain; tableland.' Kuśasthalī (*sthalī* = 'upland') or Kuśāvatī must not be confused with Dvārakā or Kuśasthalī (*Vishńu Puráńa*, iii, p. 253), or with Kuśāvatī, a name of Kuśinārā, the scene of Gautama's death.

[3] Uttarakaṇḍa, sarga 108, śloka 4, has *Vindhya-parvata rodhasi*. Rodhas = 'bank, high bank, shore, flank.' *Rodhas* and *sānuṣu* are evidently synonyms.

[4] J.A.S.B., vii, 1838, p. 165.

[5] *Asiatic Researches*, xx, p. 72.

[6] *Vishńu Puráńa*, ii, p. 172.

there is a village named Kauśāmvapura,[1] but whether or not this is Kauśāmbī is uncertain. At the distance of 32 miles south-west of Allahabad and seven miles to the north-west of the Baḍgaḍ railway station, there is a village called Paposa, at which there is a temple, on a hill, of the Digambara Jainas. Paposa is known to them as Kauśambīnagarī, and is mentioned in their guidebooks as sacred, and in consequence is visited by pilgrims. Possibly Paposa may be Kauśāmvapura of the inscription.

Payahāsa[2] in the Kauśāmbī kingdom has not been identified.

The distance between the cities Ujjain and Kauśāmbī was 50 yojanas.[3] The road-distance from Ujjain to Gūrgī is about 415½ miles by the usual short way, viz.:—

	Miles.	Furlongs.
Ujjain to Sehor, by rail	90	0
Sehor to Saugor, *viâ* Bhopāl and Bhilsā, by road	126	0
Saugor to Rīwā, *viâ* Damoh ...	189	4
Rīwā to Gūrgī	10	0
Total[4] ...	415	4

415 miles 4 furlongs divided by 50 give a yojana of 8·31 English miles. I conclude that each yojana was probably 8·18 English miles, and that the Babylonian cubit of 21·6 English inches[5] (= 2 spans) was not unlikely at one time in use in some parts of India, because 21·6 inches × 4 cubits × 500 bows × 12 krośa = 21·6 × 4 × 6,000 bow-lengths = 8·18

[1] J.A.S.B., vi, 1837, p. 886.

[2] A.S.R., xvii, p. 95; J.R.A.S., 1898, p. 519.

[3] Hardy, p. 252, possibly on the authority of one of the books noticed at p. 529 of *Manual*. The distance needs confirmation.

[4] Rīwā to Gūrgī is also said to be twelve miles (A.S.R., xxi, p. 149). In this article I have used the road-distances as given by the Quarter-Master General in India in *Routes in the Bengal and Punjab Commands* (1900 ed.), unless when otherwise specified. Nothing has been added to the 90 miles by rail to make up for the probable greater distance by road, as the pilgrim road from Saugor to Gūrgī would perhaps branch off somewhere to the southward of Rīwā, and go north-east to Gūrgī.

[5] Shaw-Caldecott: J.R.A.S., 1903, pp. 276, 282.

English miles. Here we have a yojana of 6,000 bow-lengths, each 96 finger-breadths. In the Hindu books[1] yojanas of 2,000, 4,000, and 8,000 bow-lengths are found, but I have not before now noticed one of 6,000 bow-lengths. It was, however, to be expected that one of this value existed, and, continuing the progressive series, yojanas of 10,000 bow-lengths,[2] and possibly others of still higher value, were occasionally adopted.

[1] Jervis, *Standards*, 1836 (J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 77, note 1), p. 268; Hardy, p. 11, note.

[2] J.R.A.S., 1903, pp. 73, 74, where 10,000 bow-lengths = 100 li.

XII.

HASTIVANJ.

By H. BEVERIDGE.

THERE is a mountain-ridge on the old route to Kashmīr *viâ* Bhimbar and Bahrāmgala which bears the name of Hastīvanj. It is near the 'Alīābād Serai, but is on the other, or right, bank of the Pīr Pantsāl stream, and is marked on Dr. Stein's map of Kashmīr. See also his Rājataranginī, book i, pp. 44–5, and vol. ii, pp. 394–5. Dr. Stein visited the spot and identified it as the place where King Mihrakul, who lived in the first part of the sixth century, is said to have had a hundred elephants thrown over the cliffs. The circumstance is mentioned in the Āīn Akbarī, Jarrett, ii, 382, but both there and at p. 347 id. the place is called in the Persian text Hastī Watar or Vatar. The name Hastīvanj occurs apparently for the first time in Ḥaidar Malik's history of Kashmīr, which was written during Jahāngīr's reign and about 1621. After that it occurs in a note to the oldest MS. of the Rājataranginī, written apparently about 1680, and in Narayan Kūl's history, which was written about 1710. Ḥaidar Malik mentions the place in his account of Mihrakul near the beginning of his book. He there describes the incident, and says that the place has since been called Hastīvanj ہستی وانج, because *hastī* means elephant (*fīl*) in the Hindī (qu. Sanskrit) tongue, and *vanj* in the same language means 'going' (*raftan*). Narayan Kūl's explanation is similar, and is probably copied from Ḥaidar. He says that according to the idiom of the men of India (Ahl-i-Hind) *hastī* means a number (?) of elephants and *vanj* means 'going' (*raftan*). Dr. Stein, like Colonel Jarrett, at first thought that the Watar of Abul Faẓl was merely a copyist's error for

vanj, caused by the obscurity of Persian characters. But it seems to be *watar* in all the MSS., and there is not much resemblance between وتر and وبج. Gladwin found وتر in his MSS., for his translation is, "From this circumstance the height obtained its present name; Husty signifying an elephant, and Wutter meaning injury." Similarly, it was وتر in the MSS. employed by the Bib. Ind. editors.[1] Moreover, Abul Faẓl explains the word *watar* as meaning injury, a meaning which *vanj* does not bear. Finally, the Pass is mentioned four times in the Akbarnāma (as distinguished from the Āīn), viz., at pp. 540, 618, 622, and 624 of vol. iii, Bib. Ind. edition, and each time it is called Hastīwatar. When I pointed this out to Dr. Stein he kindly acknowledged that Abul Faẓl probably wrote *watar*. The question, then, is, was Abul Faẓl mistaken? Apparently he was, for Ḥaidar Malik, the anonymous glossator A[2], and Narayan Kūl might be expected to know the name of a place on the borders of their own country. On the other hand, Abul Faẓl personally went over the pass, and he is a careful writer and inquirer. Moreover, the word, whether it be *vanj* or *watar*, is not Kashmīrī, and also *watar*, if there be such a word, and if it means loss or damage, seems more appropriate than *vanj*, which merely means 'going,' unless indeed *vanj*, like *raftan*, may also mean 'dying.' We have also to remember that Abul Faẓl is our oldest authority, for his book was written about 1597.

If *watar* or *vatar* be correct, may it not be derived from the Sanskrit वितड, *vi-taḍ*, 'to dash to pieces.' The cerebral *ḍ* is often pronounced like *r*, and so Hastīvitaḍ might become Hastīvitar. But if *vanj* be the proper reading, is it necessary to go to an obscure dialect like Western Panjābī for its derivation? *Ch* and *j* are very much alike in Persian, the only difference being in the number of dots. They also

[1] The Newal Kishore (Lucknow) ed. has *girewa*-zind at the place corresponding to p. 540 Bib. Ind., and which the Bib. Ind. gives there as a variant. At the other three places the Lucknow ed. has *watīr*, etc. Nowhere has it *vanj*. The authority of this edition is very small.

are often interchanged. The word then may be the Sanskrit *vañch*, supposed to be derived from the root *vank*, and which means 'to tremble' and also 'to go.' Possibly, indeed, this word and the Western Panjābī *vanj* are of one and the same origin.

I take this opportunity of remarking that there is a great deal about Kashmīr in the third volume of the Akbarnāma, and that the second volume contains two interesting accounts of unsuccessful raids into that country, one by Humāyūn's favourite, Abu-l-M'aālī, and the other by Qarā Bahādur, Ḥaidar Mīrzā's second cousin. In particular the third volume gives a minute itinerary of Akbar's march to Srīnagar by the Pīr Pantsāl route, and of his return by the Paklī, i.e. the Barāhmūla route. The length of each stage is given, even to the number of poles. There is also a curious account of a prophecy of Akbar's conquest, said to have been made 900 years before, and which was recorded in a Sanskrit poem.

It is a pity that Abul Faẓl's accounts have not been more studied by writers on Kashmīr. If Sir Walter Lawrence, in his otherwise excellent account of the Valley, had known Abul Faẓl's statements, he would not have described Rajah Todar Mal as the officer who made the settlement of Kashmīr, and who missed out a *pargana*. The first settlement of Kashmīr in Akbar's time was made by officers who are named at vol. iii, p. 548, and of whom the poet Faiẓī was one. Subsequent settlements were made by Āṣaf Khān and Qāzī 'Alī Bagdādī. As a fact, Todar Mal never visited Kashmīr. Akbar left him in charge of Lahore when he made his first expedition to Kashmīr, and he died there at the end of 1589 before Akbar's return.

P.S.—It appears from the Akbarnāma, iii, 503 and 622, and from Niẓāmu-d-dīn (see Elliot, v, 454 and 463 note), that the Hastī Watar route is that by the Kapartal, or Katartal, or Kanarbal, or Kartal Pass (for all these variants are found). This pass is not mentioned by Dr. Stein, but it appears to be another name for the Darhāl Pass, which leads by the Nandan Sar lake and the Laddī or Rooprī

streams to Hastīvanj, nearly opposite to the 'Alīābād Serai. It also appears from the Akbarnāma, id. 504, that Abul Faẓl's Hastī Watar is further in than Dr. Stein's Hastīvanj, for the former speaks of it as the third pass from India and the first from the side of Kashmīr. It was east of Akrambāl, and if this place be the Kramavarta of Stein's map, then Abul Faẓl's Hastī Watar cannot be Hastīvanj, but must be some place near Hurapūr. See Akbarnāma, id. 622, where apparently Akrambāl is described as being five *kos* short of Hastī Watar.

XIII.

A TALE OF THE ARABIAN NIGHTS

TOLD AS HISTORY IN THE "MUNTAZAM" OF IBN AL-JAUZI.

By H. F. AMEDROZ.

THE Baghdad of the "Arabian Nights" has ever been associated with the "goodly time and golden prime of good Haroun Alraschid," and his name, like that of his contemporary Charlemagne, has attracted and annexed many a tale belonging to other periods. That this is true of one of the Baghdad tales is shown by its appearing as an actual occurrence in the "Muntaẓam" of Ibn al-Jauzi[1] at a date some 120 years later than the death of al-Rashīd. The time was no longer 'goodly,' and the Caliphate was past its prime. Muqtadir, during whose reign it had declined apace, had died a violent death in 321 A.H., and his mother, Shaghab,

[1] In the Berlin MS., Ahlwardt No. 9,436, at fol. 46*a*. The liberality of the Director of the Hof Bibliothek has recently enabled me to peruse this fine MS. at the Library of the India Office. It is described in the catalogue as "perhaps" Ibn al-Jauzi's History, but it has abundant internal evidence of being the work of this author and a part of his "Muntaẓam." For in the notice of Ibn al-Jassās (fol. 34*a*) the author says that he had given many anecdotes about him in his "Kitāb al-Mughaffalīn," and again, in the notice of Muḥammad b. Khalaf b. Jiyyān, under 371 A.H. (fol. 119*a*), he speaks of having discussed his views in his "Talbīs Iblīs," and both these works are by Ibn al-Jauzi (see Brock., Gesch. Arab. Lit., i, 503, Nos. 9 and 38). Further, statements said by other historians to be derived from the "Muntaẓam" are to be found in the MS. The curious story told by Ibn al-Athīr (ix, 255) of the vizier al-Maghribi's scheme for his burial at the tomb of 'Alī is given in the notice of the vizier (fol. 176*a*), and it is given also by the historian's grandson, the Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi, in the Mir'āt al-Zamān (B.M. Or. 4,619, 216*b*), as "told by my grandfather in the Muntaẓam"; the date 367 A.H. for the death of Abu Firas, the Hamdanid (fol. 106*b*), Dhahabi quotes in the Ta'rīkh al-Islām (B.M. Or. 48, 81*b*), describing it as evidently erroneous; and his account of Bahā al-Daula's vizier al-Muwaffaq, who died in 394 A.H. (ib., fol. 239*a*), is likewise quoted from the "Muntaẓam," and occurs in the MS. (fol. 150*a*). On the dispute as to the lawfulness of conferring the title Shāhānshāh on Jalāl al-Daula in 429 A.H. (B.M. Or. 49, fol. 20*a*), when the objections of al-Māwardi were overruled by the other legists, Dhahabi says that Ibn al-Jauzi adhered to the opinion of al-Māwardi. And the author of the Berlin MS. states therein that such was his opinion on the controversy.

did not long survive him. His filial affection, which throughout his reign had allowed her an extent of influence prejudicial to his rule,[1] continued unabated to its close, and his chief concern on starting for his fatal march against Mūnis was for what might be in store for her in the event of his perishing. According to the story of a female astrologer, his fears were prophetic in their accuracy.[2] Shaghab, though suffering from a mortal complaint and prostrated by her son's death, was called upon by his brother and successor, Qāhir, to disclose her hidden wealth. She disclaimed possessing more than a moderate sum, saying that any money of hers would have been used to save her son. Her vast wealth had, in fact, been expended in charity or in pious foundations, and she was found to possess no more than what she admitted — a sum of 30,000 dinars. Ibn al-Jauzi proceeds to relate, on the authority of the Qāḍi Abu 'Ali al-Tanūkhi,[3] how the Caliph struck her with his own hand and had her tortured, whereupon she exclaimed that but for their poverty he would not be where he was, nor thus able to ill-treat one who was his mother according to the Book, and to whom he owed it that his own life had not been forfeited by her son.[4] A graphic account follows, on the authority of Abu-l-Ḥasan b. 'Ayyāsh, how his uncle Abu Muḥammad, who was nephew to the chief Qāḍi Abu-l-Ḥusain b. Abi 'Omar,[5] attended in company with another person in answer to the Caliph's summons for persons to witness Shaghab's authority for the sale of such property as she still possessed.[6] A document to this effect under her

[1] Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 147–8 and 180–1; and 'Arīb, 181, l. 3.

[2] 'Arīb, 183–4, on the authority of al-Farghāni, a continuator of Ṭabari, died 362 A.H. (Dhahabi, Or. 48, 79*b*).

[3] Died 384 A.H. (Ibn Khallikān, Sl. Eng., ii, 564; and Brock., Gesch. Arab. Lit., i, 155).

[4] Referring to Muqtadir's generous treatment of Qāhir after his two days' Caliphate in 317 A.H. (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 152).

[5] "'Omar b. Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. Yā'qūb"; his father and grandfather had both held the same office.

[6] The account given by Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 182, makes it appear that on Shaghab refusing to revoke her charitable endowments the Caliph did this of his

signature was produced, and they were told she was behind the curtain. With the Caliph's leave they read the document aloud and she acknowledged it, but they delayed their attestation, telling the Caliph that to make it valid they must see and recognize Shaghab. He assented; from behind the curtain came a sound of tears, the witnesses weeping likewise; it was raised; they asked her, "Are you Shaghab, the freedwoman of Mu'taḍid?" She replied "Yes," and the curtain fell. They still delayed attesting until the Caliph had himself declared her to be Shaghab, and mother to his brother Muqtadir, whereupon they appended their signatures. The narrator adds that the form they had seen was that of a delicate and aged woman, of a dark complexion, but pale and bearing marks of much suffering, and that the rest of their day was darkened with reflections on the vicissitudes of time and of fortune.[1] Then follows the heading "The Slave Girl of Shaghab, the mother of Muqtadir" (see the text *infra*).

In the story of the Humpback, which is described by Lane as purely Arab and as one of the best in the "Nights," the second of the tales told by his supposed murderers is that entitled by Lane "The Story told by the Sultan's Steward" (Calcutta text, ed. Macnaughten, i, 217; Cairo, 1297, i, 88; and Lane's translation, 1859, i, 310), relating how a man was with difficulty induced to eat of a certain dish, and did so only after repeated ablutions, explaining his reluctance by the story how his neglect to wash his hands on one occasion of his eating the dish had cost him his thumbs and great toes. This story will be found to be

own act and before legal witnesses. The transaction is so understood by A. v. Kremer, "Ueber das Einnahmebudget des Abbasiden Reichs vom Jahre 306" (Denkschr. d. phil. hist. Cl. d. Wiener Akad., *Bd.* xxxvi, pp. 283–362, on p. 299), but this account limiting the sale to her own property is the more probable one, as the proceeding purports to be strictly legal.

[1] By the interposition of the vizier Ibn Muqla and the Chamberlain Ibn Yalbaq, Shaghab, and other members of the Caliph's house, were later withdrawn from his custody, and Shaghab was honourably lodged in the Chamberlain's house, where in ten days time she died. (Ibn al-Jauzi, op. cit., fol. 45*a*; 'Arīb, p. 186; and Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 186.)

substantially identical with that of the slave-girl as told by Ibn al-Jauzi (Berlin, Ahlwardt No. 9,436, fols. 46–49).[1]

It was transmitted to him likewise from the above-mentioned Qāḍi al-Tanūkhi, through his son 'Ali, who had the story from his father, and to question their authority would be in reality to call in doubt a large portion of the history of the period, for the amount of information derived by Ibn al-Jauzi and other historians from this source is enormous. It is interesting to contrast the two narratives, and to note how the story in the "Nights" differs from the original as told by Ibn al-Jauzi. The inevitable loss to truth caused by the exercise of the imagination should find its compensation in the heightened interest of a picturesque narrative, but in this instance the original seems to be in every way the better story. Indeed, in the reversion from fiction to fact, the tale will be found to have lost all its evil, whilst retaining all its grossness—the latter, however, being quite inconsiderable. It depicts the course of true love, not a wholly smooth one, but marred by no such traits of excessive temper and wanton cruelty as disfigure the Steward's Story. Nor do any of the minor deviations from the original amount to improvements. Comparing the story in the "Nights" with that told by Ibn al-Jauzi, we find that the hero was not a guest at the banquet, but the host, and was driven to eat of the unwelcome dish[2] by the

[1] The story occurs also in the Schefer MS. of the "Muntaẓam" (Paris, Arabe, No. 5,909, fols. 175–179). In the "Gids" (Amsterdam, 1886, iii, 385–413) Professor de Goeje has pointed out the similarity of the two stories, and has given a Dutch translation of this text. He also considers another story in the "Nights" to be derived from this source, viz. "The Baghdad Money-changer" (Calcutta text, ed. Macnaughten, iv, 557; Cairo, 1297, iv, 252; and Kosegarten, Chrest. Arab., 1–21), where a man in love with an inmate of the harim of Mutawakkil (232–247 A.H.) procures admission to the palace through a Court tailor, and in the disguise of the Caliph reaches the lady. On leaving in a woman's disguise the Caliph detects him, but ends by forgiving and marrying the couple.

[2] In the "Nights" the dish is called 'Zīrbāja.' In the Schefer MS. of the "Muntaẓam" the word appears to be spelt 'Dīkarikīya,' and it is so read by Professor de Goeje, loc. cit., who says that it is to be found neither in the dictionaries nor in books on cooking. And he adds that in the original Calcutta edition the term used is "Maqādīm," an equally unknown one. By Professor D. S. Margoliouth the word is considered to be the Persian دیگ پزیده, meaning 'a concoction in a pot.'

company persisting in following his example in declining it. The hand-washings, estimated by the time occupied as forty in number, are in the "Nights" swollen threefold, and are made to precede his partaking of the dish, and the telling of the story is prompted, not by the washings, but by the loss of the man's thumbs being noticed by those present. In Ibn al-Jauzi's version the man describes his father as a small trader, but not as a spendthrift: on the contrary, before dying he gives his son advice on how to prosper in his business, which is omitted in the "Nights." The advice was acted on, and with success, but the statement in the "Nights" that he became the greatest trader of Hārūn's time is an exaggeration which rather tells against the probability of the added statement, also at variance with the original, that his fellow-traders on his first default pressed him for payment. He, in fact, kept the matter secret with a view to saving his reputation, and it was only on his second default in payment, when his indebtedness was twice as heavy, that his creditors' importunities made him prepare to realize his property. The man had indeed the true commercial instinct, and though he sighed as a lover he profited as a trader, for on the lady's second visit to his shop, when she made her first payment on account,[1] he admits having made a handsome profit, and on her third visit, when they mutually disclosed their feelings and she departed leaving her purchases behind, he estimated his entire profit at some thousands of dirhams. These lifelike touches are absent in the "Nights." Nor did the sufficiently real perils of his journey to the Palace require to be heightened. The meeting with the Caliph and his curiosity as to the contents of the chests was alarming enough, but that he looked into all but the right one is a commonplace exaggeration. Ibn al-Jauzi says that he readily desisted on

[1] The amount was paid in "old dinars," weighed out with النحت والطيّار, see Lane, 1,904*b*. In the Calcutta text, i, 220–221, the term used is الصيرفى, but in the Breslau text, ii, 172, on the second payment, الميزان..

the slave-girl telling him the chests were going straight to her mistress to be opened, when he could see them. And he did in fact come and look, but was not interested and went away—conduct quite in keeping with Muqtadir's known disposition. Again, Shaghab is discovered attended by but two handmaidens besides the heroine, and her only remark, addressed to the latter, is that her choice was a good one; in the "Nights" thirty attendants accompany Zubaida, who questions the hero on his origin and commends her favourite to him. Greater discrepancies follow. By Zubaida's order he remains ten days in the palace without seeing his mistress, after which, by the Caliph's permission, their betrothal is celebrated there, followed ten days later by the consummation of their marriage. In our narrative he quits the palace as he had come, "after fresh risk and alarm," the nature of which is not specified, and celebrates his home-coming in safety by a bestowal of alms. Later comes a letter from his mistress with money, a gift, she said, from Shaghab, to enable him to properly equip himself against the coming 'Maukab' day, when he was to attend at the Bāb al-'Āmma and await a summons from the Caliph, who had consented to have the betrothal celebrated in his presence. He attended accordingly; found Muqtadir surrounded by the military chiefs, the Qāḍis, and the descendants of Hāshim; was duly betrothed by a Qāḍi, and was then conducted to a spacious and richly furnished apartment and left alone.

We now come to the central incident of the story—the eating of the fatal dish. This, as told in the "Nights," has all the baldness of commonplace fact: the dish is brought to him on the day the marriage is consummated; he eats, but only wipes his hands, omitting to wash them; and the mischief follows. It is our narrative that has the picturesque detail. The bridegroom remained all day in his apartment, seeing no one he knew and going out only for prayer. Servants came and went, carrying dishes, and saying, "To-night so and so is to be conducted to her husband the cloth merchant," at which he could scarcely believe his ears for joy. But towards nightfall he heard the whisperings of

another sense; he felt very hungry, and seeing no signs of his bride he wandered forth and hit on the kitchen, where he found the staff at leisure. In answer to his request for food, they, believing him to be a wakīl, gave him two rolls and the dish in question, calculated, no doubt, to give a relish to the bread. After eating it he did indeed wash his hands with potash as he believed effectually, and returned. At nightfall his bride arrived with much music, and thenceforth, he says, he was as one in a dream. He was awakened by feeling himself repulsed and hearing himself described as a "low, common fellow," and his bride made as though to be gone. He begged to be, at least, informed of his offence, and being told of it, he explained the circumstances, and proceeded to swear by all that he could think of with a round turn to it that should he ever again eat of the dish he would wash his hands forty times. The remainder of the story as told in the "Nights" differs in spirit as in letter from our version. In place of the bride's exaggerated resentment and wanton cruelty to her husband, followed by his tame submission to conjugal happiness with her, we find her behaviour to be as probable as it is pleasing. That the bridegroom correctly appraised the enormity of his offence in her eyes and did not believe her to be really angry is shown by his proffered oath, which she answered with a bashful smile, and summoned her handmaidens to procure, not a sharp weapon, but refreshments, which were brought "fit for the Caliph's table." They were succeeded by presumably adequate hand-washing and by music from the handmaidens, and here we may leave them.

The bride's prudent decision not to protract overmuch their stay in the palace is recorded in both narratives, but her instructions as to the purchase of their abode appear more fully in our version, viz., that it was to have spacious courts, a large and well-wooded garden, and to be well situate. To acquire it she provided her husband with 10,000 dinars, one-fifth of the total in money and valuables that she had received from her mistress. The couple's married life was happy, worthy, the husband says, of

a Caliph, and prosperous, for he continued to trade with success. Later the wife died; the two sons of the marriage were still living; and to that day, said her widower, he had never become reconciled to the dish which his guests had seen him avoid.

A marginal note on the Schefer MS., on fol. 179*b*, says that some historians in telling the story gave the slave-girl's name as 'Qamar.'

Another tale in the "Nights," one of those illustrating the generosity of the Barmecides (Calcutta text, ed. Macnaughten, ii, 207; Cairo, 1297, ii, 133; and Lane's translation, 1859, ii, 383), describes how a man forged a letter of introduction from Yaḥya b. Khālid and presented it to 'Abd Allah b. Mālik al-Khuzā'i, the Governor of Armenia, who, doubting its genuineness, sent it to Baghdad for verification. Yaḥya saw it to be a forgery, and submitted the case to his friends present. They all advised severe punishment on the forger, but Yaḥya, rebuking their mean and paltry view, said that he and al-Khuzā'i had been, as they knew, enemies for twenty years past, whereas henceforth, through this man's act, their estrangement would cease; and he accordingly acknowledged the letter, and requested al-Khuzā'i to continue his favours to the man who had presented it. And on his coming later to thank him for his generous forbearance, he conferred further favours on him. In the Breslau edition (vii, 524) it is Ja'far's name that is forged, and the letter is presented to the Governor of Egypt.

I am informed also by Mr. A. G. Ellis that a Persian version of the story is to be found in the Akhbār-i-Barmakiyān by Ẓiyā'i Barani (Bombay Lith., pp. 55–59). The work is a collection of anecdotes of the Barmecides, and was composed in the middle of the eighth century of the Hijra at the Court of Delhi in the reign of Fīrūz Shah b. Taghlaq (see B.M. Pers. Cat., p. 333). The story is given on the authority of Abu 'Ali Qāsim b. Muḥammad, "a trustworthy authority and the author of several books," who elsewhere in the work is described as occupying a high

position at the Court of al-Rashīd. Mr. Ellis has kindly furnished me with a translation of the Persian text of the story. It is to the same effect as that in the "Nights," with some additional detail. Al-Khuzā'i is at first called Khālid b. 'Abd Allah, the Khālid being afterwards omitted, and he and Yaḥya are described as notoriously at enmity and unable to meet without recrimination. But al-Khuzā'i being strong enough to hold his own, Yaḥya seized the occasion of disorder in Armenia and Ādharbījān to remove his rival to a distance by advising the Caliph to appoint him governor as the only person capable of restoring order. And he, though aware of Yaḥya's object, yet perceiving that to the Caliph the matter was urgent, took up the post and spent some years in reorganizing the province.

It was at this time that a scholar and poet, Mu'ādh b. Yaḥya, whose fortunes were at a low ebb, being ignorant of the hostility existing between the vizier and the Governor, concocted a letter of recommendation from Yaḥya, and proceeding to Armenia and Ādharbījān, presented it to al-Khuzā'i. Surprised at receiving a letter from Yaḥya, he suspected its genuineness, and courteously told Mu'ādh that he and Yaḥya were at enmity and that the letter must be a forgery. Mu'ādh asked him to write and enquire, saying that if it proved to be forged he might treat him as he pleased. Al-Khuzā'i agreed, promising 300,000 dirhams if the forgery were disproved, as the letter would indicate the cessation of their enmity, but that in the contrary event he should get two hundred stripes as a warning to forgers. At this language Mu'ādh was indignant, saying that he was in his power and that investigation should not be prefaced by unworthy threats. Al-Khuzā'i apologized, and having made arrangements for Mu'ādh's lodging and maintenance, wrote to Yaḥya's chancery enquiring as to the genuineness of the letter. The staff, having no knowledge of it, applied to Yaḥya. He consulted those about him as to what course should be taken with Mu'ādh. They advised making an example of him, but Yaḥya, reproving their want of magnanimity, said Mu'ādh had acted in reliance on his

generosity, and he would never allow his being put to shame before "'Abd Allah Hāshimi." And he himself indited a complimentary letter to al-Khuzā'i confirming that presented by "Mu'ādh b. Ḥarb," whom he eulogized, saying that any favours bestowed on him would confer an obligation on himself. The letter was written out by Faḍl in his own hand, and handed to al-Khuzā'i's envoy with a recommendation to deliver it with speed. Al-Khuzā'i, on recognizing the handwriting, was greatly pleased, and overwhelmed Mu'ādh with excuses and gifts, saying that he would be evermore his debtor, "for through you, between myself and the Barmecides, the princes of the age, dissension has been turned into friendship." Soon afterwards Mu'ādh departed for Baghdad, resisting an invitation to remain, as he wished to go to the vizier and discharge his debt of kindness to him.

On his arrival he immediately waited on Yaḥya and explained who he was and what had taken place. Yaḥya invoked blessings on him as having been the means of turning the enmity between him and al-Khuzā'i into friendship, and gave him leave to use his name in applications to any other important personages. Mu'ādh proceeded to offer him the bulk of his wealth, which Yaḥya refused with indignation, at which Mu'ādh remained abashed. Thereupon Yaḥya, recovering his composure, bestowed on Mu'ādh all the presents in money, beasts, slaves, and apparel which had been sent to him by al-Khuzā'i, together with an equal amount from himself, and admitted him to his daily circle of intimate friends. Mu'ādh retired delighted, and passed the remainder of his life in composing poetry in praise of the house of Barmak. And the story closes with the reflection that "Discerning persons have said that perhaps the house of Barmak was of the Angels, for otherwise in human kind such goodness and generosity could not exist. But Allah knows best what is right."

This story is very similar to one told of 'Ali b. al-Furāt, thrice vizier to the Caliph Muqtadir between 296 and 311 A.H. It is related by the above-mentioned Qāḍi al-Tanūkhi in

his Kitāb Nashwān al-Muḥāḍara, Paris Arabe No. 3,482, fol. 21*a*; again by Hilāl al-Ṣābi, on the authority of al-Tanūkhi's informant, the Qāḍi Ibn 'Ayyāsh, in his life of the vizier in the Kitāb al-Wuzarā, Gotha No. 1,766, fol. 82; and again by Ibn Khallikān, on the authority of the last-mentioned work, in his life of the vizier in the Wafayāt al-A'yān, Sl. Eng., ii, 362. The forged letter of introduction from the vizier is presented to Abu Zunbūr al-Mādarā'i whilst Governor of Egypt. No hostility is alleged to exist between him and the vizier, though they were in fact enemies, and Ibn al-Furāt's resolve not to unmask the forger proceeds, like that of Yaḥya in the Persian work, from a feeling of pride at the reliance placed on the use of his name — a feeling which, if not consonant with an enlightened morality, is less illogical than gratitude for the reconciliation—a result not within the forger's contemplation, nor the natural result of his act. That al-Khuzā'i should have emphasized his sense of Mu'ādh's service to him in bringing about improved relations between himself and Yaḥya is probable enough, for the vizier was still in high favour and his friendship valuable.

The life of Abu Muslim Mu'ādh b. Muslim al-Harrā, the grammarian, is given by Ibn Khallikān (Sl. Eng., iii, 370), and there is also a notice of him in the Fihrist, p. 65, where the date given for his death, 187 A.H., is confirmed by Ibn al-Jauzi in the "Muntaẓam" (see extract therefrom in B.M. Add. 5,928, fol. 115*a*). Ibn Khallikān says that he was the author of some poetry, such as proceeds from the pen of a grammarian. Suyūti, in the Bughyat al-Wu'āh (B.M. Or. 111, fol. 342), says that he was tutor to the children of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, and quotes some of his verse from the history of Ibn al-Najjār (written in continuation of that of al-Khatīb al-Baghdādi, Brock., i, 360; Wüst. Gesch., No. 327).

'Abd Allah b. Mālik al-Khuzā'i was politically prominent throughout the reign of Rashīd. Ṭabari states (iii, 732) that in 192 A.H., that is, after the fall of the Barmecides, he was sent to Ādharbījān to repress the revolting Khurrāmiyya.

By him, too, hangs another tale (ib., p. 583, and Ibn al-Athīr, vi, 70–71). In his capacity of head of the police he was ordered by Mahdi to inflict punishment on the associates of Hādi, the successor designate, which he did regardless of Hādi's intercession on their behalf. On Hādi's accession he was summoned to the palace and reproached for what he had done. He replied by asking the Caliph to suppose himself as giving an order, and a son of his as resisting its execution, and to say which of them ought to prevail. Hādi was convinced, and confirmed al-Khuzā'i in his office. But the incident did not end here. When at home again and engaged in warming a cake for one of his children, al-Khuzā'i reflected that the Caliph was young, and that when carousing, and with the very people whom he had offended, he would only too probably be turned against him, and on hearing the noise of an approaching cavalcade he feared the worst. And it was the Caliph's retinue, which preceded his coming in person. For the same idea had occurred to him also, and he now told al-Khuzā'i that he felt certain of what must be passing in his mind, and that he had come to reassure him. And with this object he asked to be given some of the cake and eat it, thus confirming his promise by the obligations of hospitality. He then presented al-Khuzā'i with 400 loads of dirhams and with other marks of his favour.

The earlier part of this anecdote is the precise counterpart of the episode of Lord Chief Justice Gascoigne and Henry the Fifth. Shakespeare's story is admittedly unhistorical,[1] but he must have at least considered it to be plausible when the succession was from "Harry to Harry." That a similar story should be vouched for by Ṭabari as accompanying the succession of, as it were, "Amurath to Amurath," goes to show that much of human nature remains common to all in spite of diversity in race, manners, and government.

[1] The question is fully discussed in a paper by F. Solly-Flood, 1885, in the Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, new series, iii, 47.

جارية شغب ام المقتدر

حدّثنى ابو بكر محمد بن عبد الباقى البزاز عن ابى القاسم على بن المحسّن التنوخى عن ابيه قال : حدّثنى ابو الفرج احمد بن عثمان بن ابراهيم الفقيه المعروف بابن النرسى قال : كنت جالسًا بحضرة ابى وانا حدث وعنده جماعة فحدّثنى حديث وصول النعم الى الناس بالالوان الطريفة وكان ممن حضر صديق لابى فسمعته يحدّث ابى قال : حضرتُ عند صديق لى من التجار كان يحرز بمائة الف دينار فى دعوة وكان حسن المروة فقدمت مائدة وعليها ديكپزيده[1] فلم يأكل منها فامتنعنا فقال : كلوا فانى آأذى باكل هذا اللون . فقلنا : نساعدك على تركه . قال : بل اساعدكم على الاكل واحتمل الاذى . فاكل فلما اراد غسل يده اطال فقدّرتُ[2] عليه انه قد غسلها اربعين مرة فقلتُ : يا هذا وجوست . فقال : هذه الاذية (47a) التى توقّفتُ منها . فقلتُ : وما سببها ؟ فامتنع من ذكرها فالححتُ عليه فقال : مات ابى وسنّى عشرون سنة وخلف لى نعمة صغيرة ومتاعًا فى دكانه وكان خُلقانيًا فى الكرخ فقال لى لما حضرته الوفاة : يا بنى انه لا وارث لى غيرك ولا دين علىّ ولا ظلامة فاذا انا مُتُّ فاحسن جهازى وصدِّق عنى بكذا وكذا واخرج عنى حجة بكذا وكذا وبارك الله لك فى الباقى ولكن احفظ وصيّتى . فقلتُ : قُل . قال : لا تسرف

[1] ديكريكيه ; Schefer MS. ديكيريكه .

[2] Schefer MS. فعددت .

فى مالك فتحتاج الى ما فى ايدى الناس ولا تجده وآعلم ان القليل مع الاصلاح كثير والكثير مع الفساد قليل فآلزم السوق وكُن اوّل تدخلها وآخر من يخرج منها وان استطعتَ ان تدخلها سحرًا بليل فآفعل فانك تستفيد بذلك فوائد تكشفها لك الايام . ومات فانفذتُ وصيته وعملتُ بما اشار به وكنتُ ادخل السوق سحرًا واخرج منها عشيًا ولا اعدم من يجيبنى يطلب كفنًا فلا يجد من فتح غيرى فاحكم عليه ومن يبيع شيًا والسوق لم تقم فابيعه له واشياء من هذه الفوائد . ومضى على لزومى السوق سنة وكسر وصار لى بذلك جاه عند اهلها وعرفوا استقامتى فاكرمونى .

فبينما انا جالس يومًا ولم تتكامل السوق اذا بامرأة راكبة حمارًا مصريًا وعلى رأسها منديل دبيقى وخادم وهى بزىّ القهرمانة فبلغت آخر السوق ثم رجعت فنزلت عندى فقمتُ اليها واكرمتُها وقلتُ : ما تأمرين . فنادتها فاذا بامرأة لم ار قبلها ولا بعدها الى الآن احسن منها فى كلّ شئ فقالت : اريد كذا ثيابًا طلبتُها . فسمعتُ نغمة ورايتُ شكلًا فتلف عشقها فى الحال اشدّ العشق وقلتُ : اصبرى حتى تخرج السلعة فآخذ لك ذلك فليس عندى الّا القليل مما يصلح لك . فخرجتُ الذى عندى وجلست تحادثنى والسكاكين فى فوادى منها وكشفتْ عن انامل رأيتُها كالطلع ووجه كدارة القمر فقمتُ لها يزيد على الامر فاخذتُ لها من السوق ما ارادت وكان ثمنه مائة الى نحو خمسمائة دينار فاخذتَه وركبت ولم تعطنى شيًا وذهب عنى ما تداخلنى من حبّها ان امنعها من المتاع الا بالمال او استدلّ منزلها ومن دار مَن هى فحين غابت

عنى وقع لى انها مُحتالة وان ذلك سبب فقرى فتحيّرتُ فى امرى وقامت قيامتى وكتمتُ خبرى لئلا افتضح بما للناس علىّ وعملتُ على بيع ما فى يدى من المتاع واضافته الى ما عندى من الدراهم ودفع اموال الناس اليهم ولزوم البيت والانتصار على غلة العقار الذى ورثتُه ووطنتُ نفسى على المحنة . واخذتُ اشرع فى ذلك مدة اسبوع واذا بها قد نزلت عندى فحين رأيتُها انسيتُ جميع ما جرى علىّ وقمتُ اليها فقالت : يا فتى تاخّرنا عنك لشغل عرض لنا وما شككنا فى انك لم تشكّ اننا احتلنا عليك . فقلتُ : قد رفع الله قدرك عن هذا . فقالت : هات التخت والطيار . فأُحضر به فاخرجت دنانير عُتق فوفتنى المال باسره واخرجت تذكرةً باشياء أُخز فانفذتُ الى التجار اموالهم وطلبتُ منهم ما ارادت وحصلتُ انا فى الوسط ربحًا جيّدًا . واحضر التجار (476) الثياب فقمتُ وثمّنتُها معهم لنفسى ثم بعتُها عليها بربح عظيم وانا فى خلال ذلك انظر اليها نظر تالف من حتبها وهى تنظر الىّ نظر من قد فطن بذلك ولم تنكره فهممتُ بخطابها ولم اقدم فاجتمع المتاع وكان ثمنه الف دينار فاخذتُه وركبت ولم اسألها عن موضعها فلما غابتِ عنى قلتُ : هذا الآن هو الحيلة المحكمة[1] اعطتنى خمسة الاف درهم واخذت الف دينار وليس لى الا بيع عقارى الآن والحصول على الفقر والمدقع ثم سمحتُ نفسى برؤيتها مع الفقر . وتطاولت غيبتها نحو شهر والحّ التجار علىّ المطالبة فعرضتُ عقارى على البيع ولازمنى بعض التجار

[1] Schefer MS. المحضة.

ووزنتُ جميع ما كنت املكه ورقًا وعينًا . فانا بذلك اذ نزلت عندى فزال عنى جميع ما كنت فيه برؤيتها فاستدعت الطيّار والتحت فوزنت المال ورمت الىّ تذكرةً يزيد ما فيها على الفى دينار بكثير فتشاغلتُ باحضار التجار ودفع اموالهم اليهم واخذ المتاع منهم وطال الحديث بيننا فقالت : يا فتى لك زوجة ؟ فقلتُ : لا والله ما عرفتُ امرأة قط . واطمعنى ذلك فيها وقلتُ : هذا وقت خطابها والامساك عنها عجز ولعلها تعود او لا تعود . واردتُ كلامها وهنئها وقمتُ كانى احثّ التجار على جمع المتاع واخذتُ يد الخادم واخرجتُ اليه دنانير وسألتُه ان ياخذها ويقضى لى حاجة فقال : افعل وابلغ لك محبتك . ولا اخذ شيًا فقصصتُ عليه قصتى وسألتُه توسّط الامر بينى وبينها فضحك وقال : انها لك اعشق منك لها ووالله ما بها حاجة الى اكثر هذا الذى تشتريه وانما تحبّك محبّة لك وطريقًا الى مطاولتك فخاطِبها بطرف ودعنى فانى افرغ لك من الامر . فجسّرنى بذلك عليها فخاطبتُها وكشفتُ لها عشقى ومحبّتى وبكيتُ فضحكت وتقبّلت ذلك احسن تقبّلٍ وقالت : الخادم يجيك برسالتى . ونهضت ولم تاخذ شيًا من المتاع فرددتُه على الناس وقد حصل لى مما اشتريتُه اولًا وثانيًا الوف دراهم ربحًا ولم يحملنى النوم تلك الليلة شوقًا اليها وخوفًا من انقطاع السبب بيننا .

فلما كان بعد ايام جآنى الخادم فاكرمتُه وسألتُه عن خبرها فقال : هى والله عليلة من شوقها اليك . فقلتُ : اشرح لى امرها . فقال : هذه مملوكة السيّدة ام المقتدر وهى من اخصّ

جواريها بها واشتهت رؤية الناس والدخول والخروج فتوصّلت حتى جعلتها قهرمانة وقد والله حدّثت السيّدة بحديثك وبكت بين يديها وسألتها ان تزوّجها منك فقالت السيّدة : لا افعل او ارى هذا الرجل فان كان يتاهّلك والا لم ادعك ورايك . ويحتاج ان نحتال فى ادخالك الدار بحيلة فان تمّت وصلتَ بها الى تزويجها وان انكشفت (48a) ضربت عنقك فى هذا وقد نفذتنى اليك فى هذه الرسالة وقالت لك : ان صبرتَ على هذا والاّ فلا طريق لك والله اليّ ولا لى اليك بعدها . فحملنى ما فى نفسى ان قلتُ : اصبر . فقال : اذا كان الليلة فاعبر الى المخرّم فادخل الى المسجد وبت فيه . ففعلتُ فلما كان وقت السحر اذا بطيّار قد قُدّم وخدم قد رفعوا صناديق فرغ فجعلوها فى المسجد وانصرفوا وخرجت الجارية فصعدت الى المسجد ومعها الخادم الذى اعرفُه فجلست وفرّقت باقى الخدم فى حوايج واستدعتنى فقبلتنى وعانقتنى طويلاً ولم اكن نلتُ ذلك منها قبله ثم اجلستنى فى بعض الصناديق وقفلته . وطلعت الشمس وجاء الخدم بثياب وحوايج من المواضع التى كانت انفدتهم اليها فجُعلت ذلك (*sic*) بحضرتها فى باقى الصناديق وقفلتها وحملتها الى الطيّار وانحدروا .

فلما جُعلتُ فيه ندمتُ وقلتُ : قتلتُ نفسى لشهوة . واقيلتُ ألومها تارة واسجعها اخرى وانذر النذور على خلاصى واوطن نفسى مرّة على القتل الى ان بلغنا الدار وحمل الخدم الصناديق وحمل صندوقى الخادم الذى يعرف الحديث وبادرت بصندوقى امام الصناديق وهى معه والخدم يحملون الباقى ويلقونها وكلما جازت

بطبقة من الخدم البوّابين قالوا : نريد نفتش الصندوق . فتصيح عليهم وتقول : متى جرى الرسم معى بهذا ؟ فيمسكون وروحى فى السيّاق الى ان انتهينا الى خادم خاطبته هى بالاستاذ فعلمتُ انه اجلّ الخدم فقال : لا بد من تفتيش الصندوق الذى معك . فخاطبته بلين وذلّ فلم يجبها وعلمتُ انها ما دلّت له وما لها حيلة واعمى علىّ وأُنزل الصندوق للفتح فذهب علىّ امرى وبلتُ فزعًا فجرى البول من خلل الصندوق فصاحت بالاستاذ : اهلكت علينا متاعًا بخمسة الاف دينار فى الصندوق ثياب مصبّغات وماء ورد قد انقلب على الثياب والساعة يختلط الوانها وهى هلاكى مع السيّدة . فقال لها : خذى صندوقك الى لعنة الله انت وهو ومرى . فصاحت بالخدم : احملوه . وادخلت الدار فرجعت الىّ روحى فبينما نحن كذلك اذ قالت : واويلاه الخليفة والله فجانى اعظم (*sic*) من الاوّل وسمعتُ كلام خدم وجوارى وهو يقول من بينهم : ويلك يا فلانة ايش فى صندوقك ارينى هو . فقالت : ثياب لستّى يا مولاى والساعة افتحه بين يديها وتراه . وقالت للخدم : اسرعوا ويلكم . فاسرعوا وادخلتنى الى حجرة وفتحت عنى وقالت : آصعد هذه الدرجة الى الغرف وآجلس فيها . وفتحت بالعجلة صندوقًا آخر فنقلت بعض متاعها فيه الى الصندوق الذى كنت فيه وقفلت الجميع وجاء المقتدر فقال : افتحى . ففتحته فلم يرض منه شيًا وخرج . فصعدت انىّ وجعلت ترشفنى وتقبلنى فعشتُ ونسيتُ ما جرى وتركتنى وقفلت باب الحجرة يومها ثم جآتنى ليلًا فاطعمتنى وسقتنى (48*b*) وانصرفت . فلما كان من

غد جآتنى فقالت : السيّدة الساعة تجئى فانظر كيف تخاطبها . ثم عادت بعد ساعة مع السيّدة وقالت : آنزل . فنزلتُ فاذا بالسيّدة جالسة على كرسى وليس معها الا وصيفتان وصاحبتى وقبلتُ الارض وقمتُ بين يديها فقالت : آجلس . فقلتُ : انا عبد السيّدة وخادمها وليس من محلّى ان اجلس بحضرتها . فتأمّلتنى وقالت : ما اخترتِ يا فلانة الاحسن الوجه والادب . ونهضت فجآتنى صاحبتى بعد ساعة وقالت : آبشر فقد اذنت لى والله فى تزويجك وما بقى الآن عقبة الا الخروج . فقلتُ : بسلام الله . فلما كان من الغد حملتنى فى الصندوق فخرجتُ كما دخلتُ بعد مخاطرة اخرى وفزع ثانى ونزلتُ فى المسجد ورجعتُ الى منزلى فتصدّقتُ وحمدتُ الله على السلامة .

فلما كان بعد ايام جآنى الخادم ومعه كيس فيه ثلثة الاف دينار عينًا وقال : امرتنى ستّى بانفاذ هذا اليك من مالها وقالت : تشترى به ثيابًا ومركوبًا وخدمًا وتصلح به ظاهرك وتعالى يوم الموكب الى باب العامّة وقِف حتى تُطلب فقد واقفت الخليفة ان يزوّجك بحضرته . فاجبتُ عن رقعة كانت معه واخذتُ المال واشتريتُ ما قالوا بشئ يسير منه وبقى الاكبر عندى وركبتُ الى باب العامّة فى يوم الموكب بزىّ حسن وجاء الناس فدخلوا الى الخليفة ووقفتُ الى ان أُستدعيتُ فدخلتُ فاذا انا بالمقتدر جالس والقواد والقضاة والهاشميين فهنئتُ المجلس وعلمتُ كيف اسلّم واقفُ ففعلتُ وتقدّم المقتدر الى بعض القضاة الحاضرين فخطب لى وزوّجنى وخرجتُ من حضرته . فلما صرتُ فى بعض الدهاليز قريبًا من الباب

عُدل بى الى دار عظيمة مفروشة بانواع الفرش الفاخرة وفيها من الآلات والخدم والقماش كل شئ لم ار مثلها قط فأجلستُ فيها وتُركتُ وحدى وانصرف من ادخلنى فجلستُ يومى لا ارى من اعرف ولم ابرح من موضعى الا الى الصلاة وخدم يدخلون ويخرجون وطعام ينقل وهم يقولون : الليلة تزفّ فلانة (باسم صاحبتى) الى زوجها البزّاز . فلا اصدّق فرحًا فلما جاء الليلة اترفى الجوع وقُفلت الابواب ويائِستُ من الجارية فقمتُ اطوف الدار ووقعتُ على المطبخ ووجدتُ الطبّاخين جلوسًا فاستطعمتُهم فلم يعرفونى وقدّرونى بعض الوكلاء فقدّموا الىّ هذا اللون من المطبخ مع رغيفين فأكلتُها وغسلتُ يدى باشنان كان فى المطبخ وقدّرتُ انها قد نقيت وعدتُ الى مكانى . فلما جنى الليل اذا طبول وزمور واصوات عظيمة واذا بالابواب قد فتحت وصاحبتى قد اهديت (49a) الىّ وجاؤوا بها فحلّوها علىّ وانا اقدّر ان ذلك فى النوم فرحًا وتُركت معى فى المجلس وتفرّق البوش . فلما خلونا تقدّمتُ اليها فقبّلتها وقبّلتنى وشممت لحيتى فرفستنى فرمت بى عن المنصّة وقالت : انكرتُ ان تفلح يا عامّى يا سفلة . وقامت لتخرج فقمتُ وعلقتُ بها وقبّلتُ الارض ورجليها وقلتُ : عرّفينى ذنبى واعملى بعده ما شيتِ . فقالت : ويحك اكلتَ فلم تغسل يديك . فقصصتُ عليها قصّتى فلما بلغتُ الى اخرها قلتُ : وعلىّ وعلىّ . . . فحلفتُ بطلاقها وطلاق كل امرأة اتزوّجها وصدقة مالى وجميع ما املكه والحج ماشيًا على قدمى والكفر بالله وكل ما تحلف المسلمون به الّا اكلتُ بعدها ديكپزيده الّا غسلتُ يدى اربعون مرة فاستحيت وتبسمت وصاحت : يا جوارى . فجاوا مقدار عشر جوار ووصايف

وقالت : هاتوا شيًا نـاكـل . فـقُدمت الوان ظريفة وطعام من اطعمة الخلفاء وغسلنا ايدينا وغنى الوصايف ثم قمنا الى الفراش فدخلتُ بها وبتُّ ليلة من ليالى الخلفاء .

ولم تفرق اسبوعًا وكانت يوم الاسبوع وليمة هائـلـة اجتمع فيها الجوارى فلما كان من غد قالت : ان دار الخليفة لا يحتمل المقام فيها اكثر من هذا فلو لا انـه استوذن فاذن بعد جهد لما تـمّ لـنـا هذا لانه شئ لم يفعل قبل هذا مع جارية غيرى لمحبّة سيدّتى لـى وجميع ما تراه فهو هبة من السيدّة لى وقد اعطتنى خمسين الف دينار من عين وورق وجوهر ودنانير وذخايـر لى خـارج القصر كثيرة من كـل لون وجميعها لـك فآخرج الى منـزلـك وخُذ معك مالًا واشترِ دارًا سريـةً واسعة الصحن فيها بستـان كبير كثيرة الحجر فاخرة الموقع وتحوّل اليها وعرّفنى لانفذ هذا كله اليك فاذا حصل عـندك جيشُك . وسلّمت الـىّ عشرة الاف دينار عينًا فحملها الخدم معى وابتعتُ الدار وكتبتُ اليها بالخبر فحملت الىّ تلك النعمة باسرها فجميع ما انا فيه منها . فاقامت عندى كـذا وكـذا سنـة اعيش معها عيش الخلفاء ولم ادعُ مع ذلـك التجارة فـزاد مالى وعظمت منـزلتى واثـرت حالى وولـدت لى هـاولا الفتيان (واومى الى اولاده) ثـم ماتت رحمها الـلـه تعالى وبقى علىّ من مضرة الديكپزيده ما شاهدتَه .

(وف الحاشية) هـذا الحكايـة ذكرها بعض المؤرّخين وسمّاها لهذه الجارية قمر.

XIV.

THE PAHLAVI TEXT OF YASNA XIX, 12-58,

FOR THE FIRST TIME CRITICALLY TRANSLATED.[1]

By PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS.

Zaraθuštra addresses Ahura Mazda.

ZARTŪŠT[2] asked of Aūharmazd thus: O Aūharmazd, Spirit (good) and bountiful, Creator of the bodily worlds, holy, ... [this (is: hanā=aē for aēγ, that is to say, the meaning is this), that it is Aūharmazd (who is) the holy Creator, not merely 'the bodily worlds' which are holy; the rest is for (ordinary) praise. Some (text)[3] says (i.e. reads) 'dātār, aharūv'[4] (so putting the aharūv' of the text in unmistakeable position as applying to Aūharmazd)].[5]

[1] The texts from which this translation is made appeared as edited with all the MSS. collated in the "Festgruss" of Professor Kern, of Leiden, so far as from 1 to 11, inclusive, with the exception of some unsightly but now necessary glosses, and from 12 to 58 in the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society, October, 1903. Translations into Parsi-Persian, Sanskrit, and Gujrati from texts not collated, and otherwise not of a critical character, have alone preceded this.

[2] In order to include a gloss omitted in the section 1-11, above referred to, I cite 1-5 from the "Mélanges Kern," 1903, p. 145.

[3] Referring to other MSS. So it is far better to understand the frequent expression 'there is who says.'

[4] This gloss, from our old MSS. in Oxford, DJ. or J[2], was omitted both in text and translation from the work already cited.

[5] This section in the original Yasna is of special importance, as it contains an attempted explanation of the Avesta in the Avesta itself; and also because the Ahunavairya prayer (though only a post-Gāthic piece in the metre of the Ahunavaiti Gāθa) has, owing to its terms (see the translations), been supposed to have some analogy with the Logos of St. John. This supposition was, however, critically groundless. The words 'Ahuna-Vairya' had become abbreviated into Hono-ver; and this has later been seriously mentioned, even by great authorities up to the present date, as bearing upon the question of the Introduction to the Fourth Gospel, and other Semitic features. The square brackets are the glosses, and the parenthetical curves contain my explanations.

His question: The Word spoken before the Creation?

What was that word, Aūharmazd, which Thou didst speak to me (3) before the Heaven, and before the Water, and before the Earth, and before the bountiful Herd, and before the Plants, before the Fire, Aūharmazd's Son, before the holy Man Gayōmart, (2) before the Demons who are of 'scattered wit,'[1] and before later Men, and before all the Bodily World [(and before) the creation of their (i.e. of men's) sovereignty over it], before all the wealth provided by Aūharmazd which is derived from the manifestation of Aša, the Angel of the Holy Law?[2]

Ahura answers.

Aūharmazd also said to him thus: that Section is from the Ahunaver, O Spītāma Zartūšt, which is spiritual, by which they would make the Law advance, when that Dēn was constructed from the Ahunaver by which it was declared to thee.[3]

12. Aūharmazd further answers.[4] . . . . Who also in this my bodily World, O Spītāmān Zartūšt, undertones a section from this (my) Ahunaver, that is to say (as when), they would make it familiar (by committing it to memory), and would curtail it (in so doing); that is to say, as when one speaks it (that is, any portion of it) apart (and separated) (13) either so much as a half, or so much as a third, or so much as a fourth, or so much as a fifth; that is, if one (i.e. if a reciter) holds up (hardly 'maintains') it in the course of recitation to the degree of a fifth of it (as in the last item cited), and so (also in the first case) it will become half-full if celebrated (here returning to the first item as above; that is to say, when one omits one half, beginning with the

[1] Of course an error corrected by me in 1892–94; see Gāθas at Y. 28, 5, pp. 8 and 398.

[2] This stands for universal regularity of conduct.

[3] For the translations of 5–11, which are important, see the "Mélanges Kern," Leide, 1903, pp. 146–147.

[4] See the "Mélanges Kern," pp. 145–146.

second half, all this is sin); but when it is entirely omitted (spoken separated; see above), this is (the unpardonable sin of) Tanapuhar (that is to say, the sinner cannot cross the Judgment Bridge of Chinvat on account of it).

The Punishment.

(14) (In these cases) I, who am Aūharmazd, will (then, on this account) draw off his soul from the Best World, that is to say, I would make it (his soul) apart from Heaven, (15) and by that drawing off (which is) as much in length and breadth as this Earth (is long and broad); and this Earth is also that much long as (is) its breadth.

The Commentary begins.

(16) This is the Word (which has been) pronounced, the Dēn of the possession of (that is to say, which vitally concerns the status of) the 'Ahū'[1] (that is to say, it is the religious formula which has the signal word 'Ahū' in it), the Ahū of (the Dēn), and of the possession of its 'Ratū' (i.e. which has its signal word 'ratuš'[2]) [from which (occurrence in this piece so sacrosanct) this is clear, that the (temporal) King and the (spiritual) Dastūr are to be supported (and maintained)].

This Section of the Ahunaver was announced before the Heavens.

(17) And this was also so pronounced before that Heaven ('before yon Heaven') was created, and before the Water, before the Land (hardly 'the Earth' here), and before the Plants,

(18) before the creation of[3] the quadruped[4] Bull, the one (first) created Bull,

[1] See the words 'yaθā ahū . . .' Here begins the Commentary proper upon the Ahuna Vairya.

[2] See the word ratuš in 'yaθā ahū ratuš . . .'

[3] Notice min = 'of' used to express the gen. which is generally expressed by either 'position' or by 'ī.'

[4] The type of quadrupeds representing all of them.

(19) before the creation of the Sacred Man, the (type of) biped [(meaning) before the creation of Gāyomart (the 'Lifeman'; i.e. the first recipient of human life)], (20) before that Sun of sublime body (or 'of body created' (?)) [the body of the Sun] for the especial acquisition[1] of the Bountiful Immortals.

(21) Forth to me[2] with bountifulness (or 'holiness') and in the interests of the spiritual life,[3] to me it was said [that is, for the sake of furthering bountifulness (or 'holiness') and the spiritual interests it was possible to tell me], (22) concerning all that belongs to the world of the Saints, [to Zartūšt (it was) told] (concerning the world of the Saints) who are, and who have been, and who are coming into being,

(23) with regard to 'the course of action,' [that is to say, with regard to it they should do[4] (i.e. do thou do[5]) what is manifest from it (as duty) 'also let good works be theirs'] with regard to this action 'in the world[6] towards Aūharmazd,' [that is to say, they should do[4] (or 'do thou do')[5] what is due to Aūharmazd,[6] so also they should do (or 'do thou do') unto Him aṣ it is clear duty from (i.e. in accordance with) this Fargard].

[1] Recall the Angel of the Apocalypse whose position was in the Sun.

[2] Aside from the original we should of course read 'Forth I said'; see Nēr. But the gloss in 22 should control what precedes, we not forgetting that the terms of such translations should not hinder a rational exegesis so long as it is at all possible. Otherwise we should merely report; 'Forth with my bountifulness and in the interests of the spiritual life, I said.' We might indeed regard the gloss in 22 'av' Z. gūft' as offering an alternative and so translate. Undoubtedly 'I said' is more natural for 'am gūft' (so Nēr.) than 'to me he said'; but then 'to me' or 'my' looks better for 'li' than Nēr.'s aham; i.e. in view of the original 'me.' So 'am tūvan gūftan' more naturally equals 'it is possible to me to tell' than 'it is possible to tell to me.' Ner.'s blunder in rendering 'me' induces an inconsistency only to be relieved by force.

[3] Lit. 'spirituality'; 'the interests of Heaven.'

[4] See ṣyaoθnōtāitya ṣyaoθnanām.

[5] These forms in -āñd and -yēn are evidently indefinite, and afford us a good example of the reason of their use as imperative 2nd singulars; 'they should do' is 'one should do,' and then 'do thou.'

[6] See Anhēuš Mazdāi.

Immortality is given through the devout pronunciation of the Ahunaver.

24. This portion of the Ahunaver thus far elucidated, is also the most of a word in effect (to secure an answer to our prayers) of (all) those words which he (or 'one') ever[1] pronounced, while now he speaks it forth (i.e. 'recites it') up to this point; (and it is also the most efficient which) is pronounced, i.e. which is now being pronounced, and (also which will be pronounced) from this (or from this time) on. (25) For this is so much a word in efficiency as that if all the bodily world (26) learn it (so that it is really) learned, [i.e. (if) they would make it thoroughly easy (through memorising it verbally)], and keep it thus, [that is to say (if) they would take their stand upon it,] this would become to them the possession of an existence apart from passing away (*sic*), [that is to say, they (would) become immortal (through pronouncing it as thus fully learned)].

(27) And this our word is pronounced by us [as the Dēn. Māhvindāt (a Commentator) said (that the word in question) was just this Fargard (in its entirety)]. He who learns it, [that is to say, (if) they should commit it to memory (lit. 'thus make it easy')]; and he who recites it (as thus memorised), [that is to say, he (who) pronounces this (word) 'straight on' within the Yasna], so (doing), each one of existing (persons) whose is Aša Vahišta (or 'who are inspired by him,'[2] A.V.) becomes immortal thereby (see below).[3] [That is to say, should they completely celebrate a single Yasna, to that person (i.e. 'to those persons') let it belong (i.e. let the reward mentioned above, i.e. immortality, be his).]

[1] One naturally supposes from this word 'ever' that reference is made to the whole Ahunaver and to all possible inspired utterances. Otherwise the thoughts of the composer seem to rest on the word ṣyaoθnanām (see 'pavan kartūm') as the most efficient expression in the prayer. Possibly one idea occurred to one author and the other to a later reviser.

[2] So if reading 'min'; see ashātčīt.

[3] It is not at all necessary to suppose that a dull superstition is here expressed. The Ahunaver, if thoroughly learned and acted upon, would of course lead the soul toward Heaven.

[(The meaning) is (that) when one pronounces this particular[1] (27) (word) in the Yasna a person's soul becomes immortal thereby.]

(28) As this (section) is pronounced here; (viz.) that (the Ahū and the Ratū), that is, that the (temporal (?)) Lord the Ahū and the (spiritual) Lord (the Ratū), the Dātōbar, are to be maintained (in the dignities and emoluments of their office) [as this thing is so said as this lore (i.e. this expression of legal opinion)] so (teaches) (29), and when also he (the personal offerer) gives to this Aḥū and (to this) Ratū (the temporal Lord, and to the spiritual Dātōbar (the ruling Priest)), [i.e. when he (the disciple) devotes his person (his personal attention) thoroughly to the spiritual studies (to the complete acquisition of technical religious knowledge)], then also it is taught by him (the leading spiritual Instructor) to that one (the other), the offering and studious disciple, that 'Aūharmazd mēnešn' the thought of (?) Aūharmazd[2] is the cogitation[3] (of one thinking) about the First Creatures, [that is to say, the Gāθic lore has been made current (and progressive) by him (for it concerns especially the beginnings of the creation of the creatures, and because he (the person who thinks, here supposed to be the speaker) has devoted his attention to priestly studies which concern most of all the doctrine of the creation)].[4]

(30) He who assigns his person [to him who is the King of Kings], the greatest of all [men, so that it (his body) is possessed by the King of Kings[5] (i.e. so that his personal force and devotion is possessed by Him), just so that lore[6] (or 'body') is assigned by him (the religiously educated and

[1] aē denā = lit. 'this that.' See where 'actions' are insisted upon.

[2] See 'mazdām manas.' The reader should bear in mind throughout that the Pahlavi translations here as elsewhere are seldom strictly correct as regards the ultimate points of the syntax. Their great value consists in evidence as to presence of textual terms and of their precise meaning. See the critical translation in SBE. xxxi at the places, pp. 259–266.

[3] This looks as if 'the thought of Aūharmazd' was regarded as being shared by his faithful worshipper. Or meaning 'thought with regard to A.'

[4] See Gāθas at Y. 28, 11, etc.

[5] Here feeling the influence of χšaθrem ča.

[6] The Gāθic lore here referred to is the Ahuna-vairya, which is regarded as its epitome, of course erroneously.

intelligent disciple) to the creatures of this One (the King of Kings); that is to say, the Gāθic lore[1] has been made current by him. (the devoted offerer) among the creatures (after he has learnt it and intoned it himself; see above)].

(31) He who (describes) the[2] amenities of life (was χšaθrem so understood?) to Aūharmazd, [that is to say, (he who) places them (or, 'considers' their beginning or foundation) to be within His possession (to give)] (does so) in accordance with the word 'vaṅhēuš' (see again the vaṅhēuš of the text) [which (is) in (this) section]. Here (is) that which (is) the third sacred injunction, [it is its beginning (see the second line of the Ahuna)]. He who delivers an intonement with vahōman (see again the words vaṅhēuš (dazda) manaṅhō, the 'vahōman' of the Ahuna-vairya Pahlavi Text), [that is to say, he who utters an atonement which is straightforward (that is to say, coming on to vaṅhēuš without interruption)], and (when the celebration) is also (in so far) performed by him, (when) also that is proclaimed onward (or 'taught') by him here which is in accordance with vahōman (see again the vaṅhēuš dazdā manaṅhō of the Zend text); [that is to say, (when) they give (see dazdā) that recompense and reward which is in accordance with vahōman (then they give rewards which is his also to this person who so pronounces the vaṅhēuš dazdā *manaṅhō* and duly celebrates the Yasna passage in which it occurs (see above))].

(32) And he who makes a sign (perhaps here some regulated gesture[3] or posture; but see the original; a sign) which is (arranged) with reference to the word 'vahōman,' [that is to say, they would provide the thing that is correct with a gesture (or 'demonstration,' or sign)[3]; (and when)

[1] The Gāθic lore here referred to is the Ahuna-vairya, which is regarded as its epitome, of course erroneously.

[2] There is no hujītiš = 'amenities' in the Ahunaver. The force of vaṅhēuš = 'of the good' may have been felt; so influencing the idea of 'government' as 'good-government,' thus bearing on the idea of amenity.

[3] So I think better as more realistic (see the word 'actions') below; but Nēr. understood perhaps something like 'explanation,' 'who performs a thing which is more upright with a demonstration.' So; and not perhaps meaning a physical gesture; see also the original. (Or did Nēr. mean 'provide with a sign'?)

also it is done by him (that is, 'when the sign is made by him')] so with this was the summing up. [That is to say, this its end (that of this particular thought) was on] with (the words) 'of actions' (see ṣyaoθnanām, which may mean of 'actions (in the course of this celebration of the Ahunaver')].

33. Here (in the words) 'within the world' (so again referring to the word aṅhēuš of the Avesta text as meaning 'belonging to the world,'—here) was their summing up[1] (the summing up of the terms as in so far tentatively explained); [that is to say, it was its end (the end of the ideas involved in the second line of the Ahuna; see the texts)]. 34. Here was the summing up of them in it (or 'by the persons (explaining')), [that is to say, it was the end of it], (34) whereby (the reciter) assigns the Creatures (so as feeling the influence of dazda again) to Him who is Aūharmazd[2] (see mazdāi).

34. (So), when (the reciter) assigns them, the creatures to Him (Aūharmazd) as that which is His own creation (that of Aūharmazd Himself), [that is (to say, the meaning of that assigning is) this: by and in this he announces that men also are a thing (*sic*) which, (as) one says, (is) what thus comes back purely (and entirely) into the possession of Aūharmazd (from whom it first issued forth when they recite 'aṅhēuš dazdā mazdāi'), as (the word) 'Aūharmazd' (see mazdāi) is purely (i.e. 'simply and significantly') presented (by the reciter in the course of the solemn recital)].

35. (And) the Sovereignty is assigned by him (the reciter or the inspirer) to Aūharmazd (see χšaθrem Ahurāi = 'the Kingdom to Ahura' (so proceeding to the third line)) [that is to say, Aūharmazd is made King over his own body by him (the reciter), by which (or 'when') they would effect (that) which is evident from (i.e. as meant by that passage

[1] This word 'summing up' is a mistake, owing to the outward shapes of 'kārayęiti' which suggested 'angartāgīh'; but it is still acceptable enough as a free translation.

[2] Recognises His act of creation.

of) the Avesta]. Also (the further meaning) of it is this: 'by him (the reciter, or, 'by it the passage') happy relief is here indicated for the poor,'[1] [that is to say, a (real) benefit has been done by him (the reciter, or the inspirer) thereby to the poor],[1] (36) which ('benefit') is a friendship of Spītāmān (as the representative of Aūharmazd toward the poor[1]; a most striking and deeply significant element in the Religion). And (thus) the Dēn (the Religion) of Spītāmān was a five-fold code of distinctions (dātōbarīh), [that is, for him there was a five-fold distinction within it].

37. All the utterance (of the Ahunaver) was a forth-utterance (meaning a continuous unbroken recitative announcement). The entire announcement was Aūharmazd's (or concerning Aūharmazd's attributes as expressed in the five points above alluded to).

38. For the sake of an increase (of prosperity, vahištō being so understood through an error, which occurs more than the once), [for the sake of (advancing) the progress of the Creatures] Aūharmazd pronounced the Ahunaver. So also its summing up was with (a word meaning) ['increase,' that is to say, the end of it was on (with this word. See the vahištō of the Zend Text, here again erroneously or freely referred to vaxš = 'to increase.')]

Angra Mainyu intervenes.

39. Quick was the smiting,[2] [that is to say, the assaulting enemy plunges into the midst (lit. 'among,' and) that (which follows) is just spoken as an interdict[3] of the wicked [(as) a separating (anathema)].

The Interdict.

40. That (meaning 'this' was) the Interdict, (which is recorded in the Gāθas; see Yasna, 45, 2):[4]

[1] Referring to the original noble passages of the Avesta; see Gāθas, xxxiv, 5, pp. 136, 501, and liii, 9, pp. 390, 619, etc.

[2] Zanešn' is not strictly correct for akō.

[3] The interdict was of course also spoken 'among' the wicked.

[4] See Gāθas, p. 220 and p. 540.

41. Neither our thinking, nor our teaching (are in harmony). [I have not taught what thou hast taught;] nor (are) our understanding(s) (in harmony), [for I have my understanding with propriety, and thou hast (thine) with impropriety];

(42) Nor are (our) desire(s); [for my desire is a wished-for thing which is proper and thine (is) improper]; nor is (our) speech (harmonious); [for I speak that which is proper; and thou speakest that which is improper]; nor are our deed(s) (in harmony), [for my action is proper and thine is improper].

(43) Nor is (our) Religion [for my Dēn is the Gāθic and thine that of sorcery]. Nor are [their] souls in harmony, nor their self (selves *sic*, or 'their especial interest'), [for they who take[1] their stand upon my interest,[2] and they who take their stand upon thine: their souls are not in this (same) place.

He who said 'this' (i.e. the text which reads as above, namely, he who reads the word hanā = 'this,' meaning) that even their souls (the souls of these) are thus; he must also say (i.e. that text must also be so read), thus: 'Our Souls are not in harmony']. (All this evidently meaning to explain that a text which reads 'not' in this place must be understood as meaning 'not (in harmony).' This is to explain the absence of a word 'one' or 'the same'; that is, it should have read 'not in the same place.' Had the word 'same' or 'one' been added, the passage would have needed no explanation.)

The Connections of the Ahuna-vairya.

(44) Also this word which Aūharmazd spake has three rules, (and) concerns four officers, [the Priest, the Warrior, the Husbandman, and the Artisan], and five Chieftainships, [the Housholder, the Head of the Hamlet (or Vīs), the Head

[1] Literally; 'for he who takes . . . .'

[2] Nēr. takes it for granted that 'upon this thing' means upon the 'Dēn' (naturally enough).

of the Zand (the village or township (*sic*)), the Governor of the Province, and the Zara*θ*uštrōtema]; and its completion (the completion of this word of the Ahunaver) is made full with an offering; and so of one's-self; [(that is to say, in the case of the particular offerer at any given time, personally and spontaneously) it is necessary (so) to do when they make an offering of the person to the Herbads]; (that is to say, when they present themselves for priestly discipline and instruction).

Catechetical Zand upon the Ahuna-vairya.
Questions asked to bring out the definite meaning.

(45) What is that Rule? (see above where the Three Rules are mentioned).—*Ans.* The Good Thought, the Good Word, and the Good Deed.

And this meaning is what?—*Ans.* Propriety within the Rule of the Dēn.

(46) Which (are) the Calling(s)?—*Ans.* The Priest, the Warrior, the Husbandman, and the Artisan.

47. (These are the Four), since through every day and night (these Classes are at hand and present) with the Saint (that is to say, with the orthodox Citizen) of truthful thought, of truthful word, and of truthful deed, (48) who has kept in memory[1] the Spiritual Chief; [that is to say, who supports the Dastūr (Destoor)] who is taught of the Dēn. [That is to say, (when) the Yašt has been celebrated by him] (49) from whose actions results the progress of the settlements of Aša; [i.e. that is to say, this result (as above described) is from his deeds (in celebrating this Yašt and in acting in accordance with it)].

50. Which is the Spiritual Chief?—*Ans.* The House-Chief, the Hamlet- (or Vīs-) Chief, the Zand- (or village-(township-)) Chief, the Province-Chief, and the Zartūšt (or 'the Zara*θ*uštrōtema'), the Fifth.

[1] Possibly 'who recited the Office'; this, notwithstanding the gloss, which may be always later. Nēr. has, however, gurupāṭ'ite, 'made to read by the Guru.' In the gloss gurusamyukte, 'united,' that is 'in accredited relation' with the Guru.'

(51) (That is to say, it is thus with) those Provinces which are other than the Raγa which (is) Zaraθuštrian (or possibly 'the Raγa of Zartūšt'). A four-chief (province) (is) the Raγa of Zartūšt.[1]

(52) Which (are) the Spiritual Chief(s) of that (Province, i.e. of Raγa)? (The question is repeated in order to make way for the important explanation about the Four-chief-Province.)—*Ans.* The House-Chief, the Vīs-Chief, the Zand-Chief, and the (?) Zartūšt as the Fourth; [that is to say, since he was in his own Province (that is, he was there as the hereditary bearer of the title). (And) an arrangement was even made with reference to him; which (is, that he, i.e. his successor the reigning Zartūšt) will become (that is, 'will continue') 'on to be' the Fourth (and not the Fifth Chief, there being no need of a separate office which would be that of a 'Fifth Chief' as in the other Provinces. The Zaraθuštra resident at Raγa makes a separate officer of that name unnecessary in that City and in its Province)].

53. How does the matter stand when the question is as to the Good Thought (as involved in this four-fold polity of the Zaraθuštrian State, thus by this question bringing the idea of the 'Ahuna-ver' once more to bear upon these all-important offices); [that is to say, how was this arranged when he (the Saint or the Law-giver) stood upon the track[2] of the Good Thought[3] of the Dēn]?—*Ans.* It was when (it, 'the question,' or when he, the Regulator,) was (i.e. had reference) to the Saint who was the first thinker[4] (of that good thought); that is to say, when he was with Gayōmard; [that is to say, when the questioning had reference to him,

[1] This clearly shows that Raγa had exceptional claims to be associated with Zaraθuštra, if only traditionally, as his birthplace. Each Province evidently had a Fifth supreme Spiritual Officer called the 'Zaraθuštra.' But in Raγa some traditional religious (or family) descendant of the great Prophet evidently resided. So that a fifth on whom the title had been bestowed by appointment was not needed in Raγa as in the other Provinces.

[2] This expression 'track' looks as if the translator's thoughts were here turning toward the Other World. Compare the expressions 'star-track,' 'moon-track,' etc., in the Ardā-ī-Vīrāf.

[3] See 'manaŋhō' again.

[4] The first point after the Introduction being vaŋhēuš dazdā manaŋhō; see the expression manas paoiryō (*sic*), referring again to the prior position of the word manaŋhō in the formula.

the first man, he (the Law-giver) also thought of him (Gayōmard; that is to say, he especially directed his attention to him)].

(54) How (in reference to) the Good Word (when the Good Word[1] was considered, that is to say: How does the matter lie with reference to the Four-fold Polity with regard to the veracity or verbal amenities of the citizens)?—*Ans.* (This was considered when the Manthraspenta (the Sacrosanct Lore) was originated and maintained) [until now[2]].

(55) How did the matter stand when (they considered) the Good Deed?—*Ans.* (This was done) when (there was a) praising of the creatures (which held) Aša indeed to be the first.[3] [That is to say, when they would celebrate the other Yasna[3] also which is a good work[4] in (the course of the) Gāθa-service (or 'in accordance with the Gāθic doctrine').]

(56) Aūharmazd made a proclamation; for the sake of what interest did he proclaim it to him (Zartūšt?)?—*Ans.* For the sake of the sacred interest of Heaven (i.e. of the purely religious interests; lit. 'of the spirit') and of the World (that is, of legitimate worldly interests), [even for the sake of the benefit of the spirit, (i.e. of Heaven) and of the World].

(57) For the sake of what desired[5] object of His did He pronounce it (the Word), [i.e. for the sake of what necessary[6] object did He pronounce it to him (Zartūšt)]?—*Ans.* In order that there may be a King who is an increaser of (the people's) prosperity; [and he (that is 'one') who is able to carry out his purposes as a lord of desire].[7]

[1] Generally speaking, the concrete, i.e. 'the man of true speech,' is to be preferred, but here the 'good speech' is best.

[2] Hardly 'as our share' reading χelkūn, for av' kevan'; Nēr. does not render.

[3] 'Aša indeed as the first' may allude to the 'Ašem Vohu' formula in the mind of the Commentator; but see Ashātčīt as the first Ameša mentioned in the Ahuna.

[4] The word hūvaršt (see syaoθnanām again) may also have recalled the 'ašem vohū vahištem' (hū = vohū).

[5] This curious error arose from the resemblance of -čvās to vās = vanče' = 'to desire.' Nēr. follows it.

[6] This gloss seems intended to remove any ambiguity from the word kāmakīh, which might possibly be thought to refer to 'caprice' (?).

[7] Having in mind aēša-χsaθrem of Y. 29, 9, as to which see Gāθas at the place.

(58) How many[1] (ahunavers) [is it fully necessary to say] for the benefit of the Saints (the orthodox Rulers)?—*Ans.* (So many) as until the Ruler who is without desire[2] (that is, without force to carry out his desire[2]) becomes (by this means) a (vigorous) augmenter[3] (of prosperity; or *vice versâ*, 'until the increaser becomes a ruler without desire'[2]; that is to say, 'one who has nothing left to desire of others,' or 'nothing left to be desired').

(58 *continued*) [(The meaning of it all is) this. He who makes this prayer manifest (through its celebration or 'fulfilment' (?), i.e. he who completes it); that is to say, (he who manifests) the glory of the Kayāns so (by realising the object of the prayer), how (does he do it) in the case of good Kings? so also, what with evil rulers?—*Ans.* So[4] (when he is dealing) with good Kings (he acts) with this result; viz., that they may do more good (by means of this devout celebration in their favour, and when he has to do) with evil Kings (he will act) with this effect; that is to say, until they may do less evil (so the Kayān glory of the Kings is furthered)].

[1] Or 'how much of it'; see Nēr.'s 'kĭyat.'

[2] It would be still better to read the original āvasō, and not avasō = 'with power in accordance with his desire.' 'Without undue or wanton desire' would be a poor rendering even for the a-priv. form.

[3] A form of vaš 'to increase' being again seen in vahištō.

[4] Literally 'this' (the meaning is 'this').

XV.

THE INDIANS IN ARMENIA, 130 B.C.—300 A.D.[1]

By J. KENNEDY.

THE existence of an ancient Indian colony in Armenia is well known to Armenian scholars, but Indianists have paid little attention to it. We owe our knowledge of it to Zenob, a Syrian, and a native of Glak (Klag), which Mr. Ellis suggests may be the Armenian equivalent of Kerak. Zenob became an ecclesiastic in an unknown town of Cappadocia called Nystra, and was the companion of St. Gregory the Illuminator on an idol-smashing tour through Armenia, about the year 304 A.D. By St. Gregory's command he wrote an account of this expedition to his Cappadocian brethren, and in it he gives a lively account of the Illuminator's little war with the Indian idolaters of Tarôn (Darôn). Zenob's history, composed originally in Syriac, has come down to us in an Armenian version, which has suffered from revision. It has been twice translated into French, and part of it into English. Zenob's work has the charm and freshness of a contemporary narrative, and throws a good deal of light on the early history of monachism and the worship of relics. He was well

[1] Very various methods are in use for the transliteration of Armenian texts. Mr. A. G. Ellis has very kindly gone over this paper, and supplied me with the transliteration of the proper names in accordance with the system in use at the British Museum; the transliterations of Prudhomme and Avdall are occasionally added in parentheses. I have to thank Messrs. Grierson and Rhys Davids for suggestions regarding Prakrit and Pali forms; and Mr. W. Williams for the following bibliography: J. Avdall, J.A.S.B., vol. v, 1836, p. 331 ff.; E. Prudhomme, "Histoire de Darôn pal Zenob de Klag" (Journ. Asiatique, 1863, p. 401 ff.); V. Langlois, "Collection des Historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie," Paris, 1867, tome i, p. 336 ff.; M. J. Seth, "History of the Armenians in India," 1897; Emin, "Recherches sur le Paganisme Arménien," Paris, 1864, pp. 30–31; a passing reference by Lassen, Z. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. i, p. 233. There are also references in Ritter's "Erdkunde" and some other works on Armenia.

acquainted with the Indians he mentions, as he was for twenty years Abbot of the Convent of the Nine Springs, founded by St. Gregory on the site of the Indian temple. The convent became one of the most famous in Armenia, and was popularly known from the time of Zenob as the convent of Glak.

Zenob's story is briefly this. Two Indian chiefs, Gisanê (Kisanê) and Demetr (Témétr), rebelling unsuccessfully against the king Dinaskhé (Dinaskey), fled westwards with their clan and found shelter with Valarshak, or Valarsaces, the first Arsacide monarch of Armenia (149–127 B.C.). Valarsaces gave them the canton of Tarôn[1] for a residence, and there they founded the town of Vishap or the Dragon. In the neighbouring town of Ashtishat, the pantheon of all the gods of Armenia, they set up replicas of the idols they had worshipped in India.[2] Fifteen years later the king of Armenia put Gisanê and Demetr to death, but their sons Kouar (Guĕvar'), Meltes (Meghtes), and Horian continued to hold the canton of Tarôn, and divided the land among them. They founded three villages which were named after them, Kouarkh, Meltes, and Horiankh. They also erected two

[1] Tarôn was a district of hills and plains on the upper Euphrates, lying westward of Lake Van. It was half Syrian in character, and adjoined the country afterwards occupied by the Mamikonians, a famous Chinese family who fled to Armenia in the early part of the third century A.D. The district is now known, Mr. Ellis tells me, as the district of Moush, and was the scene of some of the recent Armenian massacres. Moush is mentioned by Zenob, but it was not then the chief town of the district.

[2] I agree with Avdall and Lassen that these idols were named Gisanê and Demetr. But Emin says: "Nous trouvons ces efforts d'assimilation complétement inutiles par la simple raison qu'il est nullement question dans le récit de Zenob de deux divinités indiennes s'appelant Kisané et Temedr. Ces deux noms n'étaient que ceux des deux pères, premiers émigrants de l'Inde. Après qu'ils furent tués sur l'ordre du roi d'Arménie les fils transportèrent les idoles de leurs héréditaires d'Achichat sur le mont Karké, et depuis lors ces idoles furent connues des habitants du pays de Darôn sous une dénomination générale des dieux pères Kisanê et Temedr" ("Recherches sur le Paganisme Arménien," pp. 30–31). But Zenob, after describing the idols of Gisanê and Demetr and the fate of the idolaters, goes on to say: "Voici du reste l'origine des idoles existant en ces lieux [i.e. of Gisanê and Demetr]. Étant venus à Aschdischad, ils y érigèrent *ces idoles* sous le nom de celles qu'ils adoraient dans l'Inde." In the next paragraph he says that "Guĕvar' Méghdès et Hor'ian se rendirent sur la mont K'arkê. Ils y érigèrent deux idoles, l'une sous le nom de Kiçanê, l'autre sous celui de Témétr," etc. (J.A., 1863, pp. 454–455). There is nowhere mention of any others than these two, or of any idols left at Ashtishat. I have not seen Emin's book, and have to thank Mr. Williams for the extract.

temples to their gods Gisanê and Demetr on Kharkhê, a grassy hill with woods and springs, which overlooked the Euphrates; and these temples became the sacred seat and the rallying point of the clan. The descendants of Kouar, Meltes, and Horian were the priests of the idols, and twelve villages were assigned for the maintenance of the temple service. We hear nothing more of these Indians until St. Gregory appeared with 300 men to overturn their faith. The people flew to arms, and the first outbreak of the popular fury obliged St. Gregory to take refuge in a friendly castle. Both sides received reinforcements, desperate battles were fought, and over a thousand men fell. Artzan,[1] the chief priest, and his son Demetr were slain in combat, having exhibited a courage worthy of heroes. The Indians were overpowered, but they still implored that their idols might be spared. Six priests fell at the temple door, another died under torture without revealing the treasury of Demetr. The Christians then proceeded to break up the copper statues of the gods, which were 12 and 15 cubits high. The temples were razed to the ground, and on the site of Demetr's temple St. Gregory erected a church, while a wooden cross marked the place where Gisanê's idol had stood. More than 5,000 idolaters submitted to baptism, and 438 persons, the sons of priests, or temple servants, who remained obdurate, had their heads shaved and were transported to Phaitakaran, near the shores of the Caspian.[2]

Zenob gives us various details about these Indians. They were black, ugly, and long-haired ("noirs, chevelus, et difformes"). The long hair was a sacred badge. Gisanê was represented with long hair, his worshippers all wore it long, and Zenob tells us that even after their conversion the Indians secretly kept to their former cult and made their

[1] Artzan = idol or statue. Armenians, and even Armenian Christians, used it sometimes as a personal name. Mr. Ellis has pointed out to me an instance in Moses of Khorene.

[2] Phaitakaran is the territory inclosed by the junction of the Kür and the Ceras, and is the Bailagān of the Arab geographers. No European traveller appears to have visited its ruins.—*Mr. Ellis's note.*

children wear long hair. The priests were of the lineage of the chiefs, and perhaps claimed to be descended from the gods. They can, therefore, have had no Brahmans. They must have abandoned, in great part at least, their native speech, since they used proper names like Artzan; but their features were markedly different from their neighbours. They remained a separate people, although their chiefs had become connected in some way, probably by marriage, with the neighbouring chief of Hashtiankh.

From these certain conclusions may be drawn. (1) These Indians were an aboriginal tribe, i.e. they were non-Aryans. Their black skins and ugly features, as well as the absence of Brahmans, prove that. (2) They wandered to Armenia in the reign of Valarsaces, 149–127 B.C. This is the period when the Śakas were invading and Greek princelings harrying Kabul, the North-Western Punjab, and the Indus Valley. It is reasonable to suppose that they fled in consequence of these troubles; and their flight to Armenia is paralleled by the subsequent flight of the Mamikonians from China. (3) They called their first town Vishap—the Armenian equivalent for Nagpur. They must, therefore, have been worshippers of the snake. The Punjab, Kashmīr, and the Indus Valley are still strongholds of this worship. And as these Indians had no Brahmans, and the Brahmans were strong in the North-Western Punjab, it is probable, I think, that this tribe came from the Indus Valley.[1]

Can philology help us any farther? Dinaskhê and Hoṛian cannot be identified—Mr. Ellis says that the termination *khê* "is very largely used in forming names of territories or tribes"—and it is therefore possible that Dinaskhê represents, not the proper name of a king, but the ruler of a tribe of somewhat similar name.[2] Kouar is probably the Prakrit

[1] Seth's conjecture that they came from Kanauj is not only unsupported by evidence, but is contrary to all probability. Kanauj was not at this time a place of importance, and the emigrations from it do not begin until eight or nine centuries later.

[2] Mr. Grierson suggests some connection with the Śakas. I would rather suggest a connection with the last part of the word Μακέδονες—the Macedonians—the name by which the Bactrian Greeks were known.

Kuar, the Sanskrit and Pali Kumāra, a young prince. Meḷtes—Avdall's Meguti—may be a derivative from the Sanskrit *mahat*, 'great.' Kuar and Mahto are still honorific titles in daily use.

Demetr and Gisanê (Kisanê) are names common to gods and men. Demetr must be some compound of Mitra, perhaps Devamitra, but about Demetr we have no details. It is different with Gisanê. He had long hair, he struck his enemies with blindness and death, and his votaries worshipped him with their faces to the west. Lassen suggested long ago that Gisanê might be Krishna, and although the usual Prakrit (and Pali) form is Kanha, Kisina is admittedly a probable corruption, and occurs in names like Keśin and Kiśen. The similarity of sound is confirmed by the similarity of attributes. Krishna was the 'dark' god, the god of the underworld and of the setting sun, the peculiar god of Dvaraka, where the sun sets in the sea. He was identified with Dionysos by the Greeks, and he possesses the same attributes of love and dance and song and death—lord of the dark region where the germs of all things are quickened. A god who faces towards the west, and who inflicts blindness and death, is near akin to such a god. In after times the priests of the Sun-god of Multan protected their town by threatening to exhibit his idol; he, too, darted darkness and death. Both Demetr and Gisanê were probably forms of solar deities.

But we are not left entirely to speculation, for a passage in Arrian's "Indica" (c. 7) places the identity of Gisanê and Krishna beyond question. Arrian, quoting Megasthenes, says that Dionysos "instructed the Indians to let their hair grow long in honour of the god"; therefore Dionysos is Gisanê, and Gisanê must be Krishna.

Krishna's hair was braided. Both Gisanê and these Indians had long, and as Avdall puts it, braided hair: it was their sacred and especial mark. The Rajputs are the only clans of Northern India who have always made long hair their boast, and cultivated it as sacred. The Tamils wear long hair; so did certain ascetics; and the Sikhs do the

same. But the Sikhs are mostly of Jat origin, akin to and imitators of the Rajputs. And the residue of the Tamils who dwelt in the Indus Valley has been long ago absorbed and Hinduised. Colonel Tod has some wonderful speculations on the westward migrations of the Yadavas in pre-Christian times. He would probably recognise in these Armenian Indians some connection of the Yadavas, for the Yadavas dwelt on the lower Indus, and were the fellow-countrymen and worshippers of Krishna. But whether they were Yadavas or not, I think we may conclude with considerable probability that the Armenian Indians came of the same aboriginal stock from which many of the western Rajput clans were subsequently developed.

Apart, however, from these speculative conclusions, we gather three interesting facts. First, Gisanê, Krishna, and Dionysos are three interchangeable names of the same deity. Second, the statues of Demetr and Gisanê are among the earliest Indian idols of which we have any detailed account. And they are not Brahmanical. Thirdly, although the westward migration of these Indians cannot have been the first of its kind, it is the earliest we know of. Such migrations have been comparatively rare, but the gypsies, and the 200,000 Indians carried captive by Timur to Samarkand are other instances in point. On the whole we have to thank Zenob for having preserved an interesting little bit of history.

XVI.

A PROJECTED EDITION OF THE *MUFADDALIYAT*.

By SIR CHARLES LYALL.

IN 1885 Professor Heinrich Thorbecke, then of Heidelberg, published the first part of his edition of the collection of selected ancient Arabic poems (المختارات, or الاختيارات, or القصائد المختارة), made, at the instance of the Caliph al-Manṣūr, for the instruction of his son, afterwards the Caliph al-Mahdī, by Abu-l-'Abbās al-Mufaḍḍal, of the tribe of Ḍabbah (died 168). This collection, more generally known as the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, consisted, according to the *Kitāb al-Fihrist* (p. 68), of 128 poems, of which the published portion contains 42. In January 1890, Professor Thorbecke died, and the edition has not been carried further.

The MSS. which he had at his disposal were the Berlin codex,[1] containing the odes with the commentary of al-Marzūḳī (died 421), which formed the basis of the edition, and the Vienna and London (Brit. Mus.) MSS., both recent copies of originals in the East, the former of one at Constantinople and the latter of one at Baghdad. These two contain only short glosses in explanation of the poems, and follow a different order (see below) from that adopted by al-Marzūḳī. The Berlin codex is unfortunately very incorrect, besides being defective at the end, and it would have been impossible to print the commentary from it as it stood.

Before Prof. Thorbecke's most lamented death, however, he had acquired a copy, made for him in 1887 and 1888, of the Cairo MS. of the commentary on the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt*

[1] Described in Ahlwardt, Six Poets, preface, p. xx.

by al-Anbārī; and since then another copy of the same commentary, procured in Egypt by Count Landberg, has passed into the possession of Yale University, U.S.A. A second MS. with short glosses, dated 1067, and in its general character resembling the Vienna codex, also formed part of the Landberg collection, and is now at Yale. Five other MSS., moreover, exist at Constantinople, and have been described by Dr. Haffner in the Vienna *Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, xiii, p. 344, one at least of which gives the commentary of al-Anbārī in its complete form. In 1308 there appeared at Constantinople the first volume of an edition containing the poems in the text and order of al-Anbārī, with an abridged commentary derived from that scholar's work.

From an examination of these new materials it appears that, apart from al-Marzūḳī's commentary, all the other current editions of the collection, mostly exhibiting short glosses, are based on the text and commentary of al-Anbārī. The glosses in the Vienna, London, and Yale (2) MSS. are all drawn from this source, and the abridgment of the printed Constantinople edition is taken from it with little or no variation. Further, in the numerous citations of poems belonging to the collection contained in 'Abd-al-Ḳādir's *Khizānat al-Adab* the commentary of al-Anbārī is invariably quoted, almost always in a complete form. This commentary, therefore, may be regarded as the standard text and exposition of the *Mufaḍḍalīyāt*. And had Professor Thorbecke had in his possession the materials which are now available, it can scarcely be doubted that he would have decided to print al-Anbārī's text, and probably also his commentary, rather than to abide by the text of al-Marzūḳī, of considerably later date, and contained only in one faulty codex.

In 1895 I proposed to the *Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft* to continue Thorbecke's edition, and my offer was accepted. Circumstances, however, prevented me from carrying out this project. Later on, when I finally retired from the Indian Civil Service, I resumed it, and had then

to consider what course should be adopted — whether to complete the work on the plan followed by Thorbecke, of giving only the text, with extracts from the commentaries in the separate notes, or to begin again with a fresh text, each verse followed by its commentary, based upon the standard recension of al-Anbārī. In favour of the first course was the natural piety due to the memory of a great scholar and beloved colleague, whose work, the outcome of so much labour and in itself so admirable, would otherwise remain incomplete. In favour of the second was, in the first place, the fact that al-Marzūḳī's text, which follows a different arrangement from that of all other available MSS., is incomplete in the latter half, and thus unfit to form the basis of an edition; and next, the conviction that, for the right understanding of ancient Arabian poetry, we cannot afford to neglect such sources of information as the early commentaries furnish. In al-Anbārī's work we have, moreover, not only a compilation of the greatest importance to the interpretation of the poems, but also a text guaranteed by an unbroken succession from al-Mufaḍḍal himself. Al-Mufaḍḍal, who died in 168, had for his continuator his stepson Ibn al-A'rābī (died 231); from the latter the tradition was carried on by Abū 'Ikrimah 'Āmir b. 'Imrān aḍ-Ḍabbī; and from Abū 'Ikrimah, al-Anbārī (died 304) received it. The *Fihrist* is explicit in pointing to Ibn al-A'rābī as the source of the only correct text (p. 68):—

و للمهدى عمل [المفضّل] الاشعار المختارة المسمّاة المفضّليّات وهى ماية و ثمانية و عشرون قصيدة وقد تزيد و تنقص و تتقدّم و تتاخّر بحسب الرواية عنه و الصحيحة التى رواها ابن الاعرابى

As has already been mentioned, al-Anbārī's commentary is the source from which nearly all the glosses in later copies of the collection are derived. Although in places prolix, and (like most native commentaries) full of repetitions and superfluous matter, it contains much valuable lexical material; and it has the great merit of almost always citing the

authority for the various interpretations given, and thus enabling us to estimate the weight to be attached to each.

After much deliberation, and consultation of those best qualified to give advice, I have decided upon the second course—to publish al-Anbārī's text and commentary in full. The work is well advanced. I have been favoured by Yale University, to which my hearty thanks are due, with the loan of the two Landberg MSS., of which I have made a transcript and collation. I have also had at hand, through the kindness of Dr. J. Hess, of the University of Fribourg, a copy of the Constantinople edition of 1308; and the Council of the German Oriental Society have been good enough to place at my disposal the collections upon which Professor Thorbecke worked, containing his transcripts of the Berlin and Vienna MSS. and a copy by the late Professor W. Wright of the London MS., besides the copy of the Cairo MS. already mentioned. I have also to thank the Royal Library at Leipzig for the loan of the very ancient fragment (dated 472) of al-Anbārī, containing (in whole or part) five of the poems with their commentary. With these aids, and with the assistance of other works such as the *Aghānī* and the *Khizānah*, and the numerous citations in the great lexicons and other treatises on the language of the ancient poems, I hope to constitute a trustworthy text. If it should hereafter prove possible to obtain a collation of the original MSS. at Constantinople, this will be an additional guarantee of the greatest value.

In the *Fihrist* (p. 75) the commentary on the *Mufaḍḍaliyāt* is ascribed, not to Abū Muḥammad al-Ḳāsim al-Anbārī, but to his son Abū Bakr Muḥammad, commonly called Ibn al-Anbārī (271–318). In the *Khizānah* it is cited under the latter's name; and in the *Lisān al-'Arab* (s.v. عوذ, vol. iv, p. 314) and *Tāj al-'Arūs* he is also quoted as the author. In the Landberg MS., however, the book is ascribed, in the title of each volume and the colophon of the whole work, to the father; and the same is the case with the Leipzig fragment, which contains the beginning and end of the fourth volume of a codex originally consisting of four

volumes.[1] The preface appears to leave no doubt as to the real state of the case, and I therefore quote it entire :—

اخبرنا ابو بكر احمد بن محمد الجراح الخزاز قراءة عليه قال حدثنا ابو بكر محمد بن القاسم الانبارى قال قرأت على ابى هذا الكتاب الشعر و التفسير و الحمد لله رب العالمين و صلى الله على سيدنا محمد النبى و آله و سلم كثيراً سرمدًا دائماً وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل * قال ابو محمد[2] القاسم بن محمد بن بشار الانبارى املى علينا عامر بن عمران ابو عكرمة الضبّى هذه القصائد المختارة المنسوبة الى المفضل بن محمد الضبّى املاءً مجلساً مجلساً من اولها الى آخرها وذكر انّه اخذها عن ابى عبد الله محمد بن زياد الاعرابى [وهو] ذكر انه اخذها عن المفضل الضبّى * قال ابو محمد وكنت اسئل ابا عمرو بندار الكرخى[3] و ابا بكر العبدى و ابا عبد الله محمد بن رستم و الطوسى وغيرهم عن الشئ بعد الشئ منها فيزيدوننى على رواية ابى عكرمة البيت و التفسير و انا اذكر ذلك فى موضعه ان شاء الله * فلما فرغنا منها صرت الى ابى جعفر احمد ابن عبيد بن ناصح فقرأتها عليه من اولها الى آخرها شعرها وغريبها فانكر على ابى عكرمة اشياء انا مبينها فى مواضعها ومسند الى ابى جعفر مافسّر وروى فى موضعه ان شاء الله و المعين الله جل وعز و الحول له و القوة به * وعمود الكتاب على نسق ابى عكرمة وروايته * قال ابو بكر بن الانبارى قال ابى وحُدّثت ان ابا جعفر المنصور تقدّم

[1] The colophon of this MS. is the oldest extant testimony on the subject; it reads thus:—

تمّت القصائد المفضّليّات وهذا آخِرُ ما صَنَعَهُ أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ القَسِمُ بن محمّد بن بَشّارٍ الأَنبارِىُّ رحِمَه اللهُ

[2] MS. بن القاسم.

[3] MS. بندر الكرجى.

الى المفضّل فى اختيار قصائد للمهدى فاختار له هذه القصائد فلذلك نسبت الى المفضّل * قال ابو عكرمة الضبّى قال ابو عبد الله بن الاعرابى قال المفضّل الضبى قال تابّط شرّا الخ

Here it is plain that the whole form of the work is due to the father, Abū Muḥammad, who claims to have received the text and the exposition of it from Abū 'Ikrimah aḍ-Ḍabbī, and then to have consulted various other authorities whom he names, who added material both to the text and the commentary (*al-bait wat-tafsīr*) as rendered by Abū 'Ikrimah. He then submitted the work to Abū Ja'far Aḥmad b. 'Ubaid, and went with him through the whole, text and commentary alike. Abū Ja'far corrected Abū 'Ikrimah in various points, which are set forth in their proper places. The basis of the book (*'amūd al-kitāb*) is the text and commentary of Abū 'Ikrimah, and the rest is supplementary to it.

Nothing can be clearer than this. But the son adds at the beginning that he read through the book, text and commentary, with his father; and there are throughout the work occasional (but very few) remarks evidently added by the son, generally beginning *qāla abī*, or *qāla Abū Bakr*; one of these, it will be seen, occurs at the end of the preface. It may, therefore, be concluded that, while the book is the work of the father, it has been revised and edited by the son, and carries the authority of the latter as well as the former; whence it happens that the references to it generally name the son, who was the better scholar and more celebrated man of the two.

I have thought that it would be of interest to Arabic scholars to learn that this important work is being prepared for publication; and if any of those who read these lines are able to indicate MSS. or published works not known to me which should be consulted, I shall thankfully profit by their assistance.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

EDV. LEHMANN. ZARATHUSTRA. En Bog om Persernes gamle Tro. Vols. i–ii. (Köbenhavn, 1899–1902.)

Some of the oldest and best manuscripts of the Avesta are in the possession of the Copenhagen University Library, and the first complete edition of the text is due to the Danish scholar Westergaard. Since his time Danish scholars have always taken a keen interest in the study of Zarathustra's religion. The latest and best result of this interest is the work which Dr. Lehmann has laid before the public.

Dr. Lehmann has devoted many years to the study of the Avesta. His philological Guru is Professor Geldner, of Berlin, and it is not difficult to trace the influence of the master in the exactness of his methods. Dr. Lehmann does not, however, approach the Avesta principally as a philologist. His point of view is, above all, that of the history of religious ideas. With regard to the various questions about Zarathustra's date or the locality in which he lived, he does not profess to furnish new materials. The development of religious ideas, on the other hand, and their relation to the national character of the Persians, has been traced with great ingenuity and learning, in a lively and pointed style. It is a pity that the book is not accessible to those who do not know Danish, and it would certainly be worth while to prepare an English translation of it.

S. K.

PAUL DEUSSEN. ERINNERUNGEN AN INDIEN. (Kiel und Leipzig: Lipsius & Tischer, 1904.)

English literature abounds with books that exhibit a similar title. But there will be none similar in contents. For Professor Deussen, well known through his masterly publications on general and Indian philosophy, has been travelling as a *Vedānta missionary*, who knows how to find a spiritual bridge between Christian and Hindu thought. And he most vividly describes the intimacy which all over India he obtained with his Vedāntic brethren and with native scholars and other types of people. The book closes with an Appendix, written in English, "on the philosophy of the Vedānta and its relations to Occidental metaphysics." It does not matter much that the author, when touching politics, naturally speaks a little too much in favour of Hindu views against the English. He also proves himself no particular friend of the Ceylonese Buddhists, as he estimates them chiefly according to their moderate ability in *speaking Sanskrit*. As to this, the writer of these lines, when thanking the author for a copy received, remarked: "If those Buddhists were to judge *you* from your proficiency in speaking *Pāli*, they might perhaps be obliged to speak even less favourably of you than you do of them." Anyhow, the book under notice certainly deserves some attention also on the part of the *English* public. It may even be expected that by and by it will be turned into English and into some of the Indian vernaculars. Though it is a beautifully bound volume, numbering 256 pages, and containing sixteen extra leaves with photographic views, its price is only about six shillings.

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DIE RELIGION BABYLONIENS- UND ASSYRIENS, von MORRIS JASTROW, Jun., Professor der semitischen Sprachen an der Universität Pennsylvania. 2 und 3 Lieferungen. (Giessen: Ricker, 1902–3.)

The continuation of the German translation of Professor

Jastrow's "Religion of Babylonia and Assyria" makes upon the reader, the more he studies it, the impression that it is a work of the highest importance, and indispensable to all whose speciality is the history of religion. The book shows an enormous amount of systematic research, and furnishes the material wherewith to form an opinion concerning the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians at various periods of their long history. The amount of information it contains is large, and the discussion of comparatively unimportant details, though somewhat confusing to the comprehension of the whole, gives it an additional value, for none can know to what important fact a detail, rightly understood, may ultimately lead.

Speaking of the goddess Ištar, the author points out that Innana, Nanâ, Nina, and Anunit are all designations of that goddess, and that it is best to regard them as being local names. There seems to have been a tendency to look upon her as the one great female divinity, hence the use of the word *ištarit* as synonymous with *iltu*, 'goddess.' In the author's opinion she has her own sphere, and carries on her existence without any connection with a masculine deity. With regard to this it may be noted that the name of Tammuz, her spouse, occurs as early as the time of Lugal-anda and Uru-ka-gina,[1] and notwithstanding that we have no records proving the existence of the well-known legends concerning Ištar and Tammuz at that early period, there is every probability that they had already taken form. It is true that Tammuz seems not to have attained a greater importance in Babylonia than did Adonis, his counterpart, in Greece, but the goddess of reproduction and the god of the recurring seasons represent ideas so closely related that they could not reasonably be separated—they are, in fact, complements of each other.

The monograph on the god Anu at the earliest period of Babylonian history is especially noteworthy. The goddess Bau was his daughter, and Nin-giš-zida his son, whilst

[1] Regarded as having reigned 4,000 or 4,500 years B.C.

Nannar, the moon, in the inscriptions of Ur-Engur, is called "the mighty steer of Anu," proving that the last-named was already, at that early date, the god of the firmament.

Professor Jastrow's researches lead him to the conclusion that in the earliest times the worship of the heaven-god was not in special favour. This would be due to the fact that a god of the heavens is an abstract idea, and could not become a popular belief. In the time of Ḫammurabi, Babylonia's great lawgiver, things had changed somewhat, and political concentration in the Euphrates-valley brought to a focus the intellectual life of the land. The author is of opinion that the manner in which the name Anu is written in the Babylonian inscriptions of that period indicates that the people had not yet reached the abstract principle which lies in the idea of a god of the heavens, notwithstanding that a certain amount of personification was unavoidable. The spelling referred to is the use of the characters , *anna*, the word for 'heaven' as a material idea—the vault which we see over our heads. It is doubtful, however, whether much can be based on this evidence, as it may be merely a device of the scribes to avoid writing the determinative prefix of divinity, i.e. instead of , D.P. *An-na*, or , D.P. *A-na*, just as we meet with , *An-nu-ni-tu*^{m}, instead of , D.P. *A-nu-ni-tu*^{m}, the goddess Anunit. The author mentions that the goddess Bau is called "child of Anu," but this he regards as an indication of the personification of the heavens without deification.

Among the minor deities whose names are discussed may be mentioned Nin-šaḫ, the latter component of whose name means, he points out, 'wild swine,' regarded, he says, as holy by the Babylonians, as also by other nations. The eating of its flesh was forbidden on certain days of the year, reference being made to the calendar in the fifth volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, pl. 48, where, for the 30th day of Ab, there are the words "the flesh of

a swine he shall not eat, *maškadu* (? gout) will seize him." For the 27th of Tisri, however, in addition to pork, beef is mentioned: "the flesh of a swine, the flesh of an ox, he shall not eat—the face is dark," i.e. trouble will result. It seems probable, however, that these are rather of the nature of general recommendations than prohibitions, and may, perhaps, be addressed to a class of persons—the tablet whence they are taken seems to have belonged to one of a class of agriculturalists attached to the temple of Nebo—and not to the whole community.

The worship of Nebo, which was most popular in Babylonia, and also much favoured in Assyria, owed its popularity, Professor Jastrow thinks, to the fact that, as god of Borsippa, he stood in close connection with Merodach. This is in all probability true, but it must not be forgotten that all the gods of Babylonia were identified with Merodach after he became the national god of the Babylonians, and that Merodach, with the attributes of Nebo, the god of writing, literature, knowledge, wisdom, trade, and commerce, would, from the mere possession of these attributes, acquire considerable favour. Naturally Nebo's pre-eminence came comparatively late, when the necessity of furthering the worship of Merodach no longer existed. In this connection the author points out that Ḫammurabi seems intentionally to have ignored the worship of Nebo, and it is noteworthy that though that king mentions, in the introduction to his laws, Nebo's city Borsippa and its temple, the name of the god does not appear.

The history of the worship of Nebo and its political signification are well described, its importance being evidenced by the fact that it was on a distant mountain named after him that Moses, the great Hebrew lawgiver, died.

The extent of the subject is shown by the wealth of detail which the book contains, and the number of references which the author has found it necessary to insert, though these might have been extended. Separate chapters are devoted to the pantheon of the time of Ḫammurabi and the gods of

the second rank of his time, between which comes a chapter upon the gods of the temple-lists (preceding Ḫammurabi), of the juridical and mercantile records, and the official letters (of Ḫammurabi's time). In the chapter upon the remains of animism the various demons are spoken of, as well as the Anunnaki and the Igigi. The latter are described in the texts as the gods of the heavens, whilst the former were apparently regarded as the gods or spirits of the earth, and it may be noted that as Anunna is found instead of Anunnaki, the ending *aki* is in all probability simply a termination, of which the syllable *ki* is generally dropped. The meaning would then be simply 'the gods of the great waters,' as has been already suggested, and, if it be correct, possibly designates the gods of the earth as those who brooded over the deep at the creation, when as yet no land had appeared. Their mention at the coming of the Flood would seem to confirm this. The Igigi were 'the great princes' of the gods, but there is much uncertainty as to the meaning of the name. Taken separately, its elements mean 'five one one,' pointing, according to Hommel, to the use of the numeral 'five' as a separate group, from which Jensen contends that there was at first a five-day week, replaced later on by one of seven days. Other inscriptions give the Igigi as eight in number, whilst the Anunnaki are said to have numbered nine. Professor Jastrow's twelfth chapter, which is not finished in the third *Lieferung*, deals with the Assyrian pantheon, which differed from that of Babylonia in many essential particulars.

The book is a mine of information upon the religious beliefs of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and will long remain the standard work upon the subject. As far as published it contains 224 pages, and there are seven parts still to come, so that its extent may easily be judged. There is no doubt that this German edition will be a great advance on the English original, and, in addition to many extra chapters, pictures of the divinities of Babylonia and Assyria are promised, provided sufficient subscribers to this can be obtained.

T. G. Pinches.

T. J. DE BOER. THE HISTORY OF PHILOSOPHY IN ISLĀM. Translated by E. R. JONAS, B.D. pp. 216. (London: Luzac & Co., 1903.)

A handbook of the philosophy of Islām has long been a desideratum, and this subject is now dealt with for the first time in a special volume. Munk's sketch, to which the author alludes in his opening words, is only part of a larger work, and has moreover become rather rare. Yet Dr. de Boer is hardly justified in describing his book as the *first* attempt (since Munk) to present in connected form a history of philosophy in Islām. In the second volume of Stöckl's *Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelelters* the principal Arab philosophers are discussed at some length. This work has, however, two disadvantages. In the first place, its material is not drawn from originals, but from Latin versions, and in the second place it ignores the whole of the early period of the development. Dr. de Boer's book not only excels in fulness of matter, but also in inner unity, and shows clearly the growth of Moslim philosophy from the first timid expressions to a world of thought teeming with life and movement.

Dr. de Boer has called more attention than any of his predecessors to those conditions which prepared the Moslim to develop a philosophy. The majority of earlier students laid too much stress on the theological aspect of the question, although there is no doubt that theology gave a powerful impulse to metaphysical speculation. A kind of *Weltanschauung* existed in Arabia even in pre-Islamic times, and found expression in the ancient poetry as well as in the Qorān. A people without book literature is, of course, unable to condense its leading ideas into anything like a system. Certain notions about the structure of the universe, the beginning and end of things, and the destiny of man were rife among the people. These are distinctly reflected in the Qorān. The idea of the Logos appears in it under three different names, of which *Kalām* is one. The employment of this term for what Dr. de Boer calls

'Theological Dialectics' has, therefore, its root in the Qorān itself. Something similar may be said of the problem of human free-will. Dr. de Boer would find difficulty in proving that its discussion only came into prominence under the influence of Christian dogmatics. The earlier portions of the Qorān contain passages to the effect that "every man is hostage for what he deserves" (Sura lii, 21, and often). This doctrine also permeates the older Rabbinic literature. It would not, perhaps, have assumed such importance in the Mutazilite *Kalām* had not Mohammed subsequently (probably from political reasons) changed his attitude and reduced man's free-will to a mere shadow. These instances show that the stimulus to philosophic discussion was not, in the first instance, imported from abroad.

Dr. de Boer appears to be the first to give a systematic exposition of theories of prominent Mutazilites, and the pages devoted to them are both instructive and interesting. He then shows how Neo-Pythagorean and Neo-Platonic ideas lifted Moslim thought beyond the pale of mere theological quibbles and landed it on the more solid ground of the study of nature. This led to the formation of the society of the 'Brethren of Purity' (as they should be called, rather than 'Faithful Brethren').

During this period there arose the first 'real Peripatetic' in Islām, viz. al-Kindi (ninth century), who, in his person, furnishes the proof of the rapidity with which the Arabs had become imbued with the spirit of Greek science. He was a man of such comprehensive learning that Arab literateurs styled him 'the Philosopher.' He was the first eminent Arab mathematician. His works are, unfortunately, lost, but the influence he exercised on the further development of studies among his countrymen was enormous.

In the chapter on al-Fārābi we miss an allusion to Steinschneider's great book on his works. There is also a contemporary of al-Farābi who has hitherto been neglected in all expositions of Arab philosophy, although he deserves to be mentioned. His name was Abu Ja'kub Isḥāq b. Soleimān

al-Isrāīli, and the fact that he was a Jew does not affect the matter, as his philosophy has no religious colouring whatsoever. He was body physician to Obeid Allāh, the founder of the Fatimide dynasty at Kairowān. He was also the author of a great work on "Fevers," and wrote a "Book of Definitions" in Arabic. Of the latter work only a fragment of the original has been preserved, but a complete Hebrew translation of it exists in print. Beginning with a discussion of the terms philosophy and philosopher, he, in short paragraphs, takes the reader over all branches of philosophy, thus giving a small philosophic encyclopædia, always adding his own views. Ibn Sina seems to have been influenced by his conception of nature and psychology.

One of the great merits of Dr. de Boer's book is that the names of Moslim scholars who have hitherto been little known outside the circle of students of Arab literature have been introduced into it. Ibn al-Haitham's work on "Optics" secures him a place among path-finding scientists, and he enjoyed an undisputed authority in Christian Europe for many centuries. Not less pleasing is the circumstance that the reader of Dr. de Boer's work is made acquainted with the name of the learned and ingenious Ibn Khaldūn, himself a prominent historian. At his epoch Islām had run through an eventful history of more than six centuries. Being a keen observer and independent critic, Ibn Khaldūn remained unaffected by the theological reaction created by al-Ghazāli. The marvellous literary activity of the Arabs in all branches of learning, which so largely benefited European culture, had been fertilized by Greek thought. The Arab influence did not stop even after the collapse of Aristotelian philosophy in Europe, and many traces of it exist to this day. Thus they returned with interest what they had borrowed from Europe. Dr. de Boer has embodied an enormous amount of material in a comparatively small volume. What he says is so clear and concise that the attentive reader cannot fail to derive instruction in one of the finest chapters of human thought.

Special gratitude is due to the translator for the excellent English version, which makes this important work accessible to all who are not able to read the original.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

SAṂYUTTA NIKĀYA GĀTHĀ SANNAYA. By SŪRIYAGODA SUMANGALA BHIKKHU. 8vo; pp. 160. (Printed at the Jinālankāra Press, Colombo, 1903.)

This is an edition, with word for word translation into Siṃhalese, of the verses in vol. i of the Pāli Text Society's edition of the Saṃyutta, pp. 1–142. I have collated about one-fourth of it with Léon Feer's edition, and find it is very well done. It often gives better readings, though the differences are not noted. About half a dozen times an alternative reading to the one adopted is given in a note, but there is no mention of the manuscript authorities used or referred to. Nevertheless, the work will be of considerable use, as it gives the traditional readings and meanings, as handed down in Ceylon, of these verses, often as difficult as they are interesting. A notice in Siṃhalese on the cover states that it is only the first fasciculus of a work intended to include all the verses in that Nikāya, and that part ii is in the press. The author, who is resident at the Śrī Vardhana Ārāma Vihāra at Kolupiṭiya, Colombo, is well known as one of the most promising younger scholars in the island, and we congratulate him on this fresh proof of his activity. The work is, of course, primarily intended for use in Ceylon, but it would be wise to put on the cover of part ii, in English, the price, in English money, at which European scholars could purchase copies. It would also be a great improvement if the author would, at the end of each Sutta, give us, in brackets, the volume and page of M. Feer's edition. Thus, on p. 57, after Jarā-suttaṃ, the figures (1. 38). At present it is not easy to find out where, in this new edition, any particular verse in the old edition can be found. We trust that this important and interesting undertaking will soon be continued and finished.

RH. D.

THE LAWS OF MOSES AND THE CODE OF ḪAMMURABI. By STANLEY A. COOK, M.A. (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1903.)

All those who know Mr. Stanley Cook's work would naturally expect something of importance upon the subject with which this book deals, and they will not be disappointed. The work is full of information, stated in such a way as to be comprehensible to all, and the comparisons are made with that critical acumen which is distinctive of the author.

Concerning the question of the origin of the dynasty to which Ḫammurabi belonged, there is probably much more to be said than the author has stated in the first two chapters of his work, but it is doubtful whether a definite answer could be given, even were all our knowledge brought to bear upon it. Nevertheless, it is one which has considerable importance for the origin of Babylonian law, as Mr. Cook justly points out. With the exception of the names of Apil-Sin and Sin-muballiṭ, Ḫammurabi's father and grandfather, all the names contained in his dynasty, his own included, have a foreign look, but whether they are Amorite or Arabic is difficult to decide, notwithstanding that the reference to an Arabian dynasty (the names of whose kings, by the way, as far as they are given, are of a distinctly late form) by George the Syncellus has often been cited in connection therewith. Samsu for Šamšu, in the names Samsu-iluna and Samsu-ṭitana,[1] is noteworthy, as well as the element Ammi in Ammi-ṭitana and Ammi-zaduga (= Ammi-ṣaduqa), which is regarded by Hommel as the Babylonian form of the Arabian deity 'Amm; and if this explanation be correct, a more strongly-pronounced form of the name occurs in the first element (Ḫammu) of Ḫammurabi itself, which is once spelled Ammurabi, and also, to all appearance, Ammurapi, in a letter which probably belongs to the time of Aššur-bani-âpli. The author notes the explanation given by the Assyro-Babylonian lists,

[1] A variant (*ṭitana*) seems to show that this is the correct transcription, not *Samsu-ṣatana*, *Ammi-ṣatana*.

Ḫammu-rabi being explained as Kimta-rapaštum, 'the widespread family,' and Ammi-saduga[1] as Kimtum-kittum, 'the just family.' Such names as these are naturally very strange, and Hommel justly regards the renderings here quoted with suspicion.[2]

Though it cannot be decided whether the kings belonging to this dynasty came of Arabian or Amorite stock, their foreign origin would seem to be certain, and this notwithstanding that they were called the 'dynasty of Babylon.' Their origin, however, hardly affects at present the question of the derivation of the Code of Ḫammurabi, which was probably a native production—in any case, we are not in a position to prove that it was of foreign origin. The civilization of Babylonia, indeed, goes back so far, and the influence of the country was so wide, that they were in a position not only to become their own law-makers, but also to give laws to other nations. For the same reason, moreover, they would themselves, in consequence of the commercial activity of those early ages, come under the influence of other nationalities, not only on the west, but on the east also,[3] and this could easily have led to modifications, and even changes, in the laws of Babylonia.

We are accustomed to regard the Israelites as being a nation among whom a world-renowned code of laws had sprung up, revealed to them through their great lawgiver, Moses, and it is therefore very noteworthy that, as the author states (p. 55), no professional class of judges existed among them, and that, as the story of Naboth (1 Kings xxi) shows, judicial functions, in the eighth century B.C., still lay in the hands of the aristocracy and elders. "The passionate outcry of the prophets against the unjust dealings of the royal families of the land (Is. i, 23; Jer. xxi, 11 sq.; Mi. iii, 9) stands in unpleasant contrast with Babylonia,

[1] Thus, with *s*, according to the common transcription.

[2] Upon the subject of the Arabian origin of Ḫammurabi's dynasty, consult, among others, Professor Sayce's remarks in G. Smith's *History of Babylonia* (S.P.C.K., 1895), Preface, p. v.

[3] Tablets of an earlier date show a considerable carrying trade between Babylonia and Elam, and probably other countries in the neighbourhood as well.

where Ḫammurabi, as his letters show us, investigated the suits of his poorest subjects, and did not hesitate to reverse the decisions of his governors."

How much there is that is uncertain in the laws of Ḫammurabi may be judged from § 5, which seems to indicate that a judge could not himself change the judgment which he had pronounced, though, as the above extract states, the king could do so. The author justly points out that it would be hardly natural for the judge to annul or alter his judgment—however much of a partizan, he would scarcely go back from his written verdict. The severity of the punishment makes it hardly likely, also, that the law refers to judicial error. It is easily conceivable, on the other hand, that cases might occur—and possibly did occur—in which a judge altered his decision after giving a written document. It might happen, for example, if a litigant had a very clear right to the verdict, but the judge was on the other side. Publicly, the judge would declare justly, in order to be able to say that he had given a correct decision, but privately, he would be tempted, by giving orders to the officers of the court, or in some other way, to reverse the decision which he had pronounced. Or, being led by circumstances to change his decision without any dishonest intent, he might be regarded as trespassing on the prerogative of the king. As to the severity of the penalty (a fine of twelve times the amount in dispute, which the judge who changed his decision had to pay), there seems to be no reason to doubt the common rendering. In contracts of late date, one who made a claim at law was responsible to twelve times the amount in dispute (*adi šinšeru tan itanappal*)—the same as in the case of the judge who changed his judgment in the Code of Ḫammurabi.

The laws relating to the family are dealt with in chapter iv, and the author comes to the conclusion, against Delitzsch, that the wife, in Babylonia, was in a position scarcely more independent than in early Arabian life. This is probably true, but it must nevertheless be conceded that a wife, especially if she was a woman of good standing and the

first legal wife of a man, had as many privileges as could consistently be granted. In later times, indeed, a wife could own property apart from that of her husband, as in the case of the wife of Marduk-naṣir-âbli, otherwise Širku, who, in exchange for a slave, the slave's wife, their six children, and a cornfield beside the canal Ṭupašu, gave him two sums of silver and one of gold, a ring, and two slaves, who had been part of her dowry. This would seem to be in accordance with the laws of Ḫammurabi, in which the right of a woman to all the property which she brought from her father's house as dowry, etc., is fully recognized. As far as can be judged, any theory that woman's position, in Babylonia, was at any time perfectly independent, is very unlikely, and certainly cannot be proved.

The fundamental idea in the Code of Ḫammurabi, Mr. Cook says, is the familiar Semitic one, that marriage is instituted for the legal perpetuation of the husband's name and estate, and that the woman is a property which can be acquired by purchase, in return for which the buyer receives full marital rights. This, however, is a matter upon which there will probably be more than one opinion, for the mere fact that the father of the bride receives a sum of money does not prove that she became, by that act, one of the bridegroom's chattels. Originally, there is no doubt, wives were bought, not only among the Semites, but with other peoples also, and our own forefathers did the same thing, as the expression *beágum gebycgan*, 'to buy with rings (of gold)'—that is, 'seek in marriage'—clearly shows.[1]

[1] One of the earliest examples of this phrase occurs in the so-called 'gnomic verses,' and is to the effect that "The maiden shall by secret craft seek her friend (i.e. her lover), if she will not prosper among (her own) folk, that one may buy her with rings." The manners and customs of the early English in that matter were apparently not very different from what they are now, and as these verses go back to some prehistoric period (altered, it is thought, in later times), they are of considerable interest. The noteworthy point, however, is that the maiden herself had no objection to being bought—she even went to seek and to encourage her buyer. It is unlikely that women in ancient Babylonia had this liberty, and there is doubt whether they were even consulted as to their future life-partners. Such marriages are probably even now arranged in France, where a woman's real liberty only begins when she becomes a wife. No one, however, would in all probability contend that in such a case the wife was bought.

The laws against adultery and incest are well treated, and "the early codification of such laws stands in marked contrast with what is found elsewhere among the Semites." The punishment for incest with near relatives is exceedingly severe; moreover, for the far lesser offence of violating his son's wife a man could be bound and cast into the water, and the violating of another man's bride living in her father's house was punishable with death. It was only later that similar laws were enacted in Canaan, and references are made to Gen. xix, Judges xix, etc.; "the restrictions in Lev. xxi, 7, 14, apply only to the priests." The Babylonians of Hammurabi's time were, therefore, much more advanced than their contemporaries in this matter.

Notwithstanding that we find many examples of men possessing more than one wife, with all the attendant evils of the system, there is no doubt that the laws regulating this contributed largely to a prevention of abuses. A good example of this is the case of Taram-sagila and her adoptive sister Iltani, from which will be seen how well the interests of the two women were safeguarded. Nowhere in the Semitic world, says the author, do we find polygamy so restricted as in Babylonia.

Just as the laws of the family are discussed, so the author goes through the whole Code of Hammurabi. There is hardly a page upon which something of interest may not be found, and in very many cases noteworthy parallels, either from the Mosaic Code, the Law of the Covenant, Syrian Law, or Mohammedan law. All is treated with great fulness and acumen, and every authority of importance is quoted repeatedly. The concluding chapter contains a very short and useful summary of the comparisons which are made in the body of the work. In the Babylonian Code the enslaved wife and children are free in the fourth year, but in the Book of the Covenant not until the seventh year does the *male Hebrew slave* regain his freedom. In the Covenant a slave-concubine could not be sold to strangers, but in the Babylonian Code this was only so if she had borne children. The Babylonians punished the smiting of

parents by mutilation (the cutting off of the hands), but in the Covenant the punishment was death. In both codes the night-thief might be killed on the spot, but the Babylonian Code enacts further the death penalty for brigandage, theft from temple or palace, and at a fire, and the district is responsible for depredations caused by highwaymen. The amount of restitution ranges from thirtyfold to twofold, but in the Covenant fivefold for an ox, fourfold for a sheep, and double if the stolen thing were found in the thief's possession. In Babylonia the sacrilegious thief who could not make restitution was put to death, and the cattle-lifter in Ex. xxii, 3 is sold. If a thief steals a thing deposited, the owner of the depository must make restitution and recover from the thief, but in the Covenant he clears himself by an oath.

The Deuteronomic law in favour of the fugitive slave is in marked contrast with the severe enactments of the Code of Ḫammurabi. The statutes for the protection of the unfortunate debtor remind us of Israelitish injunctions and prohibitions, but whilst the latter appeal to the debtor's (qy. creditor's?) generosity, and are not always practicable, the humane laws of the Code of Ḫammurabi receive the stamp of authority and are intended to be carried out by the courts. Injustice towards the widow and the fatherless was forbidden and cursed, but one may search in vain for specific laws analogous to sections 172 and 177 of the Code of Ḫammurabi, which protect the widow if her sons afflict her, and the children in case she decide to marry again.

It is impossible to go over all the ground covered by this work, but enough has been said to show its value and thoroughness, and the industry with which the facts it contains have been collected. More, however, has yet to be done, and probably much will be added to our knowledge of the laws of the Babylonians in the near future. The work so well inaugurated by Meissner in his *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, published in 1893, needs carrying forward, notwithstanding the numerous publications upon the subject which have appeared since. There is also much

need for caution in translations of legal documents, and it must be remembered that up to the present all translations are more or less tentative, and the latest renderings are not always the best, notwithstanding the confidence with which they may be put forth. "None are infallible—not even the youngest of us."

The index to the Code of Hammurabi, to the Biblical passages, and the general index, add greatly to the usefulness of the book, which is bound to be a standard work of reference for some time to come.

T. G. PINCHES.

RECUEIL DE TABLETTES CHALDÉENNES, par FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN. (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1903.)

The Assyriological world is again placed in the position of a debtor to this, the most prominent of students of the non-Semitic idiom of ancient Babylonia in France, by the publication of the collection now before us. It contains over 400 inscriptions, arranged chronologically in groups, all the documents included therein dating from before 2500 B.C. or thereabouts. Many of these texts come from the diggings of M. de Sarzec, who excavated them at Tel-loh between the years 1893 and 1900, so that this work forms in a great measure a monument to the services which that persevering explorer has rendered to the science of Assyriology. The groups of tablets, which are six in number, belong to certain well-marked periods of early Babylonian history. Unfortunately, however, they are texts of a most uninteresting nature, being mostly trade-documents and accounts, though a few plans of fields, etc., and contracts or delivery-notes occur among them.

The tablets of the first and the second series, which belong to the earliest period, are of a curious rounded form, and, judging from an unpublished tablet of similar shape which the present writer has seen, it is very probable that most of them had envelopes, which would account for the very excellent state of preservation in which they are

generally found. In the single example of an envelope which has come to my notice, an addition to the inscription, and also some very fine cylinder-seal impressions, were preserved. If the envelopes of all the others were similarly decorated, there is no doubt that a very important portion of the archæological material which originally accompanied these documents has not been recovered.

A portion of the first two series was excavated by M. de Sarzec in the year 1893 in a mound designated by the letter K, about 250 metres south-east of the palace-mound at Tel-loh. They are of the period before Ur-Nina, as is shown by the fact that the layer in which they were found is below that containing remains belonging to his time. As M. Thureau-Dangin does not mention any royal name in connection with this small series, and as I, too, have found nothing which could be regarded as indicating who was the reigning chief, they may be looked upon as barren of any historical information. The style of the writing is exceedingly archaic, and similar to that of the inscriptions which immediately follow.

The second group of the series is of unknown origin, but in connection with them M. Thureau-Dangin makes a very important suggestion. He notes that a god whose name is written with the characters Su-kur-ru is frequently mentioned, and that these characters, in the tablet 82–8–16, 1 (published by me, with additions, in S. A. Smith's *Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts* in 1887), when used as the name of a city, with the proper determinative suffix, stand for Šurupag, explained as Šuruppak in the Semitic column, the Šūripak of the tablet giving the account of the Flood, where it is mentioned as the birthplace of Ut-napištim, the Babylonian Noah, and also the spot on earth where the gods decided to destroy mankind by the catastrophe which the Babylonian patriarch relates. The site of this interesting city is still unknown, but there is every probability that it will be discovered sooner or later, especially if these documents were excavated there.

It is on account of the style of the writing (no other

means of determining their relative position being available) that M. Thureau-Dangin places this group of tablets before the time of Ur-Nina. They bear, however, some very interesting names of rulers, whose titles, unfortunately, are not given. In two cases their names are compounded with that of the god of the place, and are read Maš-Šurupak and Enim-Šurupak- . . -zi.

The second series is one of which a great many specimens have been in the market, and have been purchased for various museums. There is no doubt, however, that the French explorers obtained all the more noteworthy specimens found, as is shown by the fact that, besides Lugal-an-da, patesi of Lagaš, and Uru-ka-gina, king of Lagaš (it is noteworthy, by the way, that the former is called 'king' at least once), the name of a judge, Ur-Ê-Innana, occurs, as well as that of the patesi En-li-tar-zi and his predecessor En-te-me-na. The dealers seem to have reported that these tablets came from Madain, but as the texts excavated by the French explorers were found in a mound close by the palace-mound at Tel-loh, there is hardly any doubt that, as the inscriptions themselves indicate, the portions of the find offered for sale were obtained by the native excavators on the same site after the official diggings were over. It is noteworthy that some of these inscriptions are the palace-accounts of the consorts of En-li-tar-zi and Lugal-anda, and furnish interesting details as to the provisions, etc., needed, as well as the offerings to the deities worshipped by the inmates of the buildings from which they came. They are all very carefully written, and are made of well-baked clay.

The third series consists of a number of tablets which were found by M. de Sarzec in a mound which he designated the 'tell des tablettes.' They were heaped up without order upon the remains of a pavement of baked brick, at a depth of 3·70 metres. These tablets belong to the period of Šargani (Sargon of Agadé), his successors, and contemporaneous patesis, and give several historical details.

One of these inscriptions mentions Šargani's campaign against Elam and Zaḫara (apparently corresponding with that first in order in the inscriptions giving omens for his reign[1]), whilst others refer to his expedition to Amurrū (cf. the second entry of the tablet of omens), which is regarded as being identical with Syria. The foundation of temples at Babylon and Niffer, and the capture of Šarlak, king of Kutû—possibly Cuthah, near Babylon, now represented by the mound bearing the name Tell Ibrahim—are among the historical data contained in this series. The third entry in the omen-tablet here quoted refers to Babylon, but its mutilation makes its exact sense somewhat uncertain. Inscriptions of the patesis or viceroys during the reigns of Šargani and his son Naram-Sin, namely, Lugal-ušumgala and Ur-ê (or Sur-ê[2]) are also given. Unfortunately, real chronological data are wanting, and the history of the early period to which these inscriptions refer is by no means clear.

The fourth series belongs to the layer uncovered in 1898 and 1900 in the tract north of the 'tell des tablettes.' They are of unbaked clay, and though they go down to the period of Ibi-Sin (Ine-Sin, Ine-Enzu), only those of the period preceding that of Un-Engur are given. They contain a number of data, which can, in some cases, be arranged in proper sequence, but more material is required before anything of real chronological value is possible. One group of tablets seems to be of a date anterior to that of the well-known king Gudea, whose statues are now in the Louvre, and others dated in his reign, as well as that of Ur-Nin-girsu, his son, are given. Numerous references to royal, princely, and high-placed personages of the time occur, and, with the details concerning their needs and way of living, will furnish valuable material for reconstructing the life of the Babylonians at that early period. The

[1] *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. iv, pl. 34.

[2] The tablet-fragment containing a new version of the Legend of Gilgameš, discovered and translated by Meissner, implies that the character *ur* had, in non-Semitic (Sumero-Akkadian) names, the pronunciation of *sur*.

indications of the events chosen to date by, such as the construction of temples, the digging of canals, etc., seem to imply that they were a peaceful folk, which would explain their advancement in civilization—such as it then was.

M. Thureau-Dangin's fifth series is similar to the preceding. The tablets are of unbaked clay, and belong to the time of Ur-Engur and part of that of Dungi, his son. Of the same period are also the tablets of the sixth series published in this work. Part of them is of unbaked clay, and the remainder (which was found in the southern part of the 'tell des tablettes,' arranged orderly in superimposed layers upon ledges of earth along the two sides of narrow subterranean galleries) of similar material well baked. It is during this period that we get something like effective chronological data in the lists of events drawn up to date by, like those published by Professor Hilprecht in his *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, Nos. 125 and 127. Here warlike expeditions are frequently referred to, as well as the restoration of temples, the enthronement of high-priests, and the dedication of objects to the gods. A large number of tablets belonging to this period exists, and others are, from time to time, brought to Europe. The dates of these inscriptions begin with what M. Thureau-Dangin regards as the twenty-fifth entry of the chronological tablet published by Hilprecht, i.e. the investiture of the lord thought to be the high-priest of Eridu, and goes on to refer to the third campaign against Simurru; the third against Ganḫar; the campaign against Anšan; the construction of Dur-mâti, 'the fortress of the land'; the building of the temple of Dungira (Dungi), which M. Thureau-Dangin identifies with that called Pî-ša-iš-Dagana; the campaign against Šašru; the ninth campaign against Simurru and Lulubu; the campaign against Kimaš; and that against Ḫarši and Ḫumurti. If all the entries in the chronological list published by Hilprecht belong to Dungi, he must have ruled, according to the author, at least forty-five, and possibly fifty years.

There is no doubt that his was a long and most successful reign, and, indeed, this would also appear from the number of royal inscriptions of Dungi extant. For the reign of his successor, Bûr-Sin, seven dates are quoted, the last being that of his ninth year, when the high-priest of Nannara (the Moon-god) at Kar-zida was invested. Seven dates are also quoted for Gimil-Sin, the king who followed Bûr-Sin, during whose reign the western wall, called *murîq Tidnim*, was constructed. Ibi-Sin, with one date only—perhaps the second or third of his reign—finishes the series, and as no inscriptions of successors are known with certainty, it may be conjectured that some catastrophe overtook the dynasty, bringing it to a sudden end.

The chronological conclusion to which M. Thureau-Dangin comes is, that if Nabonidus's statements with regard to the date of Naram-Sin, son of Sargon of Agadé, showing that it corresponded with the thirty-eighth century B.C., be correct, then the accession of Ibi-Sin could hardly have taken place less than 3500 or 3400 B.C. Entemena would then have reigned about 4000 B.C., the earliest series of texts published would fall 'in full fifth millennium,' and it is difficult to believe that these dates are not too high. This opinion concerning the earliest chronology of the Babylonians is shared by most Assyriologists, and more material for testing Nabonidus's statement is much needed. A thousand years later as the date of these later dynasties is certainly more reasonable—indeed, 2500 years B.C. as the period of Dungi, Bûr-Sin, Gimil-Sin, and Ibi-Sin, is just that which we should expect. Doubtless Nabonidus's antiquarian enthusiasm led him to overestimate the date of his great predecessor of Agadé, and in the absence of the pride of youth, the pride of length of days is a failing with nations and individuals alike. Nabonidus's chronological indications naturally depended largely on the accuracy of the scribe or scribes who supplied him with the information.

All Assyriologists will be grateful to M. Thureau-Dangin for his really valuable work, so conscientiously and painstakingly, and withal so modestly performed. It is a book

which no student of that early period in the history of Babylonia can possibly neglect.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE ARMY OF THE INDIAN MOGHULS. By W. IRVINE. (London, 1903.)

"The Army of the Indian Moghuls, its Organisation and Administration" is the title of a book lately published by Mr. W. Irvine, which appears to be part of a larger work dealing with the later Indian Moghul system of administration in all its branches. He has been prompted to anticipate in this preliminary investigation the earlier sections of his subject, by the appearance of Dr. Horn's essay on a similar theme, and the first seven chapters have already appeared in the Journal of the R.A.S. for July, 1896. These earlier sections, from which he has been diverted by the perusal of Horn's "Das Heer- und Kriegswesen der Gross-Moghuls," treating of the Sovereign, the Court ceremonial, and the system of Entitlature, were at the time little more than sketched out, and will now be continued, no doubt, without interruption. All this, however, is to serve merely as an Introduction to a complete history of that period already planned and commenced. So far the time occupied in these preliminary studies has been ten years, and Mr. Irvine appears to have no misgiving that health and opportunity will be granted for the completion of his formidable task. The work under notice has run to 300 pages, and the whole system of government "in all its branches" has yet to come, presumably with the same elaborate detail and conscientious pursuit of accuracy, not only in minute particularities of reference to multitudinous authors, but in the philology of all Oriental terms employed. The same authorities for the period he deals with, viz. the reigns of Aurungzeb's successors, 1707–1803, will probably serve him in many of his other investigations and lighten his task, but the list quoted at the close of his book includes a range of reading so extensive

that, if we are to judge of Hercules from his foot, the remaining volumes of the Introduction alone will entail a research as exhaustive, and employ a period as considerable, as that which has already engaged his diligence. If Mr. Irvine will permit a suggestion tending to shorten his labours, it is that he should master the art of selection and compression. There is abundant evidence in his account of the Moghul army of his uncommon familiarity with the authors he refers to, many of whom he must consult in the original manuscripts in his own possession or in the British Museum, and of the stores of curious and wide reading from which he draws auxiliary support or illustration of his statements. But in its present form the work is less an account of the Moghul army than a rich storehouse of raw material to be used by future labourers in the same field, and not for present enjoyable consumption, more likely to be perused by those who read to write than by such as read for pleasurable instruction. It is rather the work of a scholiast than a historian, a kind of *glossarium de bellicis rebus* wherein the technical terms relating to the personnel of the army, its equipment, arms, munitions, methods of attack, defence, and the like, are discussed under separate headings, with much learning, if with somewhat needless extracts from various authors on the same subject where there is little or no real divergence, inducing prolixity and confusing what is clear. Much of the ground is already sufficiently covered by Blochmann in the Ain-i-Akbari, vol. i, and the iteration of doubtful names for different pieces of armour with conjectural emendations of terms of equipment not to be found in any dictionary, and of which the uses even are unknown, are not worth the space of their record. Antiquarian research is one of the objects of the Society, but there is a danger to be avoided by

> "learned philologists who chase
> A panting syllable through time and space,
> Start it at home, and hunt it in the dark,
> From Greece to Rome and into Noah's Ark."

In a work of this nature, intended, apparently, for incorporation in a historical treatise, it is essential that there should be as little as possible to disturb the attention of the reader from the main facts of the narrative, lest the bewildering mass of overloaded details and parenthetical references to their innumerable sources weary the most long-enduring patience. Among these avoidable interruptions are the repeated translations of common Persian nouns, which every newly-joined subaltern in India learns in a week, derivations already explained, references of words not only to common dictionaries but to their pages, a series of meanings given therefrom when one would suffice, lists of fortresses and authorities that describe them, names of killed and wounded in obscure battles, whose mention only emphasizes the profundity of their oblivion, and endless citations of manuscripts which perplex without instructing the scholar. These are defects which would interfere with the profitable enjoyment of any work, however valuable in other respects, and they are not mentioned in any spirit of carping criticism, but to remove a very needless self-imposed labour on the author with proportionate relief to his readers. As Mr. Irvine justly observes in his concluding general observations, the brief but most interesting portion of his volume, the empire's final collapse was due to its military decrepitude. There was little loyalty, absolutely no patriotism; the army, a body of mercenaries ready to desert or sell itself to the highest bidder; the infantry, a rabble of half-armed scarecrows of no account on either side, fit only for plundering the defenceless, and who had as lief hear the devil as a drum; the cavalry, fearful of sacrificing their horses, for which, if lost, they were never repaid, and dispersing at once on the death or flight of their leader; the artillery, generally immovable, the heavy guns firing one shot in three hours if they did not burst at the first discharge —these were the elements of a battle, combined with much shouting and abusive language and blowing of horns; its conclusion the immediate flight, after plundering their own camp, of the vanquished, or that of the enemy if victorious;

recorded by historians in language of hyperbole that would be excessive if applied to the campaigns of Alexander. There were, of course, brave men and gallant deeds at all times; these are not confined to any nation nor to any age, but they did not alter and only brought into greater prominence the miserable incompetence, the corruption, the intrigues, the shameless effeminacy, and craven spirit that marked the degenerate holders of that sceptre once swayed by the intrepid hands of Baber. After the death of Aurungzeb in 1707 the tottering structure of this once great dominion rapidly crumbled to its fall. While supported and nourished by infusion of vigorous northern blood from beyond the Himalayas, it continued to flourish with some show of hereditary power, but when that source failed and it depended for its endurance on the languid generations of the Indian plains, shattered by the wide devastation of the Persian and the Afghan and the assault of the Marhatta, the insubstantial pageant faded from history.

It may be of service to correct some errors here and there that deserve emendation. At p. 9 'Uzzám is given as the plural of A'ẓam. Like the latter, it is itself an intensive form of عَظِيمٌ, and not a plural at all, nor used in the plural. Possibly a *sálim* plural might be allowable, though an instance would be difficult to discover, but a broken plural it cannot be. No doubt عُظَمَآءُ is intended, which is a plural of عظيم.

At p. 19 *Ayyám i ḥiláli* is rendered 'days of the moon's rise.' If the transliteration *ḥ* for ح is correct, the word has no connection with the moon, which requires *s* for its orthography. هِلَال signifies both the new and waning moon; during the rest of the month it is called قَمَر. If Ḥiláli be the right reading, the deduction of pay might refer to days of rest (حِلَال, *v.* n. 3 of حَلَّ), a deduction, as it were, during halts against travelling or service allowance, but this is mere conjecture.

P. 29, *kamrband* for *kamarband*, *ka'bah* for *qabá*. P. 45, *mutákharín* for *muta'akhkhirín*. P. 48, *farágh* for *farákh*, *barwat* (twice) for *burút*. P. 109, *mu'ánd* for *mu'ánid*, and some others.

At p. 66 occurs the following verse :—

" Chah yáre kunad mighfar o joshan am
Chún Bári na kard akhtar roshan am."

Yáre should be *yári* in the first line, and the second requires the *izáfat* after *akhtar* for its proper scansion. The verse is *mutaqárib*, catalectic in the final syllable. This change would alter the meaning given, and render the reading *Bári* very doubtful. *Yári* seems the more probable word, and certainly gives the sense, which the other does not.

There are other points on which not a little remains to be said, but sufficient has been noted to indicate the line taken by the author in this early portion of his history, and the advantage of compression in its continuance if he would do justice to the industry and ability which he brings to his task.

H. S. JARRETT.

THE MIDDLE EASTERN QUESTION, OR SOME POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF INDIAN DEFENCE. By VALENTINE CHIROL. (London : Murray, 1903.)

Mr. Chirol's book is very well written and eminently readable, being a pleasant blend of travel, personal observation, and political speculation. It embraces the whole frontier of India from Siam to Sīstān ; but is mainly concerned with those burning questions of Anglo-Indian politics, Persia and the Persian Gulf. Anyone approaching these subjects for the first time could not choose a better guide than Mr. Chirol; while even experts will benefit by studying his lucid *résumé* of the problem in its very latest phases. Mr. Chirol brings out with striking clearness the fact that Russia's present objective seems to be Sīstān, to be followed by an advance straight to some point on the coast between Karāchī and the mouth of the Gulf. All

preliminaries are being carefully settled, the Persian customs have been captured, under the screen of a subservient Belgian administration, and before many years are over we may see another of those Russian encroachments which it is the fashion here in England to call 'inevitable.' Russia's advance to the shores of the Indian Ocean should be in no sense more 'inevitable' than a similar movement by us from Quetta to Sīstān, Shīrāz, and the Gulf ports. With us it is the will rather than the power to make such an advance that is wanting. The accelerated pace at which Russia is now pushing southwards is the newest and most striking fact brought out in this book. Lord Lansdowne's recent declaration that the Persian Gulf is a British sphere of influence may have done a little to postpone the course of events. But when the time comes shall we not, as hitherto, be like the lady who, "vowing she would ne'er consent, consented"? When that comes to pass, we shall find the protection of our sea-route to India, the Far East, and Australia a burden almost more than can be borne. I have no criticisms to offer, for Mr. Chirol's views are substantially those held by me and, as I believe, by nearly every other Anglo-Indian. I have noticed, however, one small oversight. The right of Cambridge to claim our distinguished member, Mr. E. G. Browne, must be vindicated; he is Professor Browne, not of *Oxford* (p. 120), but of *Cambridge*.

WM. IRVINE.

THE RAGHUVANÇA, THE STORY OF RAGHU'S LINE, BY KĀLIDĀSA. Translated by P. DE LACY JOHNSTONE. (London: Dent & Co.)

This translation of the most celebrated Sanskrit epic poem of the classical period is intended, presumably, chiefly for the benefit of English readers who are not Sanskrit scholars. It aims, therefore, at preserving the spirit rather than the mode of expression, the substance rather than the form, of Kālidāsa's poem.

Mr. de Lacy Johnstone has wisely chosen blank verse as the most suitable medium for his version; and he certainly possesses the somewhat rare faculty of using this medium effectively and without monotony.

The following passage (Canto ix, lines 79–88 of the translation) affords a very fair sample of his style:—

> "Came in his season Spring, that gracious Lord,
> In might all-worshipful, the peer alike
> Of Gods of Earth, and Sky, and Wealth, and Sea,
> To deck the world with new-born flowers. The Sun
> Turned towards Kuvera's realms his steeds, and cleared
> The morning-hours of Frost, and left the slopes
> Of well-loved Malaya. First burst the buds,
> Then sprouted fresh green twigs, with hum of bees
> And cuckoos' wooing note:—through tree-clad glade
> In order due thus Spring revealed himself."

This is certainly very readable English verse, and the passage has been chosen as, in point of style, fairly representing the whole translation. At the beginning of the passage quoted there is an inversion of the sense and construction of the original, which may be intentional or unintentional on the part of the translator; but, if intentional, it is scarcely justifiable.[1] Apart from this, it is to be noted that the translator has, in these ten lines of blank verse (= 100 syllables), succeeded in giving an adequate presentation of every idea in the original passage, which consists of three *drutavilambita* verses (= 144 syllables).

Everywhere throughout this version Mr. de Lacy Johnstone's taste and judgment are apparent, and he has certainly completed his difficult and delicate task with a rare degree of success.

E. J. R.

[1] The original idea is, of course, that Spring comes with his new flowers as if to honour King Daśaratha, the equal of the Gods.

THE MYSTICS, ASCETICS, AND SAINTS OF INDIA. By JOHN CAMPBELL OMAN. (London: Fisher Unwin, 1903.)

In this volume Professor Oman gives us a history of Indian asceticism with especial reference to its manifestations at the present day and in times comparatively recent. It is a common-place—one of those self-evident truths which are generally disregarded in practice—that the India of to-day is best understood through a knowledge of the India of the past; and there can be no doubt that the converse of this proposition is equally true, viz., that a knowledge of the India of to-day is the best possible commentary on the India of the past. There has, in fact, been a continuity in the social and religious history of India, which makes it impossible to understand properly any particular phase without some reference to its position in the whole chain of development. By placing on record his careful personal observations of Indian asceticism and its devotees, Professor Oman has made an important contribution, not only to the history of Indian religion, but also to the history of religion generally; for asceticism in one form or another is a constant feature in different phases of religious history, though it has in India attained to a development scarcely to be paralleled elsewhere.

Professor Oman's book is well illustrated, and it is written in an interesting style which should make it popular.

E. J. R.

TIMOTHEOS: DIE PERSER, AUS EINEM PAPYRUS VON ABUSIR, herausgegeben von ULRICH VON WILAMOWITZ-MÖLLENDORFF. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903.)

The papyrus, here edited by one of the greatest of living classical scholars, was found in 1902 buried with a mummy in a tomb near Memphis. It has the distinction of being the oldest known Greek MS. The evidence alike of palæography and of the objects found together with it points to a date probably as early as 350 B.C. The poem itself is a *νόμος*

of the musician-poet Timotheos of Miletus, who flourished c. 400 B.C. It is in fact a *libretto* of which we have lost the music. It is to be judged, therefore, from the literary point of view, as we should judge Wagner's poems if their music was lost, that is to say, as a work of art necessarily incomplete.

The language of the poem is extravagant to a degree, and the superabundance of its metaphors makes us imagine almost that we are reading—so far as most of us can read this poem at all without the aid of the paraphrase in simplified Greek which is thoughtfully supplied—a Sanskrit *kāvya*. Like a Sanskrit *kāvya*, too, though dealing with one of the most inspiring and one of the most momentous events in history—no less an event, in all probability, than the battle of Salamis—we may search it through and through without finding one solitary historical reference of any importance. The description of the sea-fight might refer to any sea-fight; or rather, to be strictly accurate, it is of the nature of a stock description, such as we are, alas! only too familiar with in Indian literature, which could not be properly applied to any human event whatever.[1]

Disappointing as the work is from the literary point of view, the discovery of this papyrus, of which an excellent *facsimile* is also published, is of the utmost importance for the study of Greek palæography.

E. J. R.

A MANUAL OF MUSALMAN NUMISMATICS. By O. CODRINGTON, M.D., F.S.A. (Asiatic Society Monographs, Vol. VII; 1904.)

No branch of numismatics is, from the historical point of view, so valuable as that which deals with the coinages of the Muhammadan powers who, in all the three continents of the Old World, have taken so prominent a part in the

[1] Was there ever such delicious irony as is contained in the Jain *vaṇṇo*, "the description as before," regularly added after the mention of each new name or place?

history of mankind. This special value is explained by the fact that, with comparatively few exceptions, Muhammadan coins regularly record the date, the mint, and, from the end of the second century of the Hejira, generally also the name of the reigning prince. We have thus preserved an amount of evidence of the most trustworthy character, which enables us often either to supply the outlines of the history of a country during a period for which all other records have perished, or to control such other records as may have survived. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that all this evidence should be collected in as complete a manner as possible; and any effort to make the study of Muhammadan numismatics more general, by simplifying those difficulties which are apt to discourage students at the outset, is to be commended.

In the present little manual of 240 pages Dr. Codrington has put together, in an admirably clear and simple form, all the information and all the practical hints which are likely to help the student in the actual work of reading and identifying the coins. He, in fact, puts on record for the benefit of others the experience which he has himself gained during many years as a collector of Muhammadan coins.

The only work of the kind available up to the present time has been Soret's *Eléments de la Numismatique Musulmane*, a work long since out of print, and somewhat unsatisfactory as a manual for constant reference because of its unsystematic arrangement and the want of any sort of index. Dr. Codrington's book marks a great advance, not only in clearness, but also in completeness, since he has laid under contribution the large literature which has appeared since the date of Soret's book (1864). Especially worthy of note is Dr. Codrington's "List of Mint Towns," which takes up no fewer than seventy-one pages, and comprises, on a rough calculation, between a thousand and eleven hundred names of places at which Muhammadan coins were struck. This list will be of the greatest use. It is much fuller than any other similar list in existence, and its value is enhanced by the addition, wherever possible, of the precise geographical

position of the places and any descriptive or honorific epithets habitually associated with their names on the coins.

Dr. Codrington's book is sure of a welcome wherever there are students of Muhammadan numismatics, and nowhere more than in India, where there are at the present time gratifying signs of an increasing interest in this important branch of historical study.

E. J. R.

MISCELLANEA.

The Sahasrām, Rūpnāth, etc., Edict of Aśōka.

I find that I cannot deal explicitly with the second important passage in this record, without presenting somewhat lengthy comments on some of the details of the texts of it; even though the cases are but few in which I differ from decipherments made by Dr. Bühler and M. Senart. For more than one reason, those comments cannot be given in this Journal. And I shall therefore defer the completion of my second article for this Journal, until I have fixed the texts of the passage, with my remarks on them, in a separate note in the *Indian Antiquary*.

Meanwhile, I would say that the announcement made by me in this Journal, 1903, p. 829, is to be modified as follows. A closer study of the Brahmagiri text has shewn me that, while Aśōka did join the *Saṅgha* early in the thirty-third year after his *abhishēka*, it was not until five years later, early in the thirty-eighth year, that he abdicated and passed into religious retirement. And thus the edict further endorses the statement of the *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa*, that Aśōka reigned for thirty-seven years.

I take this opportunity of saying that Suvarṇagiri, where Aśōka was in religious retirement when he issued the edict, was one of the hills surrounding the ancient city Girivraja, in Magadha.

J. F. Fleet.

16*th January*, 1904.

Guessing the Number of Vibhītaka Seeds.

Nala, chapter xx, describes how Nala drove King Ṛtuparṇa. They come across a *vibhītaka* or *bahēṛā* tree.

The king shows his skill in *saṅkhyāna* by at once stating the number of the leaves and of the fruits that had fallen from it, and of the number of leaves and of the fruits that were on two of the branches. This passage has puzzled several European scholars, and various explanations have been offered. The one that I was taught in my young days was that the king challenged Nala to a game of "odd or even."

I would suggest that the simplest and literal explanation is the best one. In Northern India crops of all kinds, including fruit, are often estimated. The process is called *kan-kūt*, and is a necessary incident of certain tenures, the tenant paying the value of a fixed proportion of the estimated produce to his landlord as rent. In my old district of Gayā this tenure is very common, and a body of men known as *kaniyā*, or appraisers, has been called into existence. The skill of these men is something wonderful. It is almost uncanny to see one of them walk into a field, pluck a few ears of rice here and there, and then say that the produce is so many maunds per *bighā*, i.e. bushels per acre. Assuming that the appraiser is believed to be acting fairly, his appraisement is accepted by both parties. On a few occasions on which I have seen it tested it has always come out right. To come nearer to King Ṛtuparṇa's exploit, fruit-trees are often subjected to the same procedure. I may quote my own experience. It is a common thing for Anglo-Indian officials to sell the fruit of their gardens. If they do not do so their servants steal it. The purchaser, who is usually a neighbouring fruiterer, watches the crop, and the agreement of sale is for so much money down and for a certain proportion of the fruit to be delivered to the owner of the trees. On one occasion a fruiterer at Gayā offered me a ridiculously small sum for a fine crop of mangoes. We are always swindled in these matters, but this was a trifle too strong. So I got a native friend to send me a good *kaniyā*. The man came, sauntered about my orchard for half an hour, and then told me that I had so many mangoes. The fruiterer accepted his statement

without demur, and when I talked to him about it afterwards said that of course it was correct. It never occurred to him to question the accuracy of the estimate of a *kaniyā* so well known as the man I had called in.

It seems to me, therefore, that we must take the episode in Nala literally. King Ṛtuparṇa was simply an extraordinarily good *kaniyā*, and seized the opportunity of displaying his skill to the astonished Nala.

Regarding the use of the *vibhītaka* nut as a 'teetotum' in gambling, see Professor von Roth's essay in the *Gurupūjākaumudī*. I daresay Ṛtuparṇa was "skilled in dice" (i.e. in teetotum-spinning), which accounts for his selecting the *bahēṛā*-tree for his arithmetical display.

Camberley. GEORGE A. GRIERSON.
January 29th, 1904.

A DISCLAIMER.

May I crave the indulgence of a small space to make my peace with Dr. Fleet? He appears to have taken offence (see *ante*, p. 164) at an innocent expression of mine, indicating a difference of view. I was not aware that the expression carried any offensive meaning. In any case, I desire to assure Dr. Fleet that no offence whatever was intended. The manner of referring to him on p. 563 of my paper will, I hope, convince him of my unprovocative disposition. I now see that I was in error; and I note with satisfaction that, on the point in question, Dr. Fleet is in agreement with me. Under the circumstances, of course, I withdraw the offending remark unreservedly.

As to the spelling 'Kangudeśa' for 'Kongudeśa,' need I say that it is a misprint which escaped me in proof-reading? I willingly, however, accept Dr. Fleet's correction, that "the elephant-emblem belonged to the great Western Gaṅga princes of Mysore"—the more so, as it strengthens my argument.

For the rest, despite the somewhat sarcastic (undeservedly so, I think) remark, "he has solved one of those problems

to his own satisfaction," I venture to entertain the hope that, in course of time, my working hypothesis on a confessedly obscure period of Indian history will meet with the acceptance of the thoughtful reader.

Oxford. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.
January 31*st*, 1904.

THE VEDDAS OF CEYLON: ORIGIN OF THEIR NAME.

It is a remarkable fact that, of the various authors who wrote on Ceylon during its occupation by the Portuguese (1506–1658), only one, as far as I know, refers to the Veddas, viz. Pedro Teixeira, in 1610, and he calls them, erroneously, *Pachas*.[1] Captain João Ribeiro, who was in Ceylon from 1640 to 1658, devotes part of a chapter of his *Fatalidade Historica* to the Veddas, whom he terms 'Bédas'; but his book was not written until 1681, more than twenty years after the Dutch had ousted the Portuguese from Ceylon. In 1675 Rijklof van Goens the elder, on being promoted from the governorship of Ceylon to the high office of Governor-General at Batavia, wrote an interesting account of the island,[2] in which he gives a pretty full description of the Veddas, their customs, etc. He begins by saying: "The Weddas (who call themselves Beddas) are aboriginal[3] inhabitants from of old till now, whose origin no one is able to demonstrate." The statement that the Veddas "call themselves Beddas" is noteworthy, in view of the fact that in Sinhalese *bẹdda* means 'forest, jungle'; but I can find no authority for the assertion. As I have mentioned above, Ribeiro calls these forest-dwellers 'Bédas'; and in the Batavia *Dagh-Register* for 1644–1645 (p. 307) we are told that in the early part of 1645 Rāja Sinha, the king of Kandy, put to death two

[1] See Journal R.A.S., 1899, p. 133.
[2] Printed almost *in extenso* in Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, Deel v, pp. 204–246.
[3] The passage as quoted in *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. 'Veddas,' has, by a misprint, apparently, "all original."

'bedes' who had supplied the Dutch at Batticaloa with wax. (This is the earliest occurrence of the word that I have yet found.)

The origin of the name 'Veḍḍā' has been the subject of much controversy. Yule, in *Hobson-Jobson*, says, "The word is said to mean 'hunters'"; and to this the editor of the new edition appends in brackets, "Tamil *vedu*, 'hunting.'" But the Tamil for 'hunting' is not *vedu*, but *vēḍu* (a hunter is *vēḍan*); and any connection between this and *veḍḍā* is extremely improbable. (Mr. Crooke seems to have been misled by the assertion of Mr. Whitworth in his *Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, s.v. 'Vedar.') The commonly accepted derivation of *veḍḍā* is from Skt.-Pali *vyādha*; but, as Professor W. Geiger points out (*Litt. und Sprache der Singh.*, p. 47), *veḍḍā* would indicate a base-form *vyaddha*, and not *vyādha*. The stem-form of *veḍḍā* is *veḍi*; and this, Dr. Geiger says, points rather to the participle *vajjita*, 'isolated, excluded,' which would be quite as appropriate an appellation for these wild men as 'hunters.'

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Feb. 20th, 1904.

SERES OR CHERAS?

There is a puzzling passage in Pliny's description of Ceylon, H.N. vi, 22 [24]. Pliny is relating what he had heard from the members of a Singhalese embassy to the Emperor Claudius (41–54 A.D.), at the head of which was one Rachias—doubtless the Latin for a Rajah. After describing the position of the sun and stars as seen in Ceylon, Pliny goes on—"Iidem narravere latus insulae quod praetenderetur Indiae X.M. stad. esse ab oriente hiberno. ultra montes Hemodos Seras quoque ab ipsis adspici notos etiam commercio, patrem Rachiae commeasse eo, advenis ibi Seras occursare. ipsos vero excedere hominum magnitudinem, rutilis comis, caeruleis oculis, oris sono truci, nullo commercio linguae. cetera eadem quae nostri negotiatores.

fluminis ulteriore ripa merces positas juxta venalia tolli ab his, si placeat permutatio," etc.—"Moreover, they told me that the coast from the north-east extremity ran parallel with the Indian mainland for 10,000 stadia; and also that beyond the Emodi Montes were the Seres, whom they knew by sight; they traded with them; the father of Rachias had frequently travelled thither, and it was the custom of the Seres to meet strangers there; that these Seres were of unusual height, and had red hair, blue eyes, and harsh voices; they knew no language employed in commerce. The rest of the story agreed with the reports of our merchants, i.e., they placed their own goods for barter on the farther bank of the stream beside the articles the natives brought for sale; and if the natives liked the exchange, they carried off what was offered."—By the Seres the older classical authors meant the people of Sarikol, Kashgar, and N.W. China. Pliny makes Serica extend to the eastern sea, and the Montes Emodi are of course the Himalayas. Pomponius Mela (iii, 7), another writer of the first century A.D., says that the Seres inhabited the country from the Taurus range to the Talis mountains overlooking the sea; they were a right honest folk, for in trading they left their goods in the desert for exchange, and then kept out of sight. On the strength of these passages Lassen (Ind. Alt., iii, pp. 85–6) and other writers have asserted the existence of a trade between Ceylon and Central Asia.

And this is doubtless what Pliny understood. But what did the Singhalese ambassadors really mean? Pliny must have conversed with them through one or more dragomen, probably Greeks; and the rest of his narrative shows that he frequently misunderstood the information he got. Now the explanation given by Lassen labours under three difficulties. First, Pliny's words seem to imply that the Seres in question were at no great distance from Ceylon. The coasts of Ceylon and India lie parallel to each other; across the straits are the hills behind which the Seres live; so he seems to say. To fly off to Central Asia is as if a man describing Great Britain were suddenly to insert a description

of Hong Kong. Second, the Indus Valley would be the natural route for such a trade, but this route was in all probability more or less barred at the time by the conquests of the Kushans in the north, and by the anarchy of the Parthian chiefs of Minnagar on the Indus. Not barred completely, because emeralds, sapphires, and furs from China (Serica) found their way from the north to Barbarike, the port at the mouth of the river (Periplus, c. 39); but although goods might pass, individual travellers would find the journey difficult. Third, the Tartars and Mongolians who inhabited Serica in no way correspond to the description of these Seres. For these reasons many commentators have rejected the notion that these Seres have anything to do with Central Asia.

Lassen suggests that the fair Seres in question were the Usuns, a semi-mythical people of European origin, who lived in Zungaria at the end of the second century B.C. These Usuns soon disappeared, and we hear nothing further of them. But there is a much simpler explanation, I think, of the matter. The Cheras occupied Mysore at this time; their territory possibly extended to the sea. The ambassadors may have said that among the Cheras there lived a race fair, like their Roman interlocutors, and an object of curiosity to the Singhalese. The existence of such a fair race in Mysore is vouched for by the Arab traveller Suleman in the ninth century A.D. (Reinaud, Rel. des Voyages, p. 30). "C'est un peuple de couleur blanche, qui a les oreilles percées, et qui est remarquable pour sa beauté. Il habite les champs et les montagnes." Ethnologists have traced such tribes of European origin among the Ainos and even in Polynesia; and it would not be at all surprising to find that some such tribe had wandered to the south of the Dekhan. It has now disappeared, doubtless been absorbed, but the evidence of Suleman singularly confirms the statement of the Singhalese ambassadors.

If the ambassadors really meant the Cheras, it is easy to understand how Pliny, having the Seres in his mind, and knowing nothing of the Ghats or the Nilagiris, called them

the Emodi Montes. The system of barter he describes is, of course, one common to many savage tribes; it is in no way distinctive.

J. KENNEDY.

THE OLD INDIAN ALPHABET.

Professor Bühler, at p. 27 of his article on the Brāhma alphabet (Indian Studies, No. iii), quotes a passage from the lost Jain Aṅga, the Diṭṭhivāda (about 300 B.C.), which says that the alphabet had then 46 akṣaras or letters. The commentator, Abhayadeva (about the eleventh century), explains this number by saying that it is the same as the number of letters in his time with the vowels *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *ḷ*, and *ḹ*, and the lingual consonant *ḷ*, left out, but with *kṣ* included. Now Professor Bühler says this is a mistake; the alphabet referred to must have left out the four vowels and the akshara *kṣ*, and have included the Vedic or Pali *ḷ*. That would make the alphabet at the time of the Jain Aṅgas as follows:—

Vowels	*a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ai, o, au, aṃ, aḥ*	12
Consonants	*k, kh, g, gh, ṅ*	5
,,	*c, ch, j, jh, ñ*	5
,,	*ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ*	5
,,	*t, th, d, dh, n*	5
,,	*p, ph, b, bh, m*	5
,,	*y, r, l, v, ḷ*	5
,,	*ś, ṣ, s, h*	4
		46

But in the ancient Sanskrit literature and also in the indigenous schools, which adhere to the oldest practices, the four vowels *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *ḷ*, *ḹ*, and *kṣ* are included in the alphabet, and *ḷ* is omitted. This makes it consist of altogether fifty letters. So, in the Gautamīya Tantra we read:—

Pañcāśal-lipibhir mālā vihitā sarva-karmaṇi |
A-kārādi-kṣa-kārāntā varṇa-mālā prakīrttitā ||

"In all literary works garlands are prepared by the fifty letters. Those beginning with *a* and ending in *kṣ* are called the row of letters or the alphabet."

Mallināṭha, in the thirteenth century A.D., in his commentary on Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṃśa, says that the Sanskrit alphabet consists of fifty letters. Thus in the commentary on verse 28, canto iii, of the Raghuvaṃśa we read:—

lipeḥ pañcāśad-varṇātmikāyāḥ mātṛkāyāḥ | [1]

The Lautsha alphabet, which was introduced into Tibet probably in the seventh century A.D., consists of fifty letters, including *aṃ*, *aḥ*, and *kṣ*; but having no *ḷ*.

In the Lalitavistara (chap. x, p. 145, Bengal Asiatic Society's edition; ed. Lefmann, p. 127), where we meet with a grand description of the school in which Buddha learnt the alphabet, the letters *aṃ* and *aḥ* are mentioned in the row of vowels and *kṣ* in that of consonants. Thus, in the Lalitavistara we read:—

Aṃ-kāre amoghotpatti-śabdaḥ |
Aḥ-kāre astaṃgamana-śabdo niścarati sma |
Kṣa-kāre parikīrtyamāne kṣaṇa-paryant-ābhilāṣa-sarva-dharma-śabdo niścarati sma |

Aṃ being uttered there came out the echo, viz., "efficacious birth."
Aḥ being uttered there came out the echo, viz., "going down or setting."
Kṣa being uttered there came out the echo, viz., "the desire for all objects is momentary."

It follows that Abhayadeva was not so far wrong after all.

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1 *Sc.* "of writing, (that is to say) of the alphabet consisting of fifty letters."—ED.

A PECULIAR USE OF THE CAUSAL IN SANSKRIT AND PĀLI.

Though my knowledge of Pāli is very limited, it has struck me more than once that texts in that language offer examples for one or the other of the rules of the Sanskrit grammarians for which no examples have yet been found in Sanskrit texts. An instance of this kind is furnished by the sentence *namassamāno vivasemi rattiṁ*, quoted by Dr. Fleet above, p. 20, from the *Suttanipāta*.

In Vārttika 9 on Pāṇini iii, 1, 26, Kātyāyana lays down a rule concerning a peculiar use of the causal, the meaning of which will be best understood from the example for it given by Patañjali. According to the latter, instead of saying *ārātrivivāsam ācaṣṭe*, we may say *rātriṁ vivāsayati*; i.e., we may employ the causal of the root from which the noun *vivāsa* is derived, drop the preposition *ā*, and make *rātri* dependent on the causal *vivāsayati*. By the wording of Kātyāyana's rule *ārātrivivāsam ācaṣṭe* must mean 'he tells (stories) the whole night, until the night grows light' (i.e. till daybreak), and the same, therefore, should be the meaning of Patañjali's example *rātriṁ vivāsayati*. I have some doubts as to Patañjali's explanation of the Vārttika, and in particular as to whether he should not have said more fully *ācakṣāṇo rātriṁ vivāsayati*; however this may be, a correct example for Kātyāyana's rule is clearly furnished by the above sentence, *namassamāno vivasemi rattiṁ*.[1] The literal translation of this sentence would be 'worshipping I cause the night to grow light,' which, according to the Vārttika, in Sanskrit would be equivalent to *ārātrivivāsaṁ namasyāmi*, 'I worship the whole night, until the night grows light' (i.e. till daybreak).

I am surprised to see that in the St. Petersburg dictionary, where the word *vivāsa* of *ārātrivivāsam* is correctly derived from *vas* 'to shine,' the causal *vivāsayati* of *rātriṁ vivāsayati* is placed under *vas* 'to dwell.' This surely is due to an

[1] For the (short) *a* of the causal *vivasemi* compare e.g. *Jāt.*, vol. ii, p. 178, l. 20, *upatapeti* (for *upatāpeti*).

oversight, because *ṿivāsa* and *vivāsayati* must necessarily be derived from one and the same root.

In Vārttika 10 on Pāṇini iii, 1, 26, Kātyāyana gives another rule for the employment of the causal, by which, e.g. in the sentence *Ujjayinyāḥ prasthito Māhiṣmatyāṁ sūryodgamanaṁ saṁbhāvayate*, 'having started from Ujjayinī he meets sunrise at Māhiṣmatī' (i.e. he reaches M. at sunrise), for the two last Sanskrit words we may use *sūryam udgamayati*, 'having started from U. he causes the sun to rise at M.' With this we may compare *suriyaṁ uṭṭhāpesi* and *aruṇaṁ uṭṭhāpesi*, which occur several times in the *Jātakas*: compare e.g. *Jāt.*, vol. i, p. 318, l. 19, *aggiṁ ujjāletuṁ asakkontī suriyaṁ uṭṭhāpesi*, 'unable to get the fire to burn she caused the sun to rise' (i.e. the sun rose while she was still unable to get the fire to burn); p. 103, l. 22; p. 399, l. 14; vol. vi, p. 330, l. 15, etc. The difference between Sanskrit and Pāli here is, that in Sanskrit the causal, according to Kātyāyana, is to be used in this manner only when some astonishing feat (such as the accomplishment of the journey from U. to M. in one night) is described, while in Pāli there apparently is no such restriction.

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March 4th, 1904.

PRONOMINAL PREFIXES IN THE LAI DIALECT.

In the January number of the Journal Mr. Tilbe draws attention to the use of pronominal prefixes with verbs in the Lai dialect in order to denote the person of the subject. The same use of pronominal prefixes is characteristic of a long series of Tibeto-Burman dialects, which will be dealt with in the Linguistic Survey of India as the Kuki-Chin group. I have given a short account of those dialects in a paper which was originally printed for use under the last Census, and which later on was published in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, vol. lvi, pp. 486 ff. I there

tried to show that the use of the pronominal prefixes in those forms of speech is due to the common tendency observable in all Tibeto-Burman languages to avoid abstract terms. The verb, which is virtually a noun, is always put into relation to some other noun as its subject.

I still think that this explanation is the correct one. It is, however, possible that another factor has been at work as well. The Kuki-Chin prefixes are used in the same way as the Muṇḍā suffixes, which are added to the word immediately preceding the verb. Compare e.g. Santālī *koṛa-e ñur-en-a*, 'boy-he fell, the boy fell,' where the suffix *e*, 'he,' shows that the subject of the verb *ñur-en-a* is of the third person.

We do not know anything about the old history of the Kuki-Chin tribes. It is, however, possible that they were at some time influenced by Muṇḍā tribes, and the distinction of the person of the subject by means of pronominal prefixes may accordingly be due to a double reason.

Muṇḍā tribes must once have lived in many districts where they have now disappeared. The dialects spoken by several Tibeto-Burman tribes in the Himalayas show distinct traces of Muṇḍā influence, and there is nothing improbable in the supposition that some Muṇḍā tribe once lived in the neighbourhood of the Kuki-Chins.

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The verse 18 of the Harṣacarita.

In spite of being perhaps taxed with tediousness I venture to present another translation of this verse already examined by various scholars in this Journal (see above, pp. 155 sqq.). It seems to me that one of the ways of coming to a right understanding of a difficult passage is to take into consideration the context. Now Bāṇa, after having extolled the works of other poets, which brought them fame and splendour, hesitates to follow their example before the difficult task of finding terms adequate to the greatness of

his patron's deeds. A fine compliment indeed, and duly couched in the following terms:—

> "My tongue held back, as it were, by Ādhyarāja's achievements, engraved in my heart, refuses to chant, although I remember them well."

J. KIRSTE.

CHALDEAN PRINCES ON THE THRONE OF BABYLON.

An interesting paper has been contributed to the *Churchman* of October and November last by the Rev. C. Boutflower, Vicar of Terling (Essex), entitled "Chaldean Princes on the Throne of Babylon." Beginning with a statement of the views of various scholars upon the subject, and their opinions as to the origin of the Chaldeans and their name, he shows that the word first occurs in the inscriptions of Aššur-naṣir-âpli, father of Shalmaneser II, the king who, to all appearance, was the first to come into contact with the Jews. This text informs us that, in or about the year 879 B.C., the Chaldeans occupied the southern part of Babylonia, and were under the rule of Nabû-âbla-iddina, "who was probably a Chaldean himself." All the occasions when the Chaldeans came into contact with the Assyrians, in the reigns of Shalmaneser II, Šamši-Rammanu (Šamši-Addu), Rammanu-nirari (Adad-nirari), and Tiglath-pileser III, are then recounted, with many interesting details. His arguments tend to show that many of the Babylonian dynasties in the canon of kings published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, May 6th, 1884, were really Chaldean, so that "'Ur of the Chaldees' may well have been in the hands of that people at the time when Moses wrote the Pentateuch." Whether the composition of the names of early Babylonian kings constitute real evidence or not, is a question which requires the test of time, but there is very great probability that the presence of Merodach, Bêl, and Nebo, as component parts of them, may be an indication of the Chaldean nationality of those who bore them. The dynasty to which

Nebuchadnezzar the Great belongs has long been thought to be Chaldean, and as Mr. Boutflower remarks: "The name of one of the gods Nebo or Merodach is found to form an element in the name of every prince of the family of Nabopolassar, and we have thus a further proof of the Chaldean origin of that family."

The Chaldeans of the Book of Daniel.

In a further article (January, 1904) the Rev. C. Boutflower continues his studies of the subject. He points out that it is a mistake to regard the word Chaldean as having ever been equivalent to 'astrologer,' or any similar term, in Babylonia itself—this usage was only current among the nations with which the Babylonians came into contact. The Babylonian kings, moreover (even those regarded as being of Chaldean race), never speak of themselves as being Chaldeans. It therefore seemed well-nigh impossible to identify personages of Chaldean nationality in the inscriptions of Babylonia. Mr. Boutflower suggests, with a considerable amount of probability, that Chaldea was known by the term used elsewhere to designate its chief state, namely, 'the Country of the Sea.' A very striking tablet, of which he gives a translation, affords, by the personal names which it contains, a noteworthy contribution to the confirmation of this view. These are Nabû-êṭir-napšāti, the governor of the Country of the Sea; Nabû-šuzziz-anni, the deputy-governor of the same place; Marduk-iriba, the mayor of Erech; Imbi-Sin, priest of Ur; Bêl-uballiṭ, the governor of 'the other side'; and a few more whose owners apparently do not belong to that district. Here, in addition to names implying Chaldean nationality, we have mention of a district admittedly forming a part of Chaldea in its restricted sense.

If 'the Land of the Sea' be the usual Babylonian designation of Chaldea, this throws a very interesting light upon the poetical inscription which I have called the Legend of Chedorlaomer. We have there a statement that a deity

whose name is doubtful caused a personage named Ibe-Tutu[1] (a name probably meaning, 'Speak, Merodach') to enter within Tiamtu, the country of the sea, and that he founded there *la-šubat-su*, 'not his seat,' apparently meaning a pseudo or temporary capital. If this inscription really refers to Chedorlaomer, or goes back in any way to early times, as its archaic poetical form implies, it gives to the Chaldeans in Babylonia a very respectable antiquity, and in that case the phrase 'Ur of the Chaldees' would not have been an anachronism even in the time of Abraham. Judging from the Assyrian inscriptions, the Babylonians did not like the Chaldeans, though they had to acknowledge their rule, and if the latter attained their power and influence at the early date for which Mr. Boutflower contends, the reason why the Babylonians were called Chaldeans by the nations around is clear.

Talmudische und midraschische Parallelen zum Babylonischen Weltschöpfungsepos.

An interesting article thus entitled has been contributed by Dr. S. Daiches to the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol. xvii, 1903. As is now well known, the legend of the fight between Bel and the Dragon, as recounted in the Babylonian story of the Creation, had acquired currency among the Hebrews, as also, in all probability, among the nations of Western Asia in general, at a comparatively early date, and references to details of the story are found in Isaiah, the Psalms, and the Book of Job. It was therefore to be expected that something would be said about it in the Jewish commentaries on the Old Testament, and what is stated in the *Midrash rabba, Parsha Korach*, sect. 18, is given in full by the author of the paper. From

[1] *Ibe* as the transcription of the first element is that generally preferred, but Ine-Tutu is also possible, as given in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for October, 1903, p. 843. The text published by Weissbach, which is there referred to, shows that 'the land of the sea' was at one time ruled by a Kassite dynasty.

this it would seem that Rahab was regarded as the name of the 'prince of the sea,' to whom God, when the former said that it was enough that he should contain his own water, without swallowing all the water of the beginning, gave a blow and slew him, because it is said (Job xxvi, 12), "He stirreth up the sea with his power, and by his understanding he smiteth through Rahab" (R.V.). Reference is then made to the sea being shut in with doors and bolts (cf. Job xxxviii, 8); to the sand having been placed to fix its boundary (Jer. v, 22), etc. In the expressions בעט בו, 'he stood upon it,' i.e. the sea, we have a parallel with the phrase in the Babylonian Creation-story *éli-ša izaza*, 'he (Merodach) stood upon her,' and the idea is repeated in the line *ikbus-ma bêlu^{m} ša Tiamatu^{m} išid-sa*, 'then trampled the lord upon the trunk (?) of Tiamthu' (Tablet IV, line 129). In lines 139 and 140 of the same tablet is a reference to the *bolts* which Merodach set in order that the waters of Tiamthu, after he had divided her, and set one half as a covering for the heavens, should not come forth; though whether this refers to the waters above the firmament, or those below, or both, is not quite clear. Further passages are quoted, all of considerable interest.

The same author has also a note concerning the much-discussed Ḫabiri question, "against whose identification with the Hebrews, as is well known, there is much to be said." He refers to the existence of the root חברא (also חבר, pl. חברי, חברים), which is frequently referred to in the Talmud, and asks whether a connection between this and the Ḫabiri of the Têll el-Amarna letters may not be possible.

T. G. P.

Santāna.

In a note on the soul-theory in Buddhism, published in the Journal of last July (p. 591), I said that I had not yet traced the *santāna*-hypothesis in the traditions of the southern scholasticism. I am now able to modify that statement to this extent, that I have met with the term

santāna in three of Buddhaghosa's commentaries, used apparently, at least in two of three passages, to denote the flow or continuum of subjective experience. In the Commentary on the Majjhima-Nikāya (Papañca-Sūdanī, *apud* Anaṅgana-Sutta), I find *cittasantāne kilesā atthīti na jānāti.* In the Commentary on the Dhammasaṅgaṇi (Atthasālinī, p. 63), I find—on *cittaṃ* considered as object of *cittaṃ* (or self-consciousness)—*attano santānaṃ cinotīti cittaṃ.* In the third passage, which I met with last night only, in the Commentary on the Vibhanga (Sammohavinodanī, fol. *kī*), the allusion is to a time-continuum, viewed, of course, as subjective experience, but not explicitly given in terms of *cittaṁ* or *viññāṇaṃ*: . . . *santānavasena pavattamānaṃ taṁ taṁ samayaṁ paccuppannaṃ nāma.* The passage, however, leads me to hope that, further on, under *viññāṇakkhandho*, I may meet interesting instances of the term. I may then be able to furnish new materials to set beside those which Professor de la Vallée Poussin has contributed to this important point in early Indian psychology by his *Recherches*, and now again by his *Nouvelles Recherches* on *attā* and *kammaphalaṃ* in the *Journal Asiatique.* It may prove of no small historical value to discover that the psychological culture of Buddhaghosa's time and circle were closely allied with that revealed in this and that Buddhist Sanskrit texts.

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BHŪMAKA: A NEWLY DISCOVERED MEMBER OF THE KṢAHARĀTA DYNASTY.

In Pandit Bhagvānlāl's article on "The Western Kshatrapas," edited by me in the *Journal* for 1890, mention is made (p. 643) of certain "copper coins, which are found in the coasting regions of Gujarāt and Kathiāwād, and also sometimes in Mālwa." The inscriptions could not then be read, but the coins were conjecturally attributed, on the ground of similarity in types, to Nahapāna. After having an amount of oxide removed from one of the Pandit's

specimens some time ago, I found that a comparison of the letters thus newly brought to light with the traces preserved by other specimens made a complete restoration of the inscriptions possible. The coin-legend in question, like those of Nahapāna and Caṣṭana, is given in both Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī characters. Different specimens show indications of slightly varying readings, but the general description of this class of coins is as follows:—

Obv. Arrow, discus,[1] and thunderbolt; (Kharoṣṭhī) *Chaharatasa chatrapasa Bhumakasa.*

Rev. The capital of a column, consisting of a *dharmacakra* (r.) and lion, facing r. (l.) standing on a base; (Brāhmī) *Kṣaharātasa kṣatrapasa Bhūmakasa.*

There are six specimens in the British Museum—four from the Pandit's collection, one from the Cunningham collection (figured in *Coins of Mediæval India*, pl. i, 4), and one, which I found among a number of 'uncertain' coins, marked "E. Conolly, Oct. 1837." As these vary in size from ·8 to ·55 of an inch, and in weight from 69·8 to 31·3 grains, they must evidently represent more than one denomination.

I shall hope to have some future opportunity of describing these coins more fully. My object at present is merely to call attention to the existence of another member of a family of satraps, of which only one member (Nahapāna) has hitherto been known.

The coins of Bhūmaka seem to supply an important link between the bronze coins of Nahapāna and those struck conjointly by the Pahlava[2] Spalirises and the Śaka Azes. Bhūmaka and Nahapāna have in common the reverse type

[1] The dot, or small circle, which is to be seen on well-preserved specimens between the arrow and the thunderbolt must, I think, be intended to represent a discus. It is seen very clearly on the silver coins of Nahapāna, on some of the lead and billon coins of the Andhras (*v.* V. A. Smith, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1903, p. 12), and on some of the coins of the Scythic princes of Northern India (*v. inf.*, p. 373, *note* 1).

[2] For this dynasty, which seems to be the result of some sort of alliance between the Parthian (Pahlava) dynasty of Vonones and the Śaka dynasty of Manes, *v.* my *Indian Coins*, §§ 30, 31.

"Arrow, discus, and thunderbolt"—perhaps the emblems of the Kṣaharāta family. The bronze coins struck conjointly by Spalirises and Azes have for their reverse type a very similar collection of emblems, "Discus, bow and arrow."[1] The larger bronze coins of Bhūmaka hold, as regards their size, an intermediate position: they are smaller than those of Spalirises and Azes, and larger than those of Nahapāna. As regards fabric and quality of metal, they resemble the coins of Spalirises and Azes rather than those of Nahapāna.

On Bhūmaka's coins the Kharoṣṭhī inscription holds a position of equal importance with the Brāhmī inscription. From Nahapāna's bronze coins it seems to have disappeared altogether, while it takes a subordinate position on his silver coins. As I have already pointed out,[2] this gradual disuse of Kharoṣṭhī on Western coins is explained by the fact that it was essentially a Northern alphabet which ceased to flourish when it was transplanted to Western India.

All the available evidence, therefore, derived from considerations of the type, fabric, metal, and epigraphy of the coins seems to show that Bhūmaka came before Nahapāna. It also strengthens the view that the kṣatrapas of the Kṣaharāta family, as well as the kṣatrapas of the family of Caṣṭana, acknowledged the suzerainty of some Pahlava or Pahlava-Śaka dynasty of Northern India.[3]

The discovery of the Kṣaharāta Bhūmaka makes it improbable that Nahapāna himself was the founder of the Śaka era—a view held by Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrājī,[4] and since ably maintained by M. l'Abbé Boyer[5]; but it does not affect the probability of the theory that the era was established by the overlord of the Kṣaharāta dynasty, whoever he may have been, who was reigning when his

[1] Gardner, B.M. Cat., *Greek and Scythic Kings*, etc., p. 102, No. 5, pl. xxii, 4. The circular symbol is no doubt intended to represent a discus.

[2] *J.R.A.S.*, 1899, p. 372.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 377. Is it possible that the form *dāman*, which is so characteristic of their names, can be simply a Hinduised representative of the Pahlava or Śaka *dama* seen in 'Spalaga-dama'?

[4] *J.R.A.S.*, 1890, p. 642.

[5] *Journ. As.*, 1897 (sér. ix, tome x), p. 120.

dominions were extended to Western India by the conquest of the Andhras." [1]

E. J. RAPSON.

JAPANESE SOCIETY FOR ORIENTAL RESEARCH.—In connection with the work of this Society, Professor Takakusu has now arrived in London to work at the contemplated Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary, which it is intended to make very elaborate and complete, including also the corresponding Pali and Tibetan forms, where such exist.

SIAMESE EDITION OF THE PALI CANONICAL BOOKS.—A committee has been appointed by the King of Siam to superintend a new edition of these books, the first edition being now nearly exhausted. The same committee will also publish a complete edition of the old Pali commentaries. The first volume of this latter series, vol. i of the Mangalattha-dīpanī, has already appeared. Both texts and commentaries are also being published privately in Burma.

[1] Pandit Bhagvānlāl, in *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. xvi (Nāsik), p. 618, wrote: "This much seems almost certain, that the overlord or founder of the Kshatrapas was one Vonones, who was either a Parthian king or a Parthian adventurer." This is quite possible; but I do not think it possible that (to continue the Pandit's statement) "the date on Kshatrapa coins and inscriptions is of this Parthian overlord." It seems to me certain that the Śaka era is used both by Nahapāna and the succeeding family of Caṣṭana; and the date of Vonones cannot be so late as 78 A.D.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(January, February, March, 1904.)

I. General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

January 12th, 1904.—Sir Charles Lyall, Vice-President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

Miss A. A. Smith,
Mr. M. R. Jayakar,
Mr. M. B. Kolasker,
Mr. S. Chandra Mukherji, and
Mr. M. A. Husain Khan

had been elected members of the Society.

Colonel Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bart., unveiled and presented to the Society a memorial tablet executed in memory of Dr. Rost, formerly Secretary of the Society. He referred in his speech to the extraordinary linguistic powers of Dr. Rost. As a child he knew Greek, and before he was 20 he had mastered most of the European languages. Then he turned his serious attention to Eastern tongues, studying Arabic, Pali, Sanskrit, Tamil, Marathi, Tibetan, Chinese, Swahili, Malay, Persian, and Burmese. He took his Doctor's degree at the age of 24, choosing Singalese grammar for his thesis. Coming to England at the age of 31, he was appointed Oriental Teacher at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury; the list of languages —eastern and western—which he knew and taught is so long and varied that "there was hardly anything he could not read." In early manhood he suffered the disappointment of his cherished hope of going to India to study on the spot

the learning which had so fascinated him from a child. Though the abandonment of his desire was a keen sorrow to him, he threw himself into the duties that fell to his lot with splendid enthusiasm. In 1863 he was appointed Secretary to the Royal Asiatic Society, and in 1869 became Librarian at the India Office. His hospitality to scholars and to those interested in Oriental thought was proverbial; he was most self-sacrificing and lavish in the time he devoted to those to whom he could render any service. His encouraging help to correspondents evoked countless expressions of gratitude. Sir Richard Temple instanced his own experience of the Doctor's kindly sympathy and encouragement. He told how, at the time when he began to edit Oriental books and journals, Dr. Rost wrote to congratulate him on undertaking a work which brought no selfish advantage. He would never write books with the idea of attaining fame or leaving behind him a great name; his one aim throughout his life was to help forward Oriental studies. As a man he was most lovable and kindly. His was a busy and noble life, quiet and peaceful. "I count it one of the honours of my life," said Sir Richard Temple, "to be associated on this occasion with so worthy a man and so great a scholar."

The Rev. E. R. Orger, formerly Subwarden of St. Augustine's College, said he had gladly accepted an invitation to say a few words, chiefly in reference to the part of Dr. Rost's life which was spent in Canterbury. Soon after he had taken his Degree in 1847 he formed the plan of coming to England with the hope of getting some employment in India. His desire was to study on the spot the languages and other matters connected with that land in which he took so deep an interest. He brought some good introductions, such as one from Alexander von Humboldt to Bunsen; but he found that India was closed to all who did not come from Haileybury, and he had no interest to enable him to go to Ceylon. After a time of struggle, during which he maintained himself by occasional employments like that of cataloguing the Pāli MSS. in the British Museum, and by

private tuition, he accepted the post of German Master at the King's School in Canterbury, in 1850. But the stipend was not enough to free him from the necessity of giving lessons in German in Canterbury and the neighbourhood. Three years later he was appointed Reader in Oriental Languages at St. Augustine's, an office newly instituted with the help of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Henceforth, till his marriage, he lived in college, and shared in its daily life. In the Summer of 1863 he brought a charming young wife from Germany, and before the end of the year he was appointed to the Secretaryship of the Royal Asiatic Society. But, as you have already heard, neither this nor his subsequent duties as Librarian of the India Office terminated his connection with St. Augustine's. It is not necessary to say that he was respected and loved by his pupils—with some of whom he kept up a correspondence in later years—and by his colleagues. He gained the warm regard of all with whom he had to do. I can say with truth that I never knew so modest a scholar, or I may go further, a more modest man.

Mr. Adolphus Rost said: Sir Charles Lyall, Sir Richard Temple, ladies and gentlemen,—As the only representative of my father's family here in this country, I have the honour to thank Sir Richard and my old friend Mr. Orger for the most kind words which they have just spoken about my father, and need I say how deeply I feel those kind words and how difficult it is for me to express my gratitude sufficiently. Few men have had such a kind father, who was always ready to do good and to help others before he thought of himself, and I only hope that I may always do honour to his name. It is perhaps a curious coincidence that I should have been born at the rooms of this Society, and, as you may easily conceive, it was far from my expectations that when I saw daylight I should have the privilege of executing a memorial to my own father and to have it erected in this Society. I should like to say a few words about the memorial. Three in all have been executed; one, a replica of this one here, has been erected

at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, and unveiled by Canon Baly. A second tablet has been erected at Eisenberg, where my father was born; and the third tablet, which is before you, will be put up by the staircase. I may say that it was the original intention to erect the London memorial at the India Office Library, and permission had been obtained to do so, but unfortunately it was found that the memorial could not be erected there, as no memorial of the same nature had been erected there before. I should like to pay a tribute to the late Mr. C. Luzac, who so kindly undertook to act as Hon. Secretary to the Memorial Committee, and who was called away from among us before he could see the result of his labours. I will not trespass further upon the time of this distinguished company, so I will once more thank Sir Richard Temple for his great kindness in coming here to unveil this memorial, and tender my sincerest thanks to him and to Mr. Orger for the very kind words which they have spoken about my father, and I feel highly honoured at being present at this ceremony.

Professor Rhys Davids said that Dr. Rost had that rare intellectual gift which was ever reaching out for something new and unknown. If a scholar specialized on a special subject, he might win modest fame and financial advantage; but as soon as Dr. Rost had mastered the elements of one language, he started on another. He had studied Singalese for his degree; interesting and instructive as its study was, he turned his attention to Pāli; one of the earliest articles he published soon after he came to England was on a Burmese MS. of Pāli law which he found in the British Museum. Later in his life he devoted himself to the study of Malay. All through, new work was undertaken for its own keen intellectual pleasure—a very rare quality.

Sir Charles Lyall, on behalf of the Council and Members of the Royal Asiatic Society, accepted with sincere appreciation the Memorial to Dr. Rost. Sir Charles remarked that the memorial in the possession of the Society was in a most fitting place, and he mentioned that at the India Office there

is an excellent bust of Dr. Rost, placed near the Library, in addition to which a medallion has also been placed in the librarian's room. Speaking from personal knowledge of Dr. Rost, Sir Charles remarked that he was always more ready to give than others were to appropriate what he had to give. He was self-effacing and helpful, with an immense breadth of knowledge, and nothing gave him greater pleasure than to help one who really wished to learn. He regretted the unavoidable absence of Sir Frank Swettenham, to whom the study of Malay had also appealed. The attraction of Malay for Dr. Rost seemed to be the operation of the Aryan system of civilization on another race of people. Sir Charles stated that he had himself been interested in a similar manner on a similar ethnical frontier. When in Assam he had noted the influence of the Aryan civilization on a Mongolian people. "Nothing further remains for me to do," said Sir Charles in conclusion, "but to bear my testimony to Dr. Rost as a most excellent man and a most excellent scholar."

February 9th, 1904.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

It was announced that—

The Rev. O. Hanson,
Professor Jogendra Ghose,
Mr. Alfred Dobree,
Mr. Givendranath Dutt,
Mr. J. Chandra Das Gupta, and
Hon. Munshi Madho Lal

had been elected members of the Society.

The President said: Since our last meeting we have to deplore the loss of our distinguished member Professor S. Arthur Strong. It is impossible to overestimate our loss. Strong's intellectual endowments were exceptionally versatile; in him intellect was transcendent. His critical

powers were of the highest and rarest order, whether exercised in the domain of philology, literature, or art. On every subject handled by him he threw a flood of light. The strength and vigour of his mind were in strange contrast with the delicate physical appearance of the man. Perhaps the most striking feature of his character was its sturdy independence. His individuality was so marked that he was uninfluenced by environment, and without any need of self-assertion or evidence of his native scorn for Philistinism, his personality could not fail to receive its due recognition. He was perfectly simple and without affectation, his only object in life being the vindication of truth; and when once he had convinced himself that a conclusion was right, nothing would hinder him from stating it, heedless of all consequences. His moral courage was as great as his intellectual strength. Compromise was alien to his nature. His sincerity was absolute. The light of his mind brought to bear on any subject of research was so illumining as to dispel cherished prejudices. One never met Strong without being impressed by his originality, and without deriving profit therefrom. At the best of times, but especially now, we can ill afford to lose such a man. He would have risen to a very high place in that international areopagus of learning which now controls the destinies of science in its widest sense. Strong would have impressed the French by his literary acumen, the Germans by his thoroughness, the Italians by his sense of art. The men capable of holding such a position are few. Leighton and Acton we have lost, and now the premature death of Strong inflicts an irreparable loss on English culture. Irreparable it is to Mrs. Strong, who was able to share as well as to appreciate the work of her gifted husband.

A paper was read by Professor Rapson entitled "In what degree was Sanskrit a Spoken Language?"

A discussion followed, in which Professor Rhys Davids, Professor Bendall, and Mr. Thomas took part.

March 8th, 1904.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.
It was announced that—

Dr. Sarruf,
Mr. W. Gornold, and
Mr. Khaja Khan Sahib

had been elected members of the Society.

Mr. F. W. Thomas opened the adjourned discussion "In what degree was Sanskrit a Spoken Language?"

Dr. Grierson, Dr. Fleet, Mr. Vaidya, and Mr. Krishna Varma took part. The discussion will appear in full in the July Journal.

II. Obituary Notices.

Ernest Ayscoghe Floyer, M.R.A.S., Mem. Inst. Égypt.

Mr. E. A. Floyer, Inspector General of Egyptian Telegraphs, who died at Cairo on December 1st, 1903, at the age of 51, was the eldest surviving son of the Rev. Ayscoghe Floyer and of Louisa Sara, daughter of the Hon. Frederick John Shore, of the Bengal Civil Service. He was educated by the Rev. C. Boys at Wing Rectory, Rutland, and afterwards at the Charterhouse, until 1869, when he received an appointment in the Indian Telegraph Service, being then in his 17th year. During the next seven years he was stationed on the coast of the Persian Gulf. In January, 1876, when he received his long leave, although at the time seriously ill, he started, on his own responsibility, for the unexplored interior of Baluchistan. His observations and surveys on the difficult and dangerous series of journeys which occupied him until May, 1877 (when he returned to England), earned him the reputation of a bold and intelligent explorer at the age of three and twenty. Shortly after his return to England he was appointed Inspector General of

Egyptian Telegraphs, and went out to take up the appointment in January, 1878. This post he held for twenty-five years until his death in 1903. The department, which had hitherto been conducted at a heavy loss, he so reorganized as to yield a substantial annual surplus, and, as an expert upon questions of telegraphic tariff, he represented Egypt efficiently at the International Telegraphic Congresses. For his services to the military authorities during the campaigns of the eighties he was granted the medal "Egypt, 1882," with clasp "The Nile, 1884-5," in connection with the Tel-el-Kebir campaign, and the Gordon Relief Expedition respectively; and received also the Khedive's "Bronze Star." In 1884 he contributed to the Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society a note "On the Nile Route from Halfa to Debba," and in 1887 he surveyed "Two Routes in the Eastern Desert of Egypt" between the Nile and the Red Sea (about N. lat. 26°). In 1891 he was appointed by the Khedive to the command of an important expedition in the more southern part of the same desert, about N. lat. 24°. In this expedition he located and examined the extensive emerald-mines of Sikait and Zabbara, which have been worked at various epochs from very early times, and have now been reopened owing to Mr. Floyer's report of their potentialities. The results of the expedition, antiquarian, scientific, and economic, were fully described in his official publication *Étude sur la Nord-Etbaï* (Cairo, 1893). It is a matter of great regret that this remarkable book was not translated into English and published in this country, where the author's "Unexplored Baluchistan" (Griffith & Farran) had appeared in 1882.

During the last ten years of his life, while continuing his linguistic, antiquarian, and scientific work, he gave much attention to the economic development of desert land in Egypt. He originated the Nitrate Mission to Upper Egypt, personally directing the work of extracting the salts; and also became "Director of Plantations, State Railways, and Telegraphs of Egypt." The management of this sub-department "for growing trees and economic

plants which may be profitably cultivated upon waste land" was his particular delight. He grew the *cactus* (for fibre), the *casuarina* (telegraph poles), the *Ficus elastica* (yielding rubber), besides the *Hyoscyamus muticus* (yielding a valuable alkaloid), and many other plants.

He was much beloved by the native employés of his widely spread administration (as the present writer can testify from personal knowledge). Doubtless his perfect mastery of the Arabic was a great help towards the attainment of their confidence, but more was due to the deep-seated kindliness of his nature.

He married, in 1887, Mary Louisa, eldest daughter of the Rev. William Richards Watson, of Saltfleetby St. Peters, co. Lincoln, who survives him; and leaves three sons, Ernest Ayscoghe, William Anthony, and John Wadham.

The following list of Mr. Floyer's publications is as full as I can make it, but owing to his books and papers being still at Cairo, where his lamented and sudden death occurred, it is not improbable that the list is incomplete. I am, however, sufficiently acquainted with my cousin's work to know that this schedule fairly represents his intellectual activities outside the sphere of his administration of the Egyptian Telegraphs. I may add that those who, being unacquainted with his writings, may wish to consult them, will find a store of curious and out-of-the-way facts, and the reflections of an original mind, endowed with a combination of faculties peculiarly suited to grapple with the varied problems encountered among primitive peoples and during exploration in countries as yet imperfectly studied.

VAUGHAN CORNISH, D.Sc., F.R.G.S.

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF MR. E. A. FLOYER'S PUBLICATIONS.

1877. *Report of the British Association:* "On Bashakard in Western Baluchistan." (Abstract of paper read before the Geographical Section.)

1877. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. xlvii, pp. 188–201: "Journal of a Route from Jask to Bampur."

1882. "Unexplored Baluchistan." (Griffith & Farran. Roy. 8vo; pp. 507, with twelve illustrations and a map.) This work contains the narratives of (1) a journey of exploration from Jask to Bampur; (2) a tour in the Persian Gulf, in which the Island of Henjan and other places were visited; (3) a journey of exploration from Jask to Kirman *viâ* Anguhran; (4) a journey from Kirman *viâ* Yezd and Ispahan to Baghdad and Basra, and by sea to England. The period occupied by these journeys was from January, 1876, to May, 1877. Appendix A contains observations on some dialects of Western Baluchistan and others akin to them. Appendix B, list of plants collected. Appendix C, "Geography," contains a list of 47 localities whose positions were determined by sextant and chronometer. Appendix D, meteorological observations from November 1st, 1876, to March 1st, 1877, *en route* from Jask to Baghdad.

1884. *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*: "On the Nile Route from Halfa to Debba." A short note on the stages of the journey.

1884. *The Times*, September 5th, p. 4: "Turks and Persians." A letter of considerable interest relating to the politics, trade, and agriculture of Koweit, Muhammerah, and the lower Karun.

1887. *Proc. Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, ix, p. 659 et seq.: "Two Routes in the Eastern Desert of Egypt," between the Nile and the Red Sea, with map by the author of route from Kosseir to Jimsah.

1887. *Report of the British Association*, p. 801: "Between the Nile and the Red Sea." (Abstract of paper read before the Geographical Section.)

1891. *Athenæum*, May 23rd, June 27th, and August 8th. "Explorations in Eastern Egypt." (A narrative written *en route*.) This and the next seven entries refer to the Northern Etbai Expedition of 1891.

1892. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, pp. 811–833: "The Mines of the Northern Etbai or of Northern Æthiopia," with a Map, Water-colour Drawings, and Lithographs, by the Scientific Expedition to the Northern Etbai. (This paper deals with the archæological results of the expedition.)

1892. *Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc.*, vol. xlviii, p. 576 et seq.: "Notes on the Geology of the Northern Etbai." The author considers the supposition of a "pluvial epoch" not to be necessary in order to account for the aqueous erosion observed in this district.

1892. *Bull. Soc. Khédiviale de Géographie*, Série iii, Numero 9: "Note sur les Sidoniens et les Erembes d'Homère."

1892. *Kew Bulletin*, December: "Disappearance of Desert Plants in Egypt." (Attributed to the arrival of the Arab and his camel.)

1893. *Geographical Journal*, May, pp. 408–431, illustrated: "Further Routes in the Eastern Desert of Egypt." (The best general summary of the results of the expedition of 1891, with a good account of the re-discovery of the Emerald Mines.)

1893. "Étude sur la Nord-Etbai entre le Nil et la Mer Rouge," avec quatre cartes et quinze illustrations, pp. 192, 4to, Caire, 1893. (Mr. Floyer's official account of the expedition.)

1894. *Institut Égyptien:* "Note sur l'emploi d'une Argile comme Fertilisant dans la Haute-Egypte." (Reference is here made to the author's discovery of Nitrate of Soda in the expedition of 1891.)

1894. *Institut Égyptien:* "Identification de la moderne Kénch avec l'ancienne Καινήπολις et arguments qu'on peut tirer de sa situation géographique actuelle."

1894. *Institut Égyptien*, February 2nd: "L'Ancien mur de Dendera, Tentyris, Coptos ou Ombos."

1894. *Institut Égyptien* (read December 7th): "Note sur quelques plantes utiles" [les plus propres à relier les sols sabloneuse, etc.].

1895. *Institut Égyptien* (read January 11th): "Quelques tombeaux inexploreés aux environs de Mualla."

1895. *Institut Égyptien* (read March 2nd, 1894, published February 4th, 1895): "Les Cadrans Solaires Primitifs dans la Haute-Egypte."

1895. *Athenæum*, October 5th: "Primitive Sundials in Upper Egypt."

1895. *Institut Égyptien* (read May 3rd): "L'Abaissement de la Culture et les nitrates de soude en Egypte." In this is included a copy of report by the author as "chef de la mission des nitrates dans la Haute-Egypte" to the Under-Secretary of State for Public Works.

1896. *Institut Égyptien* (read Nov. 8th, 1895): "L'Age du Grès Nubien, et note sur l'érosion par le vent et l'eau" (illustrated by photographs, plans, and sections). Contains an account of a cloud-burst at Helwan, near Cairo, and of its effect in erosion and transport of material. An important contribution (in which the author was assisted by Dr. Georg Schweinfurth)

to our knowledge of erosion by water in desert regions. The author continues the discussion on the age of the Nubian Sandstone and on a "pluvial epoch" commenced in the Quart. Journ. Geol. Soc., 1892, vol. xlviii.

1896. *Institut Égyptien:* "La Culture du Sisal en Egypte." Rapport Annuel, 2me Année, 1896.

1897. *Kew Bulletin*, December: Correspondence with Mr. Floyer relating to "the promising result of an attempt to produce rubber from *Ficus elastica* in Egypt."

1898. *Geographical Journal*, May, pp. 559–563: "Notes on Mr. Vaughan Cornish's Paper on the Formation of Sand Dunes, in Geogr. Journ., March, 1897." Illustrated by sketches of sand dunes between Kuntara and El Arish. These sandhills were subsequently visited by Dr. Vaughan Cornish (at Mr. Floyer's suggestion and with his assistance in the matter of transport). A paper by Dr. Cornish "On Sand Dunes bordering the Nile Delta" (Geogr. Journ., January, 1900) contains some account of Mr. Floyer's plantation experiments, with illustrations.

During the revision of proofs I have received, through the kindness of H.E. Yacoub Artin Pasha, President *Inst. Egypt.*, copies of the papers read by Mr. Floyer before the *Institut*, which, in addition to those cited above, include the following:—

1896. February 7th: "Notes relatives aux récentes découvertes sur les phenomènes de nitrification dans les sols arables."

1896. February 7th: "Evaporation quotidienne d'une eau provenant de la lissive des argiles à nitrate (à Moualla)."

1896. November 6th: "Lettre sur le résultat de ses recherches sur les puits forés en Egypte, et relevé des coupes par M. Joannidis."

V. C.

S. Arthur Strong.

We much regret to learn that Mr. Sandford Arthur Strong, Librarian to the House of Lords, died on January 18th. He had been out of health since last Spring, but lately he was thought to be convalescent, and the end came with unexpected quickness. He was only 40 years of age, having been born in 1863, one of the three sons of Mr. Thomas Banks Strong, who till lately was chief clerk in the Adjutant-General's department at the War Office. One of his two brothers is the present Dean of Christ Church. Arthur Strong went as a boy to St. Paul's School. Doubtless it will come as a surprise to many to learn that from school he passed at the early age of 15 into Lloyd's, where he remained from 1878 to 1880. In spite of marked business capacity, however, the attraction of scholarship proved too strong and drew him to a University career. He entered first King's College, London, and went subsequently to St. John's College, Cambridge. The fact that he was handicapped by a break in study at a critical period of intellectual development, the delicacy of his health, and above all the rebellion of an original mind against prescribed lines of study sufficiently explain why Strong did not achieve much distinction of the accepted Academic kind. Yet in the light of his subsequent achievement it is instructive to note that this great scholar was twice judged unworthy of a Fellowship at his old College. At Cambridge, however, he came under the influence of Professor Cowell, with whom he studied Sanskrit and other Oriental languages, and he quickly developed extraordinary powers in this direction, which were soon to win him recognition in wider circles than those in which he had so far moved.

If Cambridge, then, scarcely proved a true *alma mater* towards one of the most gifted of her sons, Oxford now showed herself a kind foster-mother. Thither Strong migrated in 1885, having been appointed Librarian and Sub-Keeper, under Sir Monier Williams, to the newly founded Indian Institute. There also, in Oxford's genial

and humane atmosphere he was soon 'discovered' by men of the calibre of Max Müller, whose Oriental library he catalogued, of Professor Sayce, who became his lifelong friend, of Professor Legge, under whom he studied Chinese, and of the learned Sub-Librarian of the Bodleian, Dr. Adolf Neubauer. It was by Neubauer's advice that Strong later went to Paris, where his cordial reception by Ernest Renan, James Darmesteter, and other famous scholars is almost a matter of history in learned circles. He studied under Renan, became a devoted and favourite pupil, and soon received the high honour — rarely accorded to the French followers of the illustrious *savant* — of successive invitations to Renan's Breton home. In such surroundings he soon forgot early discouragement, and he returned to England about 1890, an accomplished scholar of rising reputation. For a time he devoted himself to Pali, one of his first undertakings being the publication of an *editio princeps* of the Mahā Bodhi Vaṃsa. This account of the famous Tree of Wisdom, written in the fifth century in a curious and difficult form of Pali, is full of interest, both historical and philological. It was published by the Pali Text Society in 1891 and was dedicated to Renan. Then he took to the study of Assyrian, and quickly became a high authority on the language and the archæological remains of ancient Mesopotamia. He next specialised in Arabic—in which language he published extensively—and in Persian, studied Egyptian hieroglyphics, kept up Chinese with his friend Terrien de Lacouperie, and became proficient in Hebrew. The facility with which he mastered one difficult Oriental language after another was a wonder to those best able to judge of the thoroughness and ability of his work. His mental powers were rather those of a critical scholar than of a linguist; and it is a sane and sober judgment which is the chief characteristic of his Oriental work. Meantime he had applied, on the death of Robertson Smith in 1894, for the Professorship of Arabic in Cambridge, but was again unfortunate. The question of ways and means now pressed heavily upon him; for in England, unless a

man holds one of the few available posts in the Universities, the Museum, or the India Office, he cannot 'live of the doctrine' as an Orientalist. For some years Arthur Strong had to face grave difficulties; then the tide of his fortunes suddenly turned. Friends introduced him to Lord Justice Bowen and Lord Acton, and both these eminent men were greatly struck with his profound and varied learning, his keen intelligence, and his power of work. Mr. Gladstone, too, was much impressed by his conversation. Presently the Duke of Devonshire wanted a librarian for Chatsworth to succeed Sir James Lacaita, and Arthur Strong was appointed on the recommendation mainly of his friend Mr. Sidney Colvin. The same year he obtained the long coveted Academic recognition, and he was elected Professor of Arabic in University College, London. But it was at Chatsworth and Devonshire House that he was to obtain scope for that almost encyclopedic knowledge which so far had been little more than guessed at by those outside his immediate intimacy. He set to work to study, and to make known in a more scientific way than had been done hitherto, the celebrated ducal treasures. Among the art collections he was able to return to a cherished pursuit. A pupil of Albert Varley, he had early turned to the critical study of art, bringing to it the equipment of technical knowledge. He had commenced his contributions to the subject at the age of 15 by a paper on the little known Venetian artist *Jacopello del Fiore*, and continued them in a long series of articles, contributed to various 'weeklies,' which it is hoped may be collected one day into a volume. In 1901 he published a book on the Duke of Devonshire's pictures, while from the celebrated Chatsworth collection of drawings by the old masters he only last year issued a beautiful volume of selections with a critical introduction. Nor did he limit himself to Italian and modern art; the superb bronze head of Apollo in the Library at Chatsworth, which had been ignored as of the 'debased' or 'Roman' epoch, he recognized to be a masterpiece of the transitional period of Greek art, a conjecture afterwards confirmed and expanded by Professor

Furtwängler, who published the head as a true Greek work of priceless merit, from the first half of the fifth century B.C. It will be remembered as having been one of the chief centres of attraction at the exhibition of Greek art held last Summer at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, chiefly organized by Mrs. Strong. In 1897 Strong had married Miss Eugénie Sellers, herself a Greek archæologist of distinction.

Meantime he had been invited by the Duke of Portland to reorganize the great library at Welbeck. Other owners of fine collections, especially of drawings, asked for his help; and of the Wilton drawings he published a selection, with critical notes. He had a keen eye, great accuracy of observation, a marvellous memory, and a knowledge of all that the best critics had written; so that his own critical writings on art have great merit, the more remarkable since they came as an epilogue to other work. For he never forgot his old studies; he retained his post at University College, and the more modest one of Reader in Assyrian at Cambridge; if unable to produce as much in the Oriental field as he could have wished, he had the satisfaction of aiding by his newly acquired influence the work of others; thus for the publication of the three great volumes of "Assyrian Deeds and Documents" by his friend and pupil C. W. Johns he obtained an important subvention from the Duke of Devonshire and the Duke of Portland, an instance of enlightened patronage which was gracefully acknowledged by the author in the dedications of his several volumes. Arthur Strong's varied intellectual pursuits had now to be carried on together with his practical duties as Librarian to the House of Lords, to which post he was appointed in 1897, chiefly through the Duke of Devonshire's influence. His work in his new capacity was fruitful, and his great stores of knowledge were of much use to those peers who use the library, and to Royal and other Commissions engaged upon work for which research is needed. Himself an ardent politician and historian, he became a frequent writer on historical questions. Early

in 1903, when he was already ailing, he wrote as an Introduction to the selection he had been at work upon for years from the archives of the Duke of Portland what will probably be considered his most brilliant literary effort. He has left a similar annotated selection from the archives of Devonshire House about half completed, while an article on Warren Hastings which he wrote last Summer for the *North American Review* during his seeming convalescence still has to appear. There were few subjects on which he did not know a great deal; and what he did not know he knew how to learn. Indeed, the vastness of his erudition and the variety of subjects to which he was able to apply his judgment are evidence of what it would be not at all excessive to designate as genius.

We have dwelt upon his gifts as manifested in his published work, but those who were admitted to his intimacy knew also that he was a considerable mathematician and classical scholar, a keen entomologist, and a musical critic of the first order; above all, they knew him for a staunch and devoted friend, untiring in the double service of science and of friendship, inflexible in his standards of right and wrong, intolerant only of cant and pretension. Nor would any account of Strong be adequate that left unnoticed the singular originality of his mind, the charm and wit of his conversation. Last Spring he fell ill; overwork at last told upon his spare and anæmic frame; he had to leave London, and, though he seemed at one time to be recovering, he has died at an age when most men are beginning their careers. He will be greatly missed; for such gifts as his are extremely rare, even taken singly, while it is not likely that in our time they will ever be found again in combination. At the time of his death he was engaged in editing, for the Royal Asiatic Society Monographs, Ibn Arabshāh's poem in Arabic on the life of Jaḳmaḳ, Sultan of Egypt. About one-third of the work was in print, and the Society hopes to be able to complete and publish it. It is pathetic to note that the last time he went out was on

December 23rd in order to bring the corrected proofs of this text to the Secretary of the Society. He was then apparently well on the way to complete recovery, but the next day the relapse occurred which was to end fatally in less than a month. Could he have made the choice consciously he would have liked thus to give his final effort to those Eastern studies which had remained the master passion of his maturity, as they had been the inspiration of his youth.

He has also left in preparation the translation with notes of a long Assyrian text as well as of some Egyptian inscriptions which he discovered at Chatsworth.

[Adapted from *The Times* of January 19th, 1904.]

The following is a fairly, if not quite, complete bibliography of Arthur Strong's original contributions to Orientalism :—

1890.

(1) "Votive Inscription of Assurnatsirpal." } Records of the
(2) "Inscription of Rimmon-nivari III." } Past, N.S.,
(3) "Three Votive Inscriptions of Assurnatsirpal." } vol. iv, 1890.

1891.

(4) "The Nimrod Inscription of Tiglath Pileser III" : Records of the Past, N.S., vol. v, 1891.
(5) "The Maha-Bodhi-Vamsa" : Pali Text Society.
(6) "Two Edicts of Assurbanipal" : Journal of R.A.S., 1891.

1892.

(7) "Inscription of Assur-Bêl-Kala" : Records of the Past, N.S., vol. vi, 1892.
(8) "Prayer of Assurbanipal" : Records of the Past, N.S., vol. vi, 1892.
(9) "Three Cuneiform Texts" : Babylonian and Oriental Record, July, 1892.
(10) "Four Cuneiform Texts" : J.R.A.S., 1892.

1893.

(11) "On some Oracles to Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal" : Beiträge zür Assyriologie, ii, 1893.
(12) "Un texte inédit d'Assurbanipal" : Journal Asiatique, 1893.
(13) "A Letter to Assurbanipal" : Hebraica, vol. iv, 1893.

1894.

(14) "The Futah al-Habashah, or The Conquest of Abyssinia": Monograph, Williams & Norgate, 1894.

(15) "Note on a Fragment of the Adapa Legend": Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. xvi, 1894.

1895.

(16) "Additional Note on the Adapa Legend": Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, vol. xvii, 1895.

(17) "Some Assyrian Alliterative Texts": ibid.

(18) "A History of Kilwa": J.R.A.S., 1895.

1898.

(19) "A Hymn of Nebuchadnezzar": Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology, 1898.

1903.

(20) "Arabic Text of Ibn Arabshah's History of Jakmak, Sultan of Egypt": to be published shortly by the R.A.S.

(21, 22) A long Assyrian Text and an Egyptian Inscription have been left in an advanced state of preparation.

III. Additions to the Library.

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Campbell (G.). India as it may be. *London*, 1853.

Hafiz Shirazi. Sharh-i-Diwan. Urdu commentary by Moulvi Karim al-Din. *Lahore*, 1874.

Buckley (R. B.). The Irrigation Works of India and their Financial Results. *London*, 1880.

Lethbridge (R.). Higher Education in India. *London*, 1882.

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Drake (J.). Grammar of the Kūrkū Language. 8vo. *Calcutta*, 1903.

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Takakusu (J.). A Pāli Chrestomathy. 8vo. *Tokyo*, 1900.

Presented by the India Office.

Love (Lieut.-Colonel H. D.). Descriptive List of Pictures in Government House and the Banqueting Hall, Madras. 4to. *Madras*, 1903.

From the Publishers.

Chirol (V.). The Middle Eastern Question, or some Political Problems of Indian Defence. 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Smith (W. Robertson). Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia. New edition with notes by the author and Professor J. Goldziher, edited by S. A. Cook. 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Cook (S. A.). The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi. 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Irvine (W.). The Army of the Indian Moghuls. 8vo. *London*, 1903.

Kamal ad-Din of Isfahan. The Hundred Love Songs, now first translated from the Persian by L. H. Gray, and done into English verse by Ethel W. Mumford.

Browne (E. G.). The Lubábu'l-'Albáb (second part) of Muḥammad Awfí. 8vo. (Persian Historical Texts, vol. ii.) *London*, 1903.

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XVII.

ON THE BHATTIKAVYA.

By B. C. MAZUMDAR.

SOME modern commentators have ascribed the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya to Bhartṛihari, the author of the celebrated Śatakas, without assigning reasons for their assumption. It has never been shown why this kāvya, dealing with the story of Rāma, is entitled Bhaṭṭikāvya. The imaginary derivation of the title from either of the names Bhartṛihari or Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa is so far-fetched that it must be rejected, if strong evidence be not adduced to prove that either of them was really the author of the epic.

The poet does not give us his own name: all that he says is that the kāvya was composed at Valabhī, during the reign of Dharasena. It must be noticed here that the commentator Jayamaṅgala reads "Śrī-Dhara-sūnu-narendra-pālitāyām" for "Śrī-Dharasēna-narendra," etc. This is merely a mistake. On reference to the very careful and exhaustive list of the princes and kings of Valabhī given by Mr. Fleet in his Gupta Inscriptions, vol. iii of the "Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum," it will be found that there was no Valabhī king whose name was Śrīdhara or Narendra. Having read wrongly *sūnu* for *sena*, the commentator was forced to explain the passage by "Śrīdhara-sūnunā Narendra-nāmnā nṛipeṇa."

Whilst narrating the story of Rāma, in twenty-two long cantos, the poet gives examples of all the important grammatical forms, of the rules of poetical composition, and of various Alaṅkāras, both in Sanskrit and Prakrit. The literary Prakrit in which some twenty-eight stanzas are composed, in the 13th canto, differs greatly from the Prakrits used in the Śakuntalā and the Ratnāvali. Being more allied to Sanskrit, it is doubtless earlier. A poet of the seventh century would not have illustrated the ideal Prakrit by so largely mixing it up with Sanskrit words. For composition in the purer Prakrit dialects was extant in all the dramas of that time.

The elaborate manner in which the poet has given illustrations of Śabdālaṅkāra and Arthālaṅkāra in the 10th canto shows that the poet meant to be exhaustive in what he took up to illustrate. How is it, then, that some forms of the Alaṅkāras, well known in the seventh century, are wanting in the Bhaṭṭikāvya? The cantos were lengthy enough to afford space for them.

Bhāravi, who is regarded almost as a contemporary of Kālidāsa, resorted to verbal jugglery in the composition of many stanzas in his Kirātārjunīya. In the Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin we get all sorts of examples of this jugglery. It follows that plays on words and tricks with letters were an established art long before Daṇḍin wrote his book towards the end of the sixth century. The Bhaṭṭikāvya gives, in the 10th canto, many examples of this sort of thing. But it is to be noted that some important forms of it, such as the fully developed Sarvatobhadra, Gomutṛikā, Arddhabhrama, and Varṇa-kariśala (tricks with letters, such as "Nunaṁ nunnāni nānena," etc.), are not referred to. The poet of the Bhaṭṭikāvya, who composed his work with the distinct object of illustrating such tricks of composition, would never have omitted these instances of them if he had flourished after Bhāravi and Daṇḍin. This omission would, in the seventh century, have been construed as a failure on the part of the poet, since he had undertaken to teach his readers all the various forms of rhetorical composition.

The Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, as we now have it, consists of seven cantos. That the seventh is a later development is known from the introduction of the epic itself. It can be easily imagined that it took time for the new story of the Uttarākāṇḍa to become popular. Now Kālidāsa and all his successors in the field of poetry never omit to narrate this later part of the story. The author of Bhaṭṭikāvya gives the story to the end of Laṅkākāṇḍa only. This is worthy of note. The Bhaṭṭikāvya is extremely lengthy, and contains twenty-two very long cantos; and yet, for no apparent reasons, the story ends with Rāma's return to Ayodhyā. Yet it would seem, from the general remarks in his introduction, that the poet proposed to tell the whole story.

Kālidāsa says in the introduction to his Raghuvaṁśa, that his subject had been dealt with before him by more than one poet. Vālmīki is certainly the poet whom Kālidāsa followed. Is the author of Bhaṭṭikāvya one of those referred to?

The text of the Mandasor stone inscription of 472 A.D. was composed by a poet named *Vatsabhaṭṭi*. For the full text the readers may refer to Mr. Fleet's work on the Gupta Inscriptions. There is a striking resemblance between stanzas 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 in the inscription and the description of Śarat in the 2nd canto of Bhaṭṭi. That the name of the poet is Vatsa-*bhaṭṭi*, that the date 472 is the date when Dharasena I was reigning as a Valabhī-Rājā, that the Mandasor text was composed in praise of Kumāra Gupta, whose Senāpati and feudatory this Dharasena was, are acknowledged facts. If we accept Vatsabhaṭṭi to be the author of Bhaṭṭikāvya, many things which we cannot otherwise explain can be explained. It explains the name of the kāvya; it explains why some forms of rhetoric, popular during the days of Bhāravi and Daṇḍin, are not found in this kāvya; and it explains also why the story of Rāma, as it is given in the poem, does not include the later portion.

XVIII.

REMARKS ON A PAPYRUS FROM OXYRHYNCHUS:

AN ENGLISH VERSION, WITH SOME CORRECTIONS, OF A GERMAN ARTICLE WHICH APPEARED IN THE BERLIN "HERMES," VOL. XXXIX, p. 307 ff.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D.; HALLE.

ONE of the papyri of the second century A.D. which Drs. Grenfell and Hunt lately discovered at Oxyrhynchus, in Egypt,[1] contains several passages in a barbarian language, which is presumably an Indian dialect. This may be concluded from the facts that that text—a farce—is concerned with a Greek lady named Charition, who has been stranded on the coast of a country bordering the Indian Ocean, and that the king of that country addresses his retinue by the words *Ἰνδῶν πρόμοι*, 'chiefs of the Indians.' In other places the same king and his countrymen use their own language. Twice one of the Greeks accompanying the heroine gives the Greek translation of a few Indian words:—

(1) According to line 59, the word *βραθις* (or *βραθεις*) has the meaning *εἰς τὰ μερίδια λάχωμεν*, 'let us draw lots for the shares.'

(2) In line 66 the words *κοττως* and *ζοπιτ* are rendered by *πιεῖν δὸς ταχέως*, 'give to drink quickly.'

Both these sentences the king utters when Charition has wine served to him and his attendants in order to make them drunk. The Indian word *ζοπιτ* corresponds to the Greek *ταχέως*. As its third letter, *π*, is marked by the

[1] *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, part iii (London, 1903), No. 413, pp. 41 to 55.

editors as indistinct, I would change it to ζοτιτ and explain it by the Sanskrit *jhaṭiti*, 'quickly,' which is frequently used in also the Dravidian languages of Southern India. The word κοττως[1] corresponds to the Greek πιεῖν δός. The only Indian language from which I am able to explain it satisfactorily is Kanarese, in which *kuḍisu* means 'give to drink.'

The word βραθις, too, is apparently of Kanarese origin. For αθις, which corresponds to the Greek λάχωμεν, is the Kanarese *āḍisu*, 'let (us) play,' the imperative of the causal of *āḍu*, 'to play.' The two first letters of βραθις, which still remain to be accounted for, are probably identical with the Kanarese *bēr*, 'separation, separate.' Thus εἰς τὰ μερίδια λάχωμεν is a tolerably accurate paraphrase of the Kanarese *bēr āḍisu*, 'let us play separately.'

In line 64 the word βραδις, which precedes κοττως, stands for the gerund *bēr āḍisi*, 'having let us play separately.' In the Indian king's speech, which ends with βραδις κοττως, there occur twice similar words in different order:—

(1) βερη κονζει δαμυν πετρεκιω πακτει.
(2) βερη . . . . πετρεκιω δαμυτ κινζη παξει.

Of these, βερη is the Kanarese *bēre*, 'separately,' an emphatic form of *bēr* which is still in daily use. κονζει or κινζη is the equally common *koñcha*, 'a little,' and πετρεκιω is *pātrakke*, the dative of *pātra*, 'a cup.' δαμυν or δαμυτ can be explained as a transposed form of *madhu*, 'wine,' and πακτει or παξει is perhaps an incorrect rendering of *hāki*, 'having poured.' Thus *bēre koñcha madhu pātrakke hāki* means 'having poured a little wine into the cup separately.'

So far, I believe I stand on firm ground; and I shall now proceed to attempt an explanation of lines 83 to 85. The first two of these three lines contain one and the same sentence, of which the first word differs slightly in line 85.

[1] In my German article I explained this word wrongly by the Dravidian *koḍu*, 'give,' which lacks the final *s* of κοττως, and which would leave the infinitive πιεῖν untranslated.

No Greek translation is here given, and the words are left undivided in the original. Dr. Grierson has already conjectured that the first word of lines 83 and 84 is connected with the Indian *pānam*, 'drinking, drink, a cup.' *βρητι* and *βρητουουενι* remind us of the above-mentioned words *βραθις* and *βερη*. I consider *μανουαμ* a clerical mistake for *μαδουαμ*, and explain *πανουμ βρητι κατε μαδουαμ βρητουουενι* by the Kanarese sentence *pānaṁ bēṛ etti kaṭṭi madhuvaṁ bēṛ ettuvenu*, 'having taken up the cup separately and having covered (*it*), I shall take wine separately.' In line 85 the first word of this sentence, *πανουμ*, is replaced by *παρακουμ*, which may be meant for *parāku*, 'attention!'[1]

The papyrus contains several other words and sentences in barbarian language. These I cannot make out. I recommend them to the attention of Kanarese scholars in England and India. A high authority, to whom I would have gladly appealed, is no more among us.[2]

From the fact that the Indian language employed in the papyrus is Kanarese, it follows that the site of Charition's adventures is one of the numerous small ports on the western coast of India between Karwar and Mangalore. This territory belongs now to the districts of 'North Canara' and 'South Canara,' the inhabitants of which speak Koṅkaṇī and Tuḷu besides Kanarese, but which, as may be concluded from the inscriptions discovered there, were formerly ruled over by Kanarese princes.

It is only in one of two ways that the unknown author of the Greek farce can have acquired his knowledge of Kanarese words and sentences. He owed them either to a native of the coast of Canara who resided in Egypt, or to a Greek who had learnt the vernacular during his stay

[1] According to Reeve and Sanderson's Canarese Dictionary, *s.v.*, the original meaning of this word is 'inattention.' Hence it has to be derived, like the Tamil *parâkku*, from the Sanskrit *parâk*, 'turned away.' In my German article I suggested as a possible equivalent *parakkuṁ*, 'also for another.' But this form would not only give a poor sense, but would imply a violation of the rules of Kanarese grammar, and *peṛaṅgaṁ* would have to be expected instead of it.

[2] Dr. F. Kittel, the author of the great Kannaḍa Dictionary, died at Tübingen at the close of last year. *Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit.*

in India. Each of these two possibilities presupposes the existence of a commerce by sea between Africa and India. This assumption is neither new nor unexpected. That a brisk trade was carried on by way of the Indian Ocean in the first and second centuries of our era we know from the anonymous *Periplūs of the Erythræan Sea* (*Περίπλους τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς Θαλάσσης*) and from Ptolemy's *Geography*. In these two works a large number of ports of the west coast of India are mentioned by name.[1] The *Periplūs* (and Pliny) expressly state that, after the example of a certain Hippalos, the Greek mariners availed themselves of the south-west monsoon, in order to get carried to the Indian coast from Cape Guardafui or from Arabia.[2] To Prof. Wilcken I am indebted for the fact that, in the lists of inhabitants dating from the time of Vespasian, an Egyptian is registered as absent in India (*ἐν τῇ Ἰνδικῇ*).[3] In an inscription (hitherto misread) of the temple at Redēsīye, on the route from the port of Berenikē, on the Red Sea, to Apollinopolis Magna (now Edfū), on the Nile, the same scholar discovered the name of an Indian traveller who halted there to worship at the shrine of the Greek god Pan. Prof. Wilcken reads this record,[4] which belongs to the period of the Ptolemies, as follows:—

Παν̣ὶ Εὐόδῳ
καὶ Ἐπηκόῳ
Σόφων Ἰνδὸς
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.

Σόφων does occur elsewhere as a Greek name. In the present case, where it is borne by a Hindū, it may be a Hellenized form of the Sanskṛit *Subhānu*.

Dumb witnesses of these commercial relations with the Occident are the Roman imperial coins which, under the British rule, have been found in various parts of Southern

[1] See e.g. *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xiii, p. 330.

[2] See id., vol. viii, p. 147 f.

[3] Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vol. ii, p. 48, l. 42, and p. 49, l. 72.

[4] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. vi, No. 166, p. 81.

India. Thus, in the year 1851, "no less than five cooly loads" of Roman gold coins were dug up near Cannanore in Malabar.[1] The frequent occurrence of coins of Augustus, Tiberius, etc., in the Coimbatore district led Mr. Walhouse to suppose that it was from a mine situated in this district that the Romans obtained the *aqua marina* or beryl, the Indian origin of which is reported by Pliny.[2] On the Coromandel coast,[3] especially at Madura, there are found certain small copper coins, apparently of South-Indian make, but resembling in type the Roman imperial coins.[4] They suggest the existence of a Roman settlement and mint at Madura,— the *Μόδουρα* of Pliny and Ptolemy. A silver coin which I purchased in the Bangalore bazar deserves to be mentioned on account of its being obtained in South India. Like other coins of the Ptolemies, it bears on the obverse the head of Ptolemy I., facing the proper left, and on the reverse an eagle, sitting on the thunder-bolt and facing the proper right; round the eagle, the legend ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; in front of the eagle, LIH (*i.e.* the year 18), and at its back, ΠΑ (*i.e. Πάφος*).

Further, it may be mentioned in this connection that Indian astronomy has been greatly influenced by the Greeks. One of the canonical works bore the name *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*, *i.e.* 'the Roman's Text-book,' and contained rules for the meridian of Yavanapura, 'the city of the Greeks,' *i.e.* Alexandria in Egypt, while the remaining Indian authorities make the first meridian pass through Ujjayinī (Ujjain in Mālwa).[5] Hence we might feel inclined to conclude that the results of Greek science, which were known to the *Rōmaka-Siddhānta*, were imported from Africa by sea to the port of Broach on the Narmadā (*Βαρύγαζα* on the *Ναμάδης* or *Ναμνάδιος* in Ptolemy's work and in the *Periplūs*), and thence up

[1] Thurston's *Catalogue of Roman Coins* (Madras, 1894), p. 11 f.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. v, p. 237 ff.

[3] Sir W. Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*, p. 35.

[4] Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, vol. i, pp. 285 and 291. Tufnell's *Hints to Coin-collectors in Southern India*, p. 29.

[5] Thibaut's *Astronomie*, pp. 43 and 49.

country to Ujjain (*Ὀζήνη*). But the *Garga-Saṁhitā*, which Prof. Kern places in the first century B.C., mentions not only the Greek astronomers, but the Greek kings of the Pañjāb.[1] It is therefore not impossible that Greek astronomy had been already communicated to India by land in the time of the Indo-Bactrian successors of Alexander the Great. Prof. Wilcken drew my attention to a calendar fragment discovered at Milet and belonging to the second century B.C., in which several weather forecasts are given on the authority of the Indian Kallaneus (*κατὰ Ἰνδῶν Καλλανέα*).[2] Unfortunately, no person resembling Kallaneus in name is found among the ancient astronomers mentioned by Varāhamihira,[3] and Prof. Diels is probably right in suspecting that this Kallaneus is nothing but a reminiscence of the Gymnosophist Kalanos, who is reported to have followed Alexander the Great from Taxila to Susa, and to have there committed suicide by entering the flames.

The same Kalanos turns up once more as member of an embassy to Augustus. He is now called *Ζαρμανοχηγάς*, comes from *Βαργόσα* (Broach), and burns himself at Athens, where a tomb is raised to him. The Græco-Roman records of Indian embassies are full of similar odd and incredible statements. From the learned researches of Mr. Priaulx,[4] it appears that before 200 A.D. four Roman emperors were visited by natives of India, *viz.*, Augustus, Claudius, Trajan, and Antoninus Pius. Only of the first of these four alleged embassies can it be safely asserted that, in spite of sensational embellishments, it rests on a historical foundation. For, Augustus himself declares in his Memoirs:—"To me embassies of kings were frequently dispatched from India, which had never before been seen with a leader of the Romans."[5] The 'frequency' of such missions proves that,

[1] Kern's *Preface* to the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*, p. 35 ff.

[2] *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1904, p. 108.

[3] Kern's *Preface* to the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitā*, p. 29.

[4] *The Indian Travels of Apollonius of Tyana, and the Indian Embassies to Rome*, London, 1873.

[5] *Monumentum Ancyranum*, edited by Mommsen, chapter 31.

already about the time of the Birth of Christ, a lively intercourse existed between India and the Occident. For this reason and those adduced before, there is nothing strange in the fact that the author of the farce discovered at Oxyrhynchus, or his informant, must have been acquainted with the Kanarese language.

XIX.

A NEW HISTORICAL FRAGMENT FROM NINEVEH.

By THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, M.R.A.S.

THE fragment here referred to belongs to Mr. John Quinn, jun., of Liverpool, and was purchased by him from the collection of the late Mr. Boutcher, artist to Mr. W. K. Loftus in Assyria. The height and the width are nearly the same, being about two inches and seven-eighths. Like all the tablets from Nineveh, it is of baked clay, but the colour is much darker than the generality of documents from that site which have not been stained with bitumen, or some other material, in consequence of their 2,500 years' burial in the earth. According to a statement made by the agent who sold it, the fragment, at the time it came into his hands, was covered with grease, which would account for the exceedingly dark brown of the surface. Unfortunately, none of the lines, which number eighteen in all, are complete, about a third only of the middle portion of the longest of them being preserved.

It was at first stated to be a text of Aššur-banî-âpli or Assurbanipal, relating to his war with his brother Šamaš-šum-ukîn or Saosduchinos. A short examination of the text, however, showed that neither of these names occurred, but instead the names of Bêl-kudur-uṣur, Ninip-tukulti-Aššur,[1] and Ḫarbi-šiḫu, the Ḫabirite, were clearly distinguishable, together with the place-names Assyria, Akkad, Niffur,[2] Sipar, and Babylon. The peculiarity of the writing

[1] The usual transcription of the first element, *Ninip*, is here retained, but Dr. Hrozny gives good reason for supposing that it ought to be *Nin-raḫ*, or, better, *Niriġ* (*Nirigi*).

[2] The Niffer of Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, spelled Niffar by Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, and Nufar in American works. The native transcription into European letters is Noufar, showing French influence.

as a whole, and the presence of small holes in the blank spaces in lines 10 and 11, recalled, with the names, the text published in the fourth volume of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, pl. 34, No. 2, and on a comparison of the two being made, the probability that Mr. Quinn's fragment belonged to that tablet or to another of the same series was greatly strengthened. Unfortunately, an examination of these two pieces at the British Museum disclosed no point of contact, and the characters on that belonging to Mr. Quinn also seemed to be larger. The British Museum tablet, however, must have been of considerable size when complete, so that there was plenty of room for the size of the writing to vary, and the probability that Mr. Quinn's fragment once formed part of it is not by any means excluded. The little holes in the Museum fragment being circular, whilst those of Mr. Quinn's fragment are triangular, also imply a different document, unless the scribe changed his stilus in the course of writing out the inscription. The reddish-yellow of the Museum fragment would probably assume the colour of the new piece if it were soaked in oil.

I took advantage of the necessity of comparing the two fragments to collate all the uncertain characters of the published text, but without much result, there being little or nothing to alter in the text published under Sir Henry Rawlinson's editorship. As this is well known to students, I do not reproduce it here, but merely give a transcription to support the translation, which follows herewith. Where the text begins, it is probably the upper part of the reverse, that is to say, about the middle of the record :—

Transcription of the British Museum Fragment.

(1) Anaku ul akrubakkamma ša kurrubîa uktarribakkamma ana' ṣuḫêtum (?) ša šarrāni ša limiti-ka iltaknu-ka-ma (2) û ameni dibbu-kunu ana ša šarrabē mašlu [1] šu-ma ša

[1] The reason of the spaces in this text is doubtful—they may mean that the scribe's original was defective. Those in lines 10, 17, 18, and 24, however, have the usual holes made by the scribe, implying that nothing is wanting.

atta tašpura um*ta* (?) išten ûme ina âl Zaqqalū tukî-anni (3) immati šapāru ša muntalkutu û li'uti šu-ma û qunnu aššu ârad Aššur-šum-lîšir (4) ša itti bêli-šu iṭruduniššumma ana mâti anniti illikamma âbûa ûsata ipuśaššum*ma*[1] (?) (5) ana mâti-šu utirru-šu ultu atta Ḫarbi-šiḫu Ḫabiraa ṭêma tašakkanu šû ina pâni-ka ušuz u ippalam aganna (6) [i]qabbi umma a*šaḫ*(?)tamma išten ûma ina âl Zaqqalū ukîannaši ina libbi-kunu mannu kî šarru-ma ṭema išakk[anu] (7)[2] . . . . Bêl mâtāti limqutamma dibbu ša mât Aššur ana ša šarrabē lû mašlu û ina pî aḫaweš dibbu li- . . . . (8) . . . . -dibani û ina mâti-šu lû ašib ultu ana mât Akkadi (ki) illika ina buni šû iḫḫi- . . . . (9) . . . . -lik-ma Ninip-tukulti-Aššur bêl-šu ina mâti anniti ikkali Ninip-tukulti-Aššur ša ana bêluti-šu . . . . (10) . . . . û ame Ninip-tukulti-Aššur ina lâ bêluti-šu ša Aššur-šum-lîšir bêl mâtāti immati uk[a- . . . . (11) . . . . -u ultu âbûa ana mâti-šu utirru-šu ibni-ma dibbi ša urriḫti idibbubi ša tašpura umma Anaku kî . . . . (12) . . . . -qu u*baq*(?)qû ṭâbtamma ša mât Akkadi (ki) u mât Aššur îlu irriš atta kî libbi-ka epuš (?) ša (?) battū tašappara-*ma*[3] (?) . . . . (13) . . . . -anni-ma aḫaweš lû nîmur û šanutikka tašappara umma ṭâbtamma ša [mât Akkadi (ki)] u mât Aššur îrr[iš] . . . . (14) . . . . -bu ša šarrāni mâ šû ša ana Ḫarbi-šiḫu taqbû umma Akî anaku ak-*bu* (?) . . . . -ma Ninip- . . . . (15) . . . . û ame-ma lubir-ma aḫaweš i nîmur šunu Ninip-tukulti-Aššur itti . . . . mât *ki* (?) . . . .

[1] The traces, however, do not suggest [cuneiform], *ma*, but [cuneiform], *ku*, or [cuneiform], *ur*, *lik*, *taš*.

[2] The name or word here was a short one, the remains suggesting *nu* and *bar*, perhaps the name of a god (? Nubar). There seems to be hardly enough room for [cuneiform], *Šulmanu-ašarid* (Shalmaneser), unless it could be written (as is possible) without the determinative prefix [cuneiform] and the phonetic complement [cuneiform]; but if this king be intended, he would be the first of the name, who reigned about 1300 B.C.

[3] Traces of [cuneiform] or [cuneiform]. If the latter, it may be completed [cuneiform], *ma*.

(16) . . . . [Ninip-tu]kulti-Aššur ul ḫibi ir šattī ina êqli ullî ame û . . . . aššar, ... (17) . . . . kataku šutaktuš ultu tak- . . . . (18) . . . . ammeni la tebiram-ma minû ša . . . . (19) . . . . [Ninip]-tukulti-Aššur ittîa ana mât Iriqa atta šu . . . . (20) . . . . [Ninip]-tukul-Aššur kî pî dibbi-ma . . . . (21) . . . . [Ninip]-tukulti-Aššur ša taqbû umma Kulu'u la zikaru šû . . . . (22) . . . . -zatunu û banatunu Ninip-tukulti-Aššur . . . . (23) . . . . -u ina buni kî kašunu ammeni la gam[ir] . . . . (24) . . . . ša tašpura umma . . . . (25) . . . . mât Aššur (ki) sinnišati-ma mât Akkadi ki la iḫ- . . . .

[The next line has the final wedge of a character, followed by an unwritten space nearly as large as that in l. 24, at which point the surface is again broken away. Below this is the broken edge of the tablet, with traces of the three characters .]

Translation.

(1) Have I not been gracious to thee? Of my favour I have favoured thee, and to the rule (?) of the kings of thy district did they then set thee, and (2) then (?) were your words like unto (those) of the glowing (?) ones. He then whom thou hadst sent (said) thus: "One (whole) day didst thou await me in the city Zaqqalū, (3) in the time (?) to send (those) who were wise and considerate." He then, and the *qunnu*, that is, the servant of Aššur-šum-lîšir, (4) whom, with his lord, they had driven away, came to this country, and my father gave him assistance, and (5) returned him to his country. After thou hadst set a command for Ḫarbi-šiḫu, the Ḫabirite, he remained in thy presence, and reports (?) here. (6) [He] says thus: "I am angry (?), for one (whole) day in the city Zaqqalū he awaited us." Who then among you has made a command like a king? (7) May . . . . Lord of the lands, fall (upon him), and may the words of Assyria be like to (those)

of the glowing (?) ones, and in each other's mouths may the words . . . . (8) . . . . me, and may he dwell in his land. Since he went to the land of Akkad, (as for) him, in appearance he has . . . . (9) . . . . went, and Ninip-tukulti-Aššur, his lord, ravages in this country. Ninip-tukulti-Aššur, who to his dominion . . . . (10) . . . . and then (?) Ninip-tukulti-Aššur, in the non-dominion of Aššur-šum-lîšir, lord of the lands, when he aw(aited ?) . . . . (11) . . . . since my father to his country returned him, he has made, and words of defiance he speaks, as thou sentest thus: "I, when . . . . (12) . . . . I will look to (?)—it is the good of the land of Akkad and Assyria God desires. Thou, as thy heart has done . . . , thou shalt send, and (?) . . . . . (13) . . . . me, and let us see each other, and thou shalt send thy representative thus: "It is the good of [the land of Akkad] and Assyria he de[sires] . . . . (14) . . . . [wo]rd (?) of the kings, and him (of) whom to Ḫarbi-šiḫu thou spakest thus: "As I have sa[id ?] . . . , and Ninip-[tukulti-Aššur] . . . . (15) . . . . and then indeed (?) let me cross over, and let us see each other. They, Ninip-tukulti-Aššur with . . . . country ? . . . . (16) . . . . [Ninip]-tukulti-Aššur not (*wanting*[1]) year in that field, and . . . . quit (?) . . . . (17) . . . . I was . . . . they have kept it silent. Since thou hast . . . . (18) . . . . [w]hy hast thou not entered, and what (is that) which . . . . (19) . . . . [Ninip]-tukulti-Aššur I took (?) with me to the land of Iriqa . . . . (20) . . . . [Ninip]-tukulti-Aššur according to the tenour of my words then . . . . (21) . . . . [Ninip]-tukulti-Aššur, of whom thou saidst thus: "A weakling (?), not a man is he . . . . (22) . . . . ye have . . . . and ye have made. Ninip-tukulti-Aššur . . . . (23) . . . . [H]e in appearance

[1] The scribe's copy seems to have been defective—unless we are to take no notice of the wide space after *ḫibi*, and read the whole, with the next (isolated) character as *ḫibir*, which seems unlikely.

was like you. Why does he not com[plete?] . . . .
(24) . . . . which thou sentest, thus: . . . . .
(25) . . . . [the men of] the land of Assyria are women, the land of Akkad has not . . . . .

(Line 26 is practically lost, and in line 27 traces of characters only remain. They suggest the words [*mât Akkadi*] (*ki*) *mât Aššur*, "the land of Akkad, the land of Assyria.")

It will be seen from the above translation that the document is of the nature of a letter, or, perhaps, an address, and seems to have been issued at the time of some political crisis in the affairs of Babylonia (Akkad) and Assyria. Unfortunately, there is no indication as to the position of the personage to whom it was sent, but he would seem, from the first line, to have been a man of distinction, who had been elected head of the petty kings of his district. Such a post would naturally give to its holder considerable power to intrigue, and the drift of the whole suggests that it was written in consequence of something of the kind having taken place, or having been suspected of taking place.

My predecessor at the British Museum, the late George Smith, in his history of Assyria,[1] mentions Aššur-šum-lîšir and Ninip-tukulti-Aššur under the names of Assur-zakir-esir and Ninip-tugul-assuri, and regards the latter as the successor of the former, setting down their date as being probably in the sixteenth century B.C. This estimate agrees with that of Hommel, who, in consequence of the reference to Ḫarbi-šiḫu, who plainly bears a Kassite name, seems to place the period of this inscription at about 1500 B.C., somewhat later than Smith, but still sufficiently in accordance with him. The two kings of Assyria mentioned with Ḫarbi-šiḫu must, therefore, be of a later date than the period preceding the Kassite dominion in Babylonia.

[1] *Ancient History from the Monuments of Assyria*, by George Smith, S.P.C.K. (1875 or earlier).

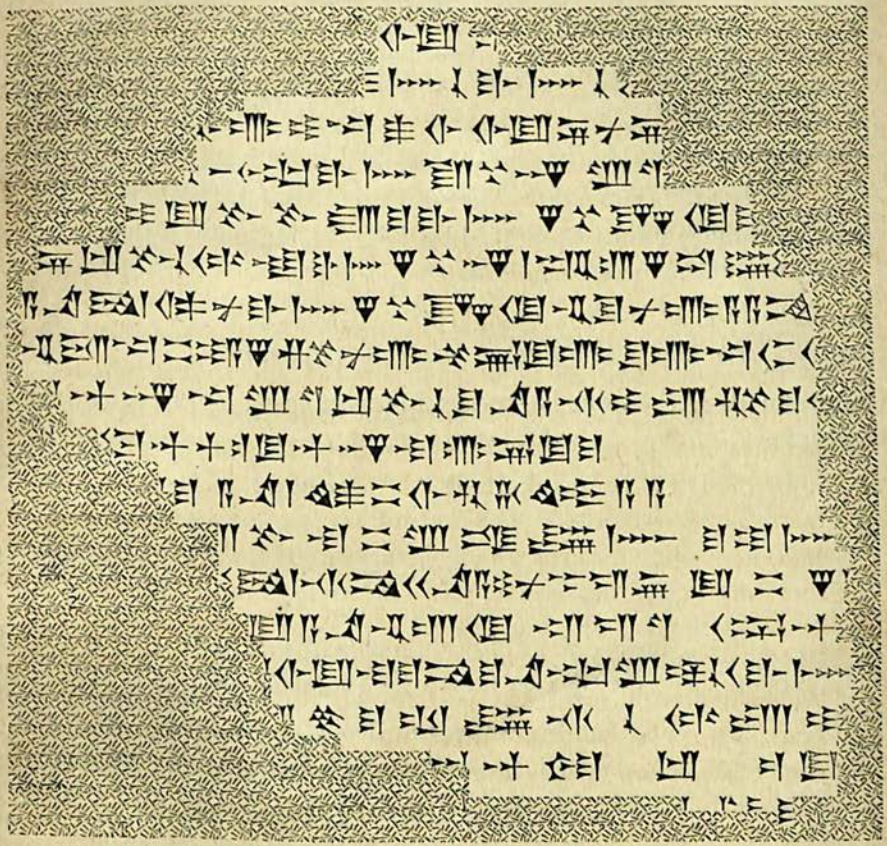
Hommel regards this inscription, with great probability, as having been sent by a Babylonian prince to the Assyrian court, asking for help, and grounding his request on the services which his father had rendered to the preceding Assyrian king. This he bases on lines 3 and 4, which he renders "thither to the servant of Aššur-šuma-uštêšir (Aššur-šum-lîšir), whom, with his lord, they drove out, and who came to this country, to whom my father brought about his right, and had caused him to return again into his native land," and also on lines 10 and 11 "when Nindar-tukulti-Aššur (Ninip-tukulti-Aššur) has not yet ruled, then Aššur-šuma-uštêšir, the lord of the lands . . . , since my father brought him again into his country," etc. He notes that in consequence of the defective nature of the inscription, and the difficulty of the text, it is impossible to get a satisfactorily connected translation, and as what was true of the inscription in 1885 is equally true to-day, I do not attempt to do more than give a translation of the text as it stands, and, as far as this is possible, in order to show that the new fragment really has a bearing upon it, and possibly belongs to the same tablet or the same series of documents.

The Babylonian king, then, to all appearance it is, who reminds the person to whom he is writing that he had been gracious to him, and had favoured him. Apparently, in consequence of this favour, the kings of his district had made him their chief, though he would seem to have misunderstood the extent of the honour conferred upon him, and summoned the rulers whose head he seems to have been to meet him in Zaqqalū, whereas he ought to have sent trustworthy and wise counsellors to confer with them. Reference is then made to a servant of Aššur-šum-lîšir (called, in l. 10, 'lord of the lands'), to whom, with his master, the writer's father gave assistance after he had been driven out of his country, and it may be surmised that he expected both these people to wait on him in the city named. Apparently, among the rest, Ḫarbi-šiḫu, the Ḫabirite, had received the command referred to, but it is doubtful whether it was he who remained with the person giving

that command; in all probability it was Aššur-šum-lîšir's servant, who seems to have reported the matter. The phrase "Who among you has given a command like a king?" looks as if it were directed as a reproach against the person addressed, though the question seems to be somewhat out of place, as the writer professes to know in the preceding phrases of his communication.

What follows is more difficult still to understand, in consequence of the many gaps. Line 9, however, speaks of Ninip-tukulti-Aššur having ravaged "this country," apparently the native land of the writer. The mutilation of the record deprives us of the name of the person spoken of in l. 11 as having been returned to his country by the writer's father, but if it was Aššur-šum-lîšir, who is referred to in lines 3–5, he seems to have had but a short memory for benefits received. It was not strife, but the good of Babylonia and Assyria which God desired (l. 12)—let them therefore meet, the receiver of the letter sending his representative with words expressing the same desire (lines 13 and 15)—indeed, the writer was apparently willing to cross the boundary to meet him. Reference to an expedition to Iriqu seems to be made in l. 19, and the opinion of the person addressed concerning Ninip-tukulti-Aššur, and also, apparently, the Assyrians in general, is given in lines 21 and 25. From the remainder of the text nothing of real interest can be gained.

Whether Mr. Quinn's fragment preceded or followed the above is uncertain, but, judging from the fact that the writing is larger, one may suppose that the scribe thought that he had plenty of room, and therefore wrote boldly. Finding, as the transcript which he was making progressed, that he would have to economize space, he may for that reason have reduced the size of the characters, so as to get more in, and give room for the colophon at the end. If this be the correct explanation of the variation in the size of the characters, then this new piece preceded that of which a translation has already been given. The following is the cuneiform text of Mr. Quinn's fragment:—



TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION OF THE ABOVE.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . û . . . . . .

. . . . . *and* . . . . . .

. . . . . mâre-šu rabût-šu . . . . . .

. . . . . *his sons, his great men* . . . . . .

. . . . . -u [i-]ba-aš-ši û ni-nu ni- . . . . . .

. . . . . *he is, and (as for) us, we* . . . . . .

. . . . . ina êli rabûti ša mât Aššur ru-ut . . . . . .
. . . . . *over the great men of the land of Assur* . . . . . .

. . . . i-dib-bu-bu um-ma Rabûti ša mât Akkadî (ki) . . . . . .
. . . . *they report thus: The great men of the land of Akkad* . . .

. . ni-ip-pu-šu ul-tu rabûti ša mât Aššur Bêl-kudurri-uṣur . . . . .
. . *we make since the great men of the land of Aššur Bêl-kudurri-uṣur* .

. . a-na id-di-nu(?) rabûti ša mât Akkadi (ki) bêl-šu-nu-u a-a-am . . .
. . *they gave* (?), *the great men of the land of Akkad their lord let* (*them*) *no*

. . bêl da-ba-bi-ia ša zi-nu-u mu-dak-ku-u šu-u ba-lit u . . . . . .
. . *my slanderer who is wrathful, an iconoclast* (*is*) *he, living* . . . . . .

. [Ninip-tuku]lti-D.P. Aššur ba-ru-tam ip-pu-šu šu-na-a-ti i-ta-nam-ma- .
. [*Ninip-tuku*]*lti-Aššur divination makes, dreams he see*[*s*] . .

. . . . . D.P. Ninip-tukulti-D.P. Aššur la u-dak-ku-ma [1] .
. . . . . *Ninip-tukulti-Aššur does not overthrow, and* .

. . . . . -ma a-na Ḫar-bi-ši-ḫu ḫa-bir-a-a [1] . . . .
. . . . . *and to Ḫarbi-šiḫu the Ḫabirite* . . . .

. . . . . im(?)-bu la-bi-ru-tum šarrani-ma âbê . . .
. . . . . *the old men* (*are*?) *the kings, the fathers* . .

. . . . . it-ti am-man-na-a i nu-ḫas-si-sa dib-bi ša . . . .
. . . . *I have been reckoned* (?)—*well, we have remembered. The words of*

. . . . . a-na Nippur (ki) âl Si-par u Bâb-îli . . .
. . . . . *to Niffur, the city Sipar, and Babylon* . .

. . . . . û la ma-am-ma na-ka-ru mâri-šu u rabûti . . .
. . . . . *and no-one, the enemy, his sons and* [*his*] *great men*

. . . . . kam (?)-ma-al šarru-ti-šu ul-ta-at- . . . .
. . . . . *the hostility* (?) *of his dominion he caused* . . .

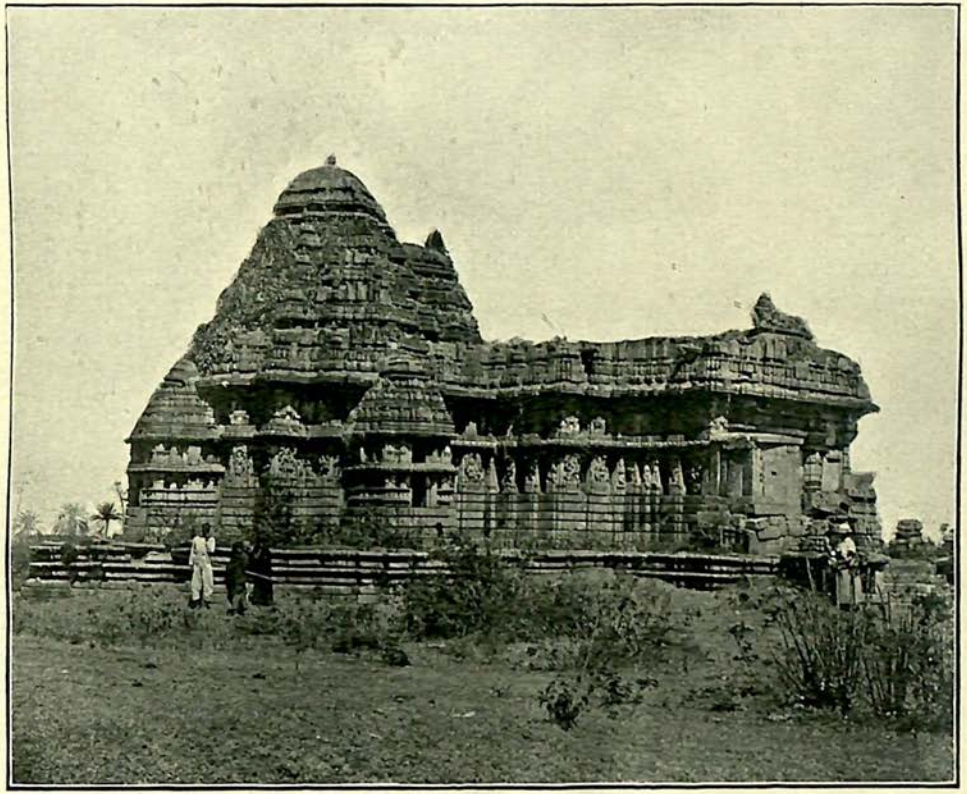
. . . . . D.P. Nin-ip-tukulti-Aššur . . . . .
. . . . . *Ninip-tukulti-Aššur* . . . . .

. . . . . -ma . . . . . .
. . . . . .

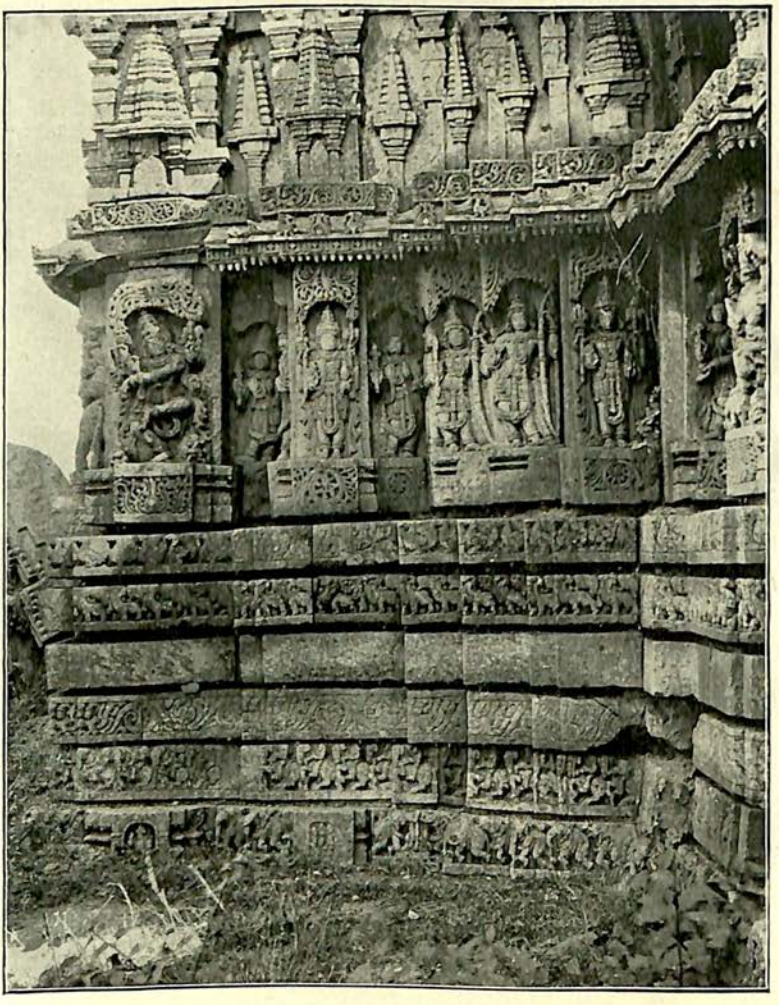
[1] In the blank spaces in these lines are five small holes, apparently made with the pointed end of a triangular stilus.

Fragmentary as this additional portion is, a few further details can be gained from it. The subject is still the relations between Assyria and Akkad (Babylonia), whose great men are referred to in lines 4–7. At this point there is a reference to Bêl-kudurri-uṣur, and if this be the king of Assyria of that name, the date of the document has to be reduced by about three centuries, namely, to about 1210 B.C. Further reference to the great men of Akkad follows, and to the writer's slanderer, who was wrathful, possibly giving the reason of the inditing of this long communication. This is followed by a further reference to Ninip-tukulti-Aššur's idiosyncrasies—the making of divination and the seeing of dreams, and afterwards something which he does not overthrow is spoken of. The occurrence of the name of the Ḫabirite Ḫarbi-šiḫu unfortunately does not give us any further information concerning him, nor do we know in what connection the names of Niffur, Sipar, and Babylon come in, nor the identity of "the enemy, his sons, and his great men."

If the name Bêl-kudurri-uṣur be that of the Assyrian king who reigned about 1210 B.C., the chronological importance of this little fragment is great, for it would seem to imply that Aššur-šum-lîšir and Ninip-tukulti-Aššur were his predecessors; his successors were Ninip-apil-êšarra, 1205 B.C., and Aššur-dan I, 1200 B.C., both these dates being approximate. The text would, therefore, seem to belong to a period when Assyria and Babylonia were again about to enter upon a period of strife. It is supposed that Bêl-kudurri-uṣur fell in battle with one of the Babylonian kings whose names begin with Addu (Hadad)—Addu-šum-iddina or Addu-šum-uṣur. All is uncertainty, however, and further records of the period are needed.



SOMESWARA.



SOMESWARA, DETAIL.

XX.

SOME LITTLE-KNOWN CHALUKYAN TEMPLES.

By FANNY BULLOCK WORKMAN, M.R.A.S.

IN January, 1904, in revisiting the more important Chalukyan temples of Mysore, we heard, for the first time, of the existence of two or three old temples in the Hassan district. Five miles from Arsikere, between that place and Hassan, one of these stands alone in a field off the turnpike. It belongs to the village of Haranhalli, which lies at a short distance off. Built in the form of a Maltese cross, it has a one-star formed sikra, similar to those of Somnathpur, but rather lower. Peculiarities of this tower are three smaller replica stars projecting from its base on three sides, each running up in sculptured tiers. Being small, they do not disturb the harmonious outline of the sikra.

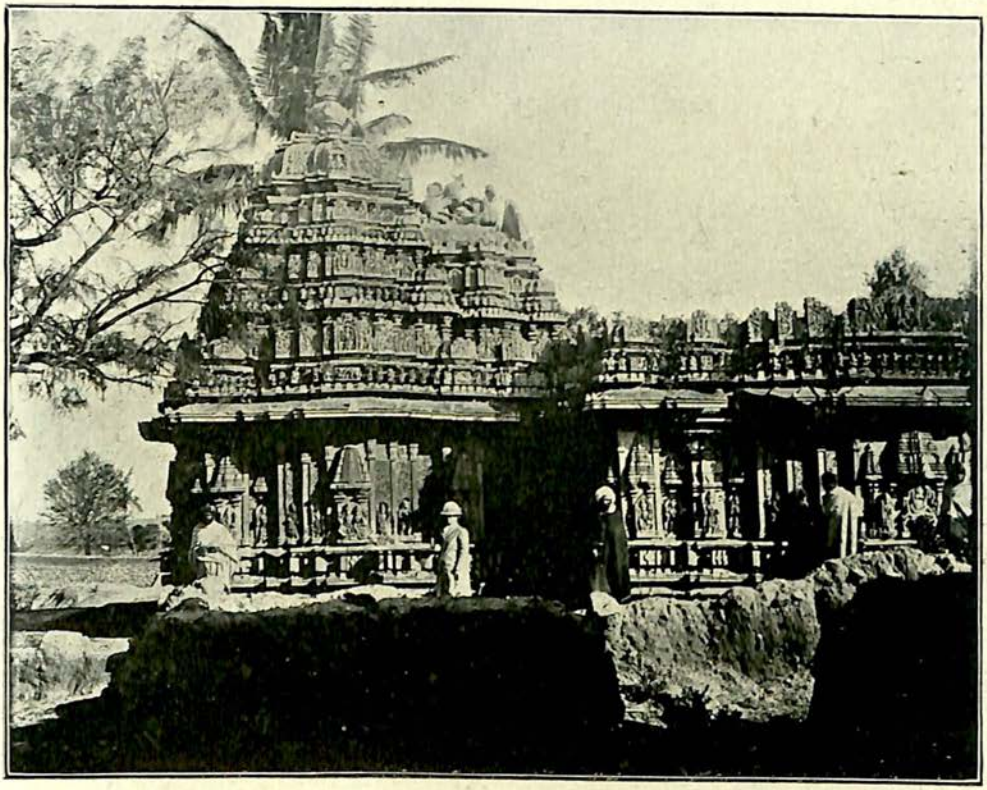
Adjoining the sikra is a square closed porch with three entrances. The interior of the porch, which an old Guru opened for our inspection, is filled with Jain pillars, all plain, with the exception of two, which, like certain ones at the Belur and Hulebid temples, are highly decorated.

The porch has pierced stone windows, less beautiful and varied than those of Belur. On the top of the south entrance is a carved bull, badly damaged. There are rows of gods, as in all of the Chalukyan temples; but they are not so profusely decorated nor so well executed as at Somnathpur. The building stands on a plinth of the exact style of the one at Somnathpur, and the string course at base of sikra and porch would have probably had the same sequence as on that temple had it been carried out, but here above the elephants, horsemen, and scroll the bands run uncarved, except here and there an unfinished line of chakwas.

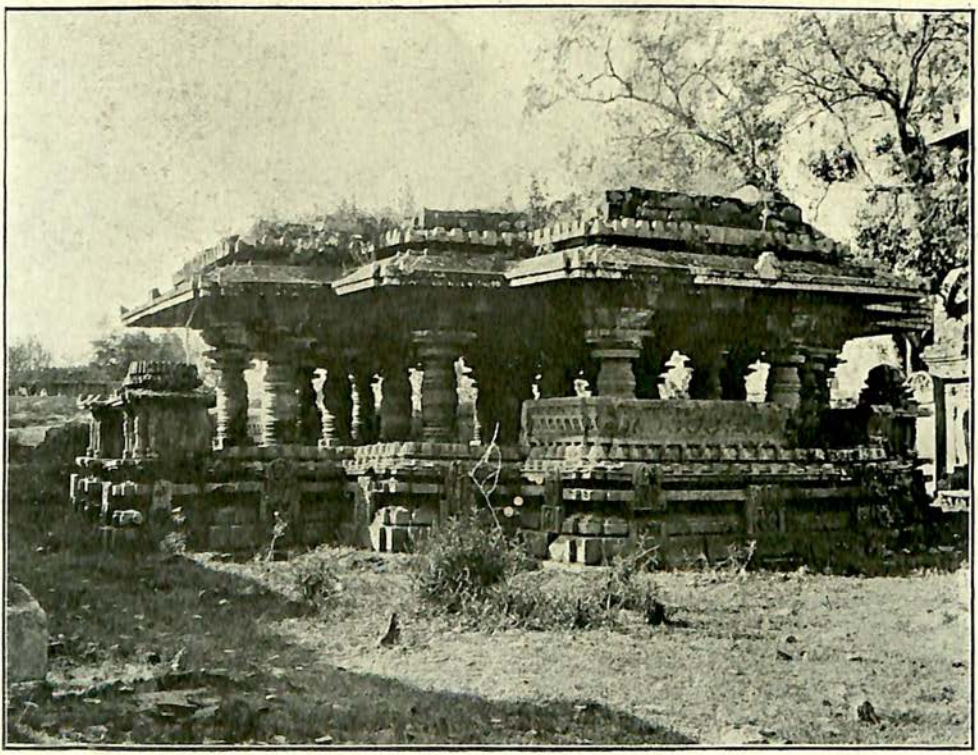
The temple is 50 feet long, 40 wide, and the tower less than 30 feet high, and is a graceful, harmonious structure resembling that of Somnathpur in style much more than that of Hulebid. It is called Somesvara, and is built of pot-stone. In the village of Haranhalli, across the road, is another temple, almost a counterpart of this, equally well preserved and not injured by whitewash. This village was a walled one, and formerly of importance. A large part of the wall still remains. Although the town and its antiquities are referred to in the "Epigraphia Carnatica," vol. v, by Mr. Lewis Rice, there is no account of the two temples, and, so far as we could ascertain, these are the first photographs taken of them.

Further on, at the twentieth milestone between Arsikere and Hassan, by leaving the road and crossing the fields for one and a half miles, one comes upon the small village of Koravangala. Here are two temples. Of the older one little of importance remains, except a fine open choultri of good proportion surrounded by a simple, beautiful rail.

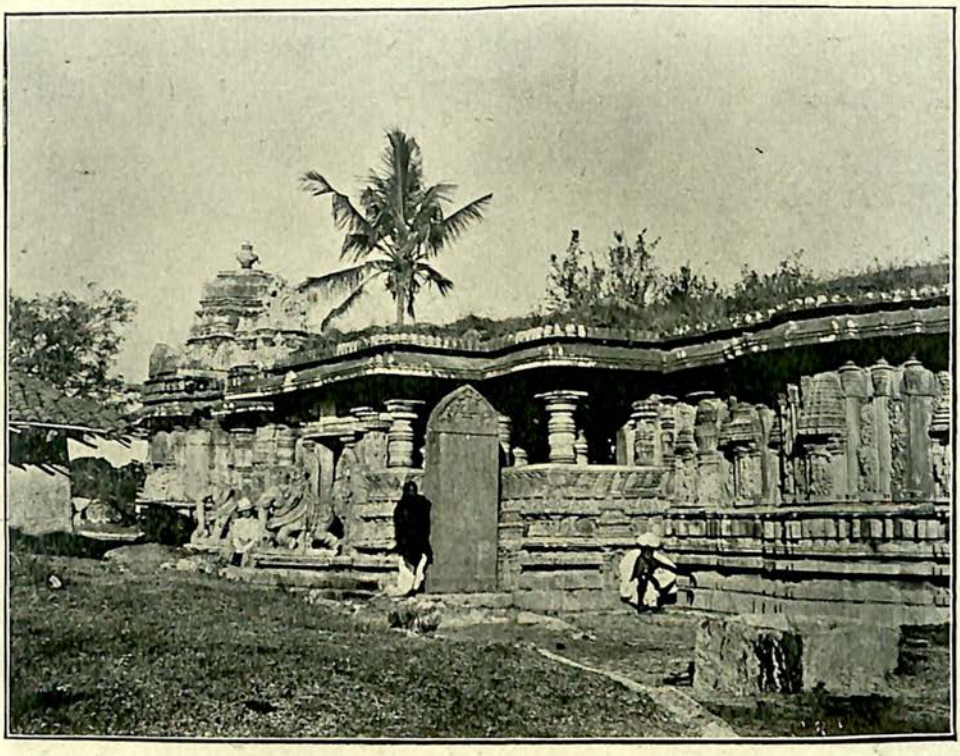
In the village, marred by the propinquity of dirty huts, is a very well-preserved and ornately carved temple called Buchesvara. It is a rather complex building, consisting of the usual carved sikra, connected by an astylar porch in which is a god. Joined to this is a beautiful small choultri with two entrances, and beyond the choultri the porch is continued and also contains a god. The whole building is 70 feet long and 25 feet wide, the sikra being about 28 feet high. At the main entrance to the choultri are two finely carved elephants. Above the richly ornamented projection, which forms a connecting link between the sikra and the jagomohan of most Chalukyan and Indo-Aryan temples, is a graphic sculpture of Sala slaying the tiger, representing the Hoysala crest. The temple is decorated with well-executed canopied gods and a variety of serpent motifs which we have not seen elsewhere on Chalukyan temples. One particularly effective sculpture is Vishnu lying asleep on a coiled serpent. Above the god the cobra rises gracefully, supporting on its hood another smaller god. Naga



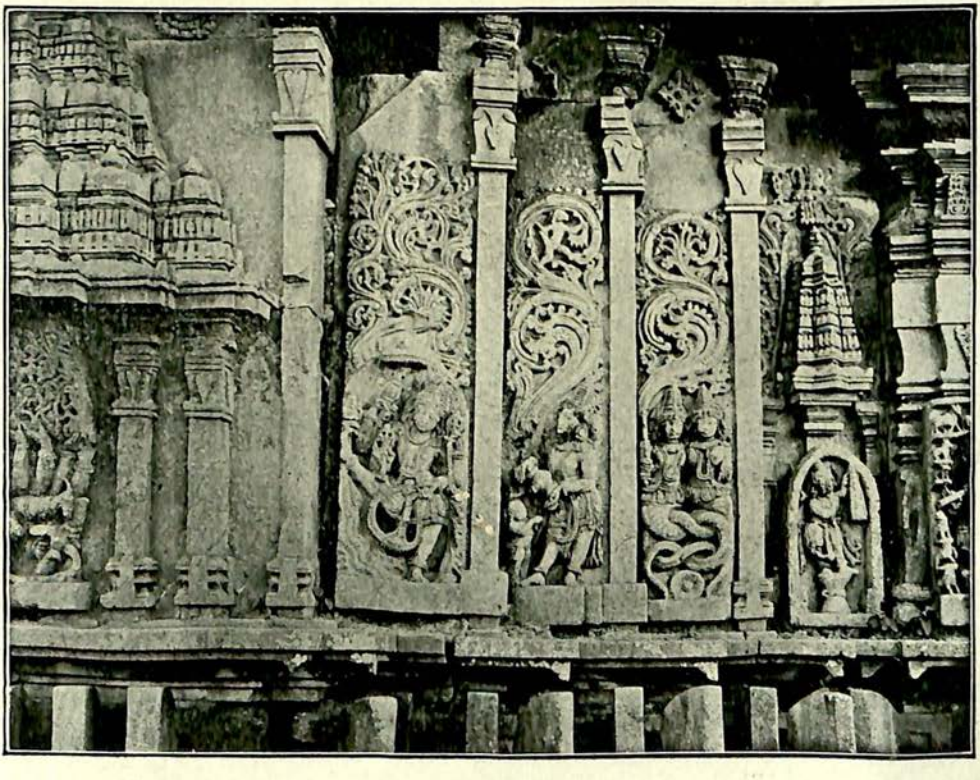
KORAVANGULA, BHUJESWARA TEMPLE



KORAVANGULA OLD TEMPLE.



BHUJESWARA AT KORAVANGULA.



BHUJESWARA AT KORAVANGULA.

kings with serpent bodies are also seen. The temple is built of granite and potstone, and is one of the most complete and interesting specimens of Chalukyan architecture in the Hassan district. The date given is A.D. 1160, and it is mentioned by Mr. Rice as an important building, but is not described. Mr. S. Edwardes, of the Wesleyan Mission, photographed the temple when stationed at Hassan, but ours are, I believe, the first published illustrations of it. We found inscribed steles at both of the Koravangala temples, but saw no inscriptions near those of Haranhalli, although some have been found on rocks in the vicinity.

XXI.

THE KURKU DIALECT OF THE MUNDA FAMILY OF SPEECH.

By STEN KONOW, Ph.D.

THE Kūrkūs are a Muṇḍā tribe living in the north of Berar and the adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. At the last Census, of 1901, their dialect was returned as spoken by 87,675 individuals.

The literal meaning of the word *kūrkū* is 'men.' It is the plural of *kōrō*, man, which word corresponds to Muṇḍārī *hå̈ṛå̈*, Santālī *hå̈ṛ*.[1] Like other tribes, the Kūrkūs, Muṇḍās, and Santāls call themselves men *par excellence*.

The Kūrkū dialect belongs to the so-called Muṇḍā family. I prefer this denomination of the family to the altogether fantastical name Kolarian, though the latter one is perhaps better known, because it is due to the scholar who first clearly distinguished the family from the Dravidian forms of speech.

The best known Muṇḍā dialects have hitherto been Santālī and Muṇḍārī. The difference between the two is not great, nor do they differ much from some other dialects, viz., Bhumij, Birhå̈ṛ, Kōḍā, Hō, Tūrī, Asurī, and Korwā. All these forms of speech are spoken in the same neighbourhood, in and about the Chota Nagpur Plateau, and they can be considered as slightly different forms of the principal Muṇḍā dialect, which I propose to call Kherwārī, after Kherwār, a name which occurs in the old Santālī traditions and denotes an old tribe from which the Santāls assert that they themselves and also the Muṇḍās, Hos, Birhå̈ṛs, and so forth are descended.

The best representatives of Kherwārī are Santālī and some

[1] The sign *å̈* denotes the sound of *a* in 'all' and the corresponding short sound. In a similar way I shall use *ä̈* in order to mark the open sound of *ä* in German 'Bär.' Compare the sound of *ai* in English 'hair.'

forms of Muṇḍārī. The remaining dialects have come more or less under the influence of the surrounding Aryan languages.

In addition to the various Kherwārī dialects there are further Khaṛiā; three Muṇḍā dialects spoken in the hills of Orissa and the north-eastern districts of the Madras Presidency, viz., Juāng, Sabara, and Gadaba; and, lastly, the dialect of the Kūrkūs.

The Kūrkūs are now separated from the bulk of the Muṇḍās by tracts where Aryan languages are spoken. Their neighbours speak Aryan dialects or Gōṇḍī, and their own dialect has been subject to influence from both. We have not till now been in a position to decide to what extent this double influence has changed the character of their language. There exist, it is true, some Kūrkū vocabularies, and the Rev. E. F. Ward has published notes on Kūrkū grammar. That latter work is, however, difficult to get, and I have never seen it. Now we have the "Grammar of the Kūrkū Language," by Mr. John Drake, published at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, in 1903.

Mr. Drake's book adds very considerably to our knowledge of Kūrkū and of the Muṇḍā dialects generally. The author has lived among the Kūrkūs as a missionary, and he has paid much attention to their language. The marking of the sounds of the dialect is much better than we are wont to see in similar books. Thus the peculiar semi-consonants are correctly described, though I feel certain that they occur in many words where Mr. Drake has not recognised them. The description of the grammatical features is very careful. I think that it would have been possible to make it clearer, and that a more thoroughgoing comparison of Santālī would have explained many difficult points. On the whole, however, it seems to me that Mr. Drake's Kūrkū grammar ranks high among similar works published in India.

It is now possible to judge about the position of Kūrkū within the Muṇḍā family, and also to draw some conclusions regarding the original form of the old dialect from which Kūrkū as well as Kherwārī have been derived.

It has already been mentioned that the Kūrkū word *kōrō*, man, corresponds to Muṇḍārī *hāṛā*. It will be seen that *k* here corresponds to Muṇḍārī, i.e. Kherwārī, *h*. The same is the case in several other words such as *kōn*, Muṇḍārī *hōn*, son; *kōrā*, Muṇḍārī *hōrā*, way, and so forth. The *k* of such words is not only found in other Muṇḍā dialects such as Khariā and Juāng, but also in connected languages in and outside India. Compare Mon *kōn*, Khmēr *kūn*, Semang *kōn*, Khassi *khūn*, son. It is evident that Kūrkū in such cases has preserved a more ancient stage of phonetical development than Kherwārī. This point is of some importance for the question of the etymology of the various names under which the Muṇḍā family and its various members have been known.

In most other respects the phonetical system of Kūrkū is the same as in Kherwārī.

The vowels *e* and *o* have two sounds each, one broad and open, somewhat like the sounds of *a* in 'care,' 'man,' and of *a* in 'all' and *o* in 'not,' respectively, and another corresponding to the sounds of *e* in 'men' and *ay* in 'say,' and of *o* in 'no,' respectively. The same is the case in Kherwārī. I have written *ä* for the open *e*-sound and *å* for the open *o*-sound. It seems as if the two sounds are sometimes interchanged. Compare Kūrkū *mī kår*, one man; *kōrō*, a man; *kūr-kū*, men; Santālī *hāṛ*, man. It is not, as yet, possible to define all the rules regulating the matter. In some cases there is a distinct tendency to approach the sound of vowels in consecutive syllables to each other. Thus *ä* agrees with *å* and not with *o*. Similarly, *i* agrees with *u*, and so forth. Compare Santālī *ân-tä*, there; from *ona*, that. The base of the pronoun is here *ân* or *on*. Before *i*, *u* is used instead; thus, *un-i*, this. This tendency is known under the name of harmonic sequence, and it plays a prominent rôle in Santālī, and partly also in Muṇḍārī. So long as we only knew of the existence of this law in Kherwārī, it might reasonably be doubted whether it formed a feature of the original Muṇḍā language. The state of affairs in Kūrkū seems to show that this has really been the case. The open and closed forms

of *e* and *o* do not, it is true, any more interchange mutually and with *i*, *u*, respectively, according to well-defined laws. There are, however, sufficient indications to show that the state of affairs has once been of a similar description as in Santālī. Compare *āp kâr*, three men; *kōrō*, a man; *kūr-kū*, men; *gō* and *gujū*, Santālī *gâc'* and *gujuk'*, die; *jōm* and *ju-jum*, to eat. We are therefore justified in tracing the law of harmonic sequence in the Muṇḍā languages back to the parent dialect from which Kūrkū and Kherwārī are derived.

One of the most characteristic features of Muṇḍā phonology is the existence of a set of semi-consonants, which I shall write *k'*, *c'*, *t'*, and *p'* respectively. They are formed like the corresponding consonants *k*, *c*, *t*, and *p*, but the enunciation is checked at the point of contact, and there is no off-glide. The semi-consonants have a tendency to develop into the corresponding voiced consonants, especially before vowels. Compare Santālī *gâc'* and *guj-uk'*, die. Mr. Drake's book shows that Kūrkū in all essentials here agrees with Kherwārī, and we can therefore trace the use of the semi-consonants and the tendency to change them to voiced consonants back to a comparatively ancient period. It seems probable that they existed in the original Muṇḍā language, and there are perhaps indications of their use in the language of the aboriginal inhabitants of Nearer and Further India. I also think that it can be made probable that the old Muṇḍā semi-consonants have something to do with the development of the so-called abrupt tone of many Tibeto-Burman languages.

I have already mentioned that the semi-consonants are probably used in Kūrkū in several instances where Mr. Drake does not recognise them. In this connection I may mention that the pronunciation of the semi-consonants in other dialects such as Muṇḍārī is often so indistinct as to become scarcely discernible. The same is probably the case in Kūrkū. I think that we can safely assume that a semi-consonant is spoken in most cases where Mr. Drake states that a euphonic consonant is inserted before vowels. Compare *dā*, genitive *dā-g-ā*, water; *ūrā*, genitive *ūrā-g-ā*, house;

tōl-yū, being bound, genitive *tōl-yū-g-ā*; *ǵgō*, die, passive base *gu-j-ū*, and so forth. That such words have originally ended in a semi-consonant is clearly shown by Santālī *dāk'*, water; *oṛak'*, house; *tol-ok'*, being bound; *gāc'*, die. I am even inclined to think that the semi-consonant can still be heard in Kūrkū. Mr. Drake in such cases operates with euphonic consonants. It is sincerely to be hoped that this term should be restricted to its proper sphere. It is possible to explain the introduction of all kinds of 'euphonic' consonants into a literary language, such as for instance Pālī. In the case of spoken vernaculars, on the other hand, the talk of euphonic consonants is usually only a semi-learned way of expressing a *non liquet*.

It has already been mentioned that the phonetical system of Kūrkū in most essential points agrees with Kherwārī. In some features it closely agrees with Muṇḍārī as against Santālī. Compare *ōtē*, Muṇḍārī *ōtē*, Santālī *ōt*, field; *kōrō*, Muṇḍārī *hāṛā*, Santālī *hāṛ*, man; *kōrā*, Muṇḍārī *hōrā*, Santālī *hōr*, way, and so on. In other points Kūrkū agrees with Santālī as against Muṇḍārī. Compare *kā*, Santālī *kan*, Muṇḍārī *tan*, is; *bang*, Santālī *bang*, Muṇḍārī also *ka*, not, and so forth. On the whole, Kūrkū occupies a somewhat independent position, without marked affinity to any Kherwārī dialect.

The inflexional system is mainly the same as in Kherwārī, though the influence of the neighbouring languages is here clearly felt.

The animate and inanimate genders are distinguished as in Kherwārī. Like the various forms of that language, Kūrkū possesses three numbers, the singular, the dual, and the plural. The suffixes of the dual and the plural are also the same as in those forms of speech, viz. *king* and *kū*, respectively. It is interesting to see that the dual is used to denote a married wife, as in Kherwārī. Compare *Tumlā-king*, Tumlā's wife.

If we turn to the formation of cases, on the other hand, we will find important traces of the influence exercised by Aryan vernaculars. In Santālī and Muṇḍārī, and originally

in all Kherwārī dialects, the cases of the direct and indirect object are expressed by means of pronominal infixes in the verb, and there is no accusative and no dative of the noun. The Aryan dative suffix *kē* is, however, used in such dialects of Muṇḍārī as has been most influenced by Aryan languages. The same is the case in Kūrkū, where *ken* is used to form a dative and an accusative; thus, *kōn-ken*, to a son. *Ken* is clearly the Aryan suffix *kē*, and there are sufficient traces left to show that the Kūrkū dative-accusative is a comparatively modern development, and that the cases of the direct and indirect object were formerly expressed in the same way as in Kherwārī, by means of pronominal affixes added to the verb, and not by means of suffixes added to the noun. The fact is interesting as showing that the state of affairs in Kherwārī can claim some antiquity.

The suffix of the genitive is *a*, and it is not changed so as to agree with the qualified noun in gender. In Santālī and Muṇḍārī there are different suffixes according to whether the qualified noun denotes an animate being or an inanimate object, respectively. Compare Muṇḍārī *hatu*-ren *hâṛâ-king*, the two men of the village; but *oṛak'*-reak' *duar*, the door of the house. Here the suffix *ren* can only be used with a qualified noun which denotes an animate being. The corresponding inanimate suffix is *reak'* or *ak'*. There are, however, some instances of interchange between the two suffixes, at least in Muṇḍārī. Thus Father Hoffmann gives both *Paku*-ren *hon* and *Paku*-ak' *hon*, Paku's son. The state of affairs in Kūrkū makes it probable that there was originally only one suffix of the genitive. Compare also the genitive suffix *ā* in Khaṛiā, Juāng, and Sabara. The genitive was an adjective, and, like other adjectives, it could be distinguished by adding pronominal suffixes in order to denote the gender of the qualified noun.

In this connection I may also note that Mr. Drake does not appear to have analysed the various genitive forms correctly. The *g* in *dā-g-ā*, of the water, is certainly derived from *k'*; compare Santālī, Muṇḍārī *dāk'*, water. If it is correct that the *a* of the genitive suffix is lengthened in such

cases, the lengthening must be explained from the influence of the accent, or else *dāg-ā* corresponds to a Muṇḍārī *dāg-āk'*, of the water. The suffix *kā* in *kākū-kā jōm*, fish-of meal, on the other hand, must be the Aryan suffix *kā*. The word *kākū* corresponds to Santālī *hākō*, fish, and does not end in a *k*. Mr. Drake has also failed to see that the difference between the ablative suffixes *aten* and *ten* must be explained by the fact that the ablative suffix is often added to the genitive, and not to the base.

The numerals agree with Kherwārī as against Khaṛiā, Sabara, and Gadaba. The difference between the two groups does not run through all numerals, but is, mainly, restricted to the numerals seven, eight, and nine. Compare—

	Kūrkū.	Santālī.	Khaṛiā.
seven	*ē-ya*	*e-ae*	*gul*
eight	*ilār-iya*	*irāl*	*thām*
nine	*ārē-ya*	*ārē*	*tom-sing*

Sabara and Gadaba mainly agree with Khaṛiā. When we compare Khmēr *grul*, Khmu *kul*, seven; Mōn *d'cām*, Suk *tam*, eight; Bahnar *toksin*, Lemet *tim*, nine, and similar forms in other connected dialects, it becomes probable that the forms used in Kūrkū and Kherwārī are later than those current among the other tribes.

The higher numbers are counted in twenties as in other Muṇḍā dialects. Mr. Drake thinks that *īsā*, twenty, is not an Aryan loan-word. I am unable to agree with him in this supposition.

The personal pronouns are the same as in Kherwārī. Thus, *ing*, Muṇḍārī *ing*, I; *ā-lang*, Muṇḍārī *ā-lang*, I and thou; *ā-ling*, Muṇḍārī *ā-ling*, I and he; *ā-bung*, Muṇḍārī *ā-bu*, I and you; *ā-lē*, Muṇḍārī *ā-lē*, I and they, and so forth. There are also shorter forms of the personal pronouns,

which are suffixed to transitive verbs in order to indicate the direct and indirect objects. Thus, *ā-ling-ken tōl-ling-bā*, us-two-to bind-us-two-will, he will bind us two; *dī-kū ā-ling-ken cōc' māndī-ling-bā*, they us-two-to what say-us-two, what do they say to us two? It will be seen that the same form is used to denote the direct and the indirect object, and that the full pronoun is also added in the dative-accusative. We can safely assume that the latter circumstance is due to Aryan influence. The use of pronominal affixes is no more necessary, and it is much more restricted than e.g. in Santālī. What remains is, however, quite sufficient to show that the state of affairs in Kūrkū has once been the same as in Kherwārī. On the other hand, there seems to be little doubt that the Kūrkūs will ere long discard the pronominal suffixes altogether.

The suffixed form of the third person singular of the animate gender is *ec'*; thus, *dīc' dīc'-ken tōl-ec'-bā*, he him-to bind-him-will, he will bind him. In Kherwārī the corresponding form is *e* or *i*; thus, Muṇḍārī *rak'-i-a-e*, calls-him-he, he calls him. In some dialects of Muṇḍārī, however, *ic'* is apparently used instead. Thus Father Hoffmann gives *om-ad-i'-a-e*, he gave to him. If this form is not simply due to a misprint instead of *om-ad'-i-a-e*, i.e. *om-at'-i-a-e*, it must stand for *om-ad-ic'-a-e*, and contain a suffix *ic'*. Similar forms certainly occur in connected dialects. Forms such as Muṇḍārī *lel-ki'-a-ko*, they saw him, in Father Hoffmann's grammar, on the other hand, must be explained in another way. *Lel-ki'*, saw him, should properly be written *lel-kic'*. It is derived from the past base *lel-ket'*, saw, with the pronoun *i*, him, added. *Et'-i* in the Mankipatti District regularly becomes *ic'*. *Lel-ki'ñ-a-ko*, i.e. *lel-kic'-ñ-a-ko*, they saw me, is in a similar way derived from *lel-ket'-iñ-a-ko*. This latter form shows that *lel-kic'* must contain a suffix *i* and not *ic'*, there being no room for a suffix *c'* in *lel-kic'-ñ*, saw me.

The sketch of Kūrkū conjugation is perhaps the least satisfactory portion of Mr. Drake's book. I think that it could have been made much more perspicuous. It is

not, however, difficult to see that the Kūrkū verb still in numerous details is inflected in the same way as in Kherwārī, though Aryan, and perhaps also Dravidian, influence has been at play.

It is a well-known fact that the Muṇḍā verb is not a verb in the strictest sense of the word. Every form can be used as a noun, an adjective, and a verb. The principal dialects of Kherwārī possess a separate particle, the so-called categorical *a*, which shows that such a form is used in the function of a verb. Thus, Santālī *dal-ket'-e*, struck him, denotes the idea of a striking of him in the past. The form can be used as a noun, as an adjective, and so on. If we add the categorical *a*, this form is changed into a real verb; thus, *dal-ket'-e-a*, (he) struck him.

Kūrkū does not possess any such thing as a categorical *a*. The same form is, without any difference, used in the different functions. Thus, *ing-ken tōl-ing* means 'me-to binding-me,' 'binding me.' If we use this form as a noun we may, for instance, add the suffix of the locative; thus, *ing-ken tōl-ing-en*, me-to binding-me-in, in binding me. The same form can be used as an adjective and as a verb; thus, *ing-ken tōl-ing kōrō*, me-to binding-me man, a man who binds me; *dīc' ing-ken bang tōl-ing*, he me-to not binding-me, he does not bind me.

In this wide use of the various 'verbal' forms Kūrkū thoroughly agrees with Kherwārī. The same is also the case in general principles and in numerous details.

The root of a verb can be modified in various ways, and such modified forms are used as the bases of different conjugations. I therefore propose to call them conjugational bases. Mr. Drake calls them species. I do not intend to go into detail. Suffice it to note that the base can be reduplicated as in Kherwārī; thus, *jōm* and *ju-jum*, to eat. There is further an intransitive and passive base, formed by adding *ū* or *yū*, corresponding to Kherwārī *ok'*. The actual form probably ends in *k'*; compare *tōl-yū*, to be bound; *tōl-yūg-ā*, of the binding. Another base is formed by adding *kī*. It often has the meaning of a causative, and

perhaps corresponds to Santālī *oco*. Compare *bīt'*, to rise; *bit'-kī*, to raise.

From such bases are formed various tense-bases which can, in their turn, be used as nouns, as adjectives, and as verbs. These bases are mainly formed by means of the same suffixes as in Kherwārī. Thus the suffixes *ä* and *kä* correspond to Kherwārī *et'*, *ket'*, respectively. It is possible that a trace of the final *t'* of such suffixes is still preserved in forms such as *dīc' dīc'-ken tōl-kä-d-īc'*, he him-to bound him, he bound him. This *d* can, however, also be the initial *d* of the pronoun *dīc'*, he. The passive and intransitive forms corresponding to those ending in *ä*, *kä*, end in *en*, *ken*, respectively. There is apparently some confusion between the active and passive forms, for an *n* is often inserted before pronominal suffixes beginning with *i*; thus, *dīc' ing-ken tōl-kä-n-ing*, he me-to bound-me, he bound me.

It may also be noted that the number of different tense-bases in Kūrkū is much more limited than in Kherwārī. Some forms, such as the indefinite present ending in *bā*, have perhaps been developed under the influence of Aryan vernaculars. On the whole, however, the conjugation of verbs still follows the same principles as in Kherwārī.

The negative particle is *bang* as in Santālī. There is, besides, a negative copula *dun*, not to be. I have not found anything corresponding in other Muṇḍā dialects. Is it possible to compare the negative *tōten* in the Dravidian Kōlāmī?

The formation of words in many details agrees with Kherwārī. Thus we find a causative prefix *ā* in *ā-n-nū*, to cause to drink, Santālī *a-ñu*. An infix *p* is occasionally used to form reciprocal verbs. Thus *ā-pa-rang*, to quarrel, from *ā-ram*, abuse. An *l*-infix probably occurs in forms such as *ōt'* and *ō-le-t'*, to go out; *sā* and *sā-lē*, to bring, and so on. On the whole, however, the use of infixes is much more limited than in Kherwārī.

I hope that the preceding remarks will be sufficient to show that high importance attaches to Kūrkū grammar.

It shows that it is quite right to consider Kherwārī as the most typical form of Muṇḍā speech. Kūrkū agrees with it in important features. In some few points it has preserved a more ancient stage of development. On the other hand, it has come under the influence of neighbouring forms of speech of the Aryan and perhaps also of the Dravidian families, and it can probably only be a question of time when Kūrkū shall have become so mixed up with foreign elements that it cannot any more be considered as a typical Muṇḍā dialect. It was high time that a trustworthy sketch should be published, and Muṇḍā philology is much indebted to Mr. Drake for the careful work he has given us.

XXII.

IN WHAT DEGREE WAS SANSKRIT A SPOKEN LANGUAGE?

AN ESSAY ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SANSKRIT LANGUAGE.

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THERE must have been in ancient India three thousand years ago, as there are in the India of to-day, many languages and many dialects of these languages. Unfortunately, there was no Linguistic Survey and no Dr. Grierson in those days; and of all of these save one — the language of the earliest Aryan settlers in the north-western corner of India — we have to say, "their memorial is perished with them."[1]

At the root of the question which we are to discuss, lies the question whether some break of continuity occurred in the history of the one language of which we possess this early record, or whether its development proceeded in the regular manner which we can observe elsewhere in the linguistic history of other countries.

Accordingly as we hold one or the other of these views, so shall we be inclined to regard the later predominant literary language of India, which is, without dispute, closely related *etymologically* with this early language, as a purely

[1] For a later period—the period beginning about 300 B.C.—we are more fortunate in possessing records of several other members of the Indian group of the same Aryan or Indo-European family. Between these languages there is a strong family resemblance, and their intimate connection with the earliest recorded language cannot be doubted. At the same time, it would not be strictly accurate to say of most of them that they were derived from this earliest recorded language. They were derived rather from earlier spoken languages which have passed away without record.

scholastic artificial revival—something like the revival of Latin as a general means of communication among the learned in mediæval Europe—or as the legitimate descendant of the earlier language. In the former case we shall be inclined to deny to the later language the character of a spoken language in the ordinary sense of the term; in the latter case we shall see no reason to suppose that, like other languages which have attained to a fixed literary form—our own, for instance—it did not remain in use also as a spoken language.

The latter view—the view that there was no such break of continuity in the development of Sanskrit, that it was the legitimate descendant of the earliest recorded Aryan language of India, and that, after having been reduced to a definite literary form by the labours of grammarians, it continued to be used as a spoken language by the cultivated classes over a very considerable portion of Northern India—is the one to which a consideration of the whole subject has led me.

The old theory, originally propounded by that great scholar Max Müller, but, I believe, abandoned by him before his death, that, during the few centuries before and after Christ, India passed through a period which may be compared to the Dark Ages of Europe, during which the use of Sanskrit was in abeyance, and which was followed, as in Europe, by a *renaissance* at which a knowledge of the classics was revived—this theory has been completely disproved by evidence of various kinds, but above all by the absolutely certain evidence of inscriptions which can be dated.

Another reason for assuming some such interruption in the use of Sanskrit has been suggested by Prof. Bhandarkar, who is quoted with approval by Professor Rhys Davids in his book "Buddhist India."[1] The use of Sanskrit in its earlier stages is, without question, most closely connected with Brahmanism; and Professor Bhandarkar, relying on

[1] p. 150.

the evidence of inscriptions, gives reasons for supposing that Brahmanism itself was under a cloud during, approximately, the same period which was formerly supposed to intervene between the latest of the Vedic writings and 'Classical' Sanskrit. The evidence of inscriptions on this particular point is, however, rather apt to be misleading, since so many come from ascetics' caves and stūpas, institutions which seem not to have been so popular amongst the Brahmans as amongst the Jains and Buddhists; but, apart from this fact, we actually do find that mention of Brahmans and Brahmanical communities is quite common in inscriptions throughout this period. Aśoka (*c.* 250 B.C.) mentions Brahmans in association with the adherents of the other religious sects of his time.[1] His grandson, Daśaratha, has left us inscriptions awarding or confirming certain privileges to the Ājīvikas, who, according to Kern and Bühler, were a sect of Brahman ascetics.[2] The great Andhra inscription at Nānāghāt (*c.* 170 B.C.) consists of a formal record of the performance of Brahmanical sacrifices, such as we know them from the Sūtras, and, by its statements of the enormous fees paid to the officiating priests, impresses us with the extent of the priestly power at this period.[3] Among the inscriptions of the Kṣatrapas, who succeeded to the dominion of the Andhras in Western India, are those of Uṣavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna (*c.* 120 A.D.), in which numerous grants are made to Brahmans and Brahmanical communities.[4]

Leaving out of the question the evidence of such literary works as may reasonably be assigned to this period, and turning to the coins which can be dated with more exactness, we find Brahmanical figures among the earliest 'types' of Indian coins (as distinguished from the 'symbols' of the earliest Indian 'punch-marked' currency, and as distinguished from the Greek 'types' introduced by the Græco-Indian

[1] Edict VII; *v.* V. A. Smith, *Aśoka*, p. 155.

[2] Bühler, *Ind. Ant.*, 1891, p. 361. Professor Bhandarkar, however, denies that the Ājīvikas were Brahmans, *v.* JBBRAS., 1901, p. 399.

[3] Bühler in ASWI. v, p. 60.

[4] Nāsik and Karle Inscrr. in ASWI. iv.

princes). These probably date from *c.* 100 B.C.[1] For the following centuries, such exceedingly common types as the figure of Śiva, with or without his bull, or the goddess Lakṣmī, can only denote that Brahmanism was widely spread throughout Northern India.

Everything, I think, points to the fact that there was no such break of continuity as has been imagined, either in the history of the Brahmanical religion or in the use of the Sanskrit language; and, if there was no dividing chasm between 'Vedic' and 'Classical' Sanskrit, it is difficult—in my opinion it is impossible—to understand why or at what period the language once spoken should have ceased to be used as a spoken language, or why the ordinary course of development, which we may observe in the case of other great literary languages, should have been interrupted, until there came that tremendous political and religious cataclysm which resulted in a transfer of the predominant power from the Hindu to the Muhammadan.

In seeking to obtain from the literature itself an answer to the question "In what degree was Sanskrit (i.e. Classical Sanskrit, Sanskrit properly so called) a spoken language?" we must observe the ordinary principles of historical criticism. We must view the history of the Sanskrit language as a whole, so far as possible, so that we may see what the course of its development has been, and we must compare it with the history of other languages.

For a study of development no other literature of the Indo-European family of languages presents more abundant materials or greater continuity in its materials. The earliest hymn of the Rig-Veda cannot, in all probability, have been composed later than about 1500 B.C., and from that remote date down to the present day there has probably been no period in which Sanskrit (in the wider sense of the term, including the language of both the Vedic and the Classical periods) has not been used, to some extent, both for the

[1] *E.g.* coins of the Audumbara king Dharaghoṣa, *v. Indian Coins*, § 43, pl. iii, 8.

purposes of literature and, at the same time, as a spoken language. Although for many centuries past it has been in India little more than the language of learned commentary and learned communication, like Latin in mediæval Europe, yet its creative period cannot be held to have been closed until after 1000 A.D. The language which we propose to survey to-day had, therefore, a literary activity which extended over the long space of at least twenty-five centuries.

But no account of the literary language of any country can be satisfactory if it does not include some estimate of its relation to the dialects which sprang from the same source, which continue to exist side by side with it during a considerable period of its history, and which, with the natural conservatism of dialects, often preserve forms and inflexions which it has lost. We shall, therefore, take a glance at the history of some of the more important dialects of ancient and mediæval India; and, in attempting to determine the relation which these Prakrits, as they are commonly called, bore to Sanskrit, we shall again find that the most instructive analogies are supplied by the dialects of other Indo-European languages with which we are familiar.

Investigation has shown that certain well-defined linguistic strata are to be recognised in the Rig-Veda, the earliest Sanskrit which we possess, and that the composition of the hymns which are now contained in it must have extended over a long period. The subject-matter of the hymns themselves shows that the greater number of them, including all the oldest, were composed in the north-western portion of India — the country of the Indus and its tributaries. They are anterior to the extension of Aryan civilization to the country of the Ganges and the Jamna. The fact that the early Vedic Sanskrit thus prevailed during a long period in the north-west is of primary importance for the subsequent history of Sanskrit. It was precisely in this region that Pāṇini subsequently composed his great work, which, summing up the results of generations of grammatical study, fixed for all succeeding ages the form of the language

which we know as 'Classical' Sanskrit. It is in accordance with this fact, too, that the dialect of the still later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the same region still retains characteristics which it shares with Classical Sanskrit, and in regard to which it differs from the dialects of Central and Eastern India.[1]

This earliest Vedic Sanskrit is entirely in poetry, and it must have differed, no doubt, from the spoken language of the period in the same manner as poetic diction in every age and country has differed from the language of ordinary life; but there is no reason whatever for supposing that it was farther removed from the speech of the Aryan settlers in North-Western India than the poetry of Chaucer was removed from the spoken English of his time.

As regards its structure, we may, perhaps, most fittingly compare it with the earliest Greek which has come down to us—the Greek of the Homeric poems. Both languages are characterised especially by their wealth of inflexional forms; and this great variety in the means of expression is no doubt due to the same causes in both instances. It may be partly explained as the result of a mixture of dialects and of the retention in a poetic language of forms which have passed out of ordinary currency; but there can be no doubt that it is also characteristic generally of early stages of language. At a later stage, literature, by creating a standard, tends to produce greater uniformity; and at a later stage still, when language and literature have themselves become objects of study, 'grammar' comes in to prune away all useless luxuriance, and, by authorising certain forms and condemning others, to set up a distinction, which did not previously exist, between what is 'correct' and what is 'incorrect.'

The literature of the later Vedic period is enormous in extent. Opinions may differ as to its value from the literary point of view; but from the linguistic point of view, which chiefly concerns us here, it is inestimable. The diversity of its language and style shows that it must be the product

[1] Franke, *Pāli und Sanskrit*, p. 54.

of many centuries—possibly of a period extending from *c.* 1000 B.C. to *c.* 200 B.C.—and probably also of very widely separated localities. This vast literature has not yet been completely explored; but all the investigations which have been made point to one certain conclusion, viz., that, in this literature, the transition from the language of the Rig-Veda to Classical Sanskrit can be most clearly and unmistakeably traced. Indeed, it is practically impossible to say where the one ceases and the other begins. The relative dates of works included in this period may be settled by linguistic evidence; and there can be no doubt that investigation will eventually show that different dialects are represented.[1]

Now, a language which changes in this definite and orderly manner is certainly not dead. Changes such as we have noted can only come about through the influence of the living speech, and this influence can only be exerted when there is not too great a difference between the literary and the spoken forms. There would seem, then, to be no sufficient reason for doubting the continuity of a spoken Sanskrit throughout the later, as well as the earlier, Vedic period.[2] There is very good evidence, I think, to show that this continuity was not broken, and that, during the Classical period, a spoken Sanskrit continued to exist side by side with the literary language, differing from it only as our every-day language differs from the language of our books.

The most important link in the argument here is supplied by the works of the grammarians. They themselves belong to the later Vedic period, and the result of their labours was,

[1] Linguistically the Sanskrit of the Brāhmaṇa period is to be compared to the Greek of the Classical period, when great writers show the most marked individuality in language and style.

[2] Why Professor Rhys Davids (*Buddhism*, 1903, p. 254), while allowing that the language of the Vedic hymns represents in literary form the contemporary spoken language, denies that this is true of the productions of the later Vedic or Brāhmaṇa period, I cannot understand. He admits that the language of this later Vedic period shows "traces of development." But this is precisely the criterion of a living language, and of a living language unfixed yet by the strict rules of the grammarians. The mediæval Latin in Europe, and the Pali of the commentaries, to which he compares it, do *not* change in the same way. Their form is definitely fixed. Their inflexions remain the same throughout. Slight variations in their vocabularies, slight differences in the meanings and uses of words, are almost the only marks by which the productions of different periods can be distinguished.

as we know from their own works, the elaboration from the living spoken language of their time of that precise form of it which we know as Classical Sanskrit. To understand the full force of their evidence it will be necessary to glance at the history of grammatical studies in India.

Grammar, like astronomy, mathematics, and every other science in ancient India, had its origin in the study of the Veda; and its very name, *vyākaraṇa*, 'analysis,' indicates the method pursued. Its first beginning is seen in the *Pada-pāṭha* or 'word-text' of the Rig-Veda, ascribed to Śākalya, *c.* 700 B.C. This first effort is confined to an analysis of the connected sentence into its constituent parts. The words of the hymns are taken separately and presented in the form which they would bear when not influenced by their surroundings, i.e. as they would appear both in regard to form and accent if unmodified by the laws of euphony. A subordinate division was also made of compound-words into their constituent parts, and of certain noun-forms into base and termination; and, at the same time, such forms were indicated as resisted the ordinary rules of euphony or were otherwise remarkable. This *pada-pāṭha*, simple as it may seem to us now, formed a very real beginning of grammatical study. It constituted the basis of all subsequent research. This analytical method applied first to the earliest language of the Veda, was subsequently extended to the language of the age, and was pursued with such wonderful thoroughness and exactness that it resulted in what is beyond question the most minutely perfect system of grammar that the world has ever seen.[1] Among the grammarians the greatest names are those of Yāska, *c.* 500 B.C., whose *Nirukta* or 'Explanation' of the Vedic language may be considered as, perhaps, the earliest known example of the use of strict Classical Sanskrit prose, and Pāṇini, *c.* 350 B.C., whose grammar of the spoken literary language of his day dominates all succeeding Sanskrit literature.

[1] It is always interesting to compare the parallel developments in the civilizations of ancient Greece and India. For the history of Greek grammar, *v.* Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, vol. i, p. 88.

Pāṇini expressly calls the language with which he deals *laukika*, "that which is used in ordinary life," and distinguishes it from the *chāndasa* or 'poetical' language of the Vedas; and the grammarians generally from Yāska to Patañjali (latter half of the second century B.C.) apply to Classical Sanskrit the term *bhāṣā* or 'speech,' from the root *bhāṣ* 'to speak'—a term which could not possibly have been used to denote a dead language. The evidence that the language with which they deal was a real living spoken language is overwhelming. Rules as to the accent of words, as to the precise intonation of questions or commands, as to forms used when shouting to people at a distance, as to colloquialisms used in playing dice, etc., could have no sense if applied to a dead language.

Most important for the history of the living Sanskrit should be the evidence of the great early Epic poems—the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. Unfortunately we cannot estimate the real value of the evidence of the Mahābhārata, until we are supplied with that great desideratum of Sanskrit scholarship, a critical edition of the text which will enable us to distinguish between the more ancient and the more modern portions of the poem. But that certain portions of both of them are very early indeed is, I think, clearly shown by their language. There can be little doubt, I think, that the greater part of the Rāmāyaṇa, in the form in which we possess it now, must date from about 500 B.C.; and the oldest parts of the Mahābhārata must be of at least equal age. Poems of the kind are often referred to in the literature of the later Vedic or Brāhmaṇa period, and we have actual quotations from such works in the Mahābhāṣya (second century B.C.). The evidence of the Epics is the more important as their language does not entirely conform to the scholastic rules of the grammarians. They are, therefore, independent corroborative witnesses to the use of Sanskrit. It is quite inconceivable that they should not have been popular in character, and, as a matter of fact, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas are often spoken of as constituting a sort of fifth Veda which should be

studied by ordinary worldly people, warriors, husbandmen, and ladies, just as the four Vedas and the Brahmanical literature founded on them were studied by the priests. The evidence of the Purāṇas also cannot unfortunately be properly used at present. In their origin they probably belong to a very early period, but in their present form they are undoubtedly late. There seems, however, to be no reason for supposing that these Purāṇas are not the representatives of a continuous traditional use of Sanskrit as a popular language, although the earlier stages in this tradition have been lost.

We are, therefore, fully justified in regarding Classical Sanskrit as the legitimate descendant of the language spoken by the early Aryan settlers in the north-western regions of India. Pāṇini himself belonged to this district, and, as we have seen, the dialect of the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, which are confined to this district in India, still continues to show in its structure a notable affinity to Sanskrit. Spreading from this region with the spread of Brahmanism, Sanskrit became the literary language, first of the whole of Northern India, and subsequently of the whole of the civilized Aryan world in India.

In the history of languages there are many instances of a similar growth and expansion. In our own country, the wealth and political predominance of the south-eastern portion of Great Britain led to the predominance of the Mercian dialect of English, which, reduced to its final literary form chiefly by the great writers of the Elizabethan age and by the authorised version of the Bible, became the standard English language, which has spread over the whole English-speaking world. The chief dialect of ancient Greece, the Attic, became, through the political unity which resulted from the Macedonian conquest, the κοινὴ διάλεκτος of the whole Greek world, and remained so, with little change, until Greek learning was extinguished by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in A.D. 1453. Similarly, Latin, the dialect spoken at Rome, was chosen from among all the dialects of Italy to become the universal language of culture throughout

the empire. Its form as settled by the writers of the Classical period remained substantially unchanged through many centuries; and after its literary productiveness had ceased, it, like Sanskrit in India, continued to exist as the common means of communication among the learned in Europe.

Let us now turn to the Prakrits, the other Aryan dialects of ancient India, and examine the position which they held in regard to Sanskrit, the predominant literary language. These Prakrits cannot, unfortunately, be traced back to any date within many centuries of the period of the earliest Vedic Sanskrit, or to the period of the Brāhmaṇas, or even to the date of the earliest Classical Sanskrit (Yāska, *c.* 500 B.C.) or the earliest Sanskrit of the Epics; but, as the general study of dialects would lead us to expect, they often retain forms which are much older, much nearer to Vedic Sanskrit, than the corresponding forms of the literary language. In precisely the same manner — to take an example from our own country — our own dialects, the dialect of Somerset for instance, still abound in words which are nearer to Anglo-Saxon than those used in cultivated and literary English.

The transformation of a dialect into a widespread, cultivated, literary language, which then tends to absorb the dialects which were once its fellows, follows from the importance with which it has been invested by the force of circumstances, usually political or religious. The development and growth of Sanskrit were due to the spread of Brahmanism and to the alliance which, with some notable exceptions, was generally maintained between the priestly and the kingly power. In a similar manner, though in a smaller degree, such a combination of religious and political causes led to the development of other great literary languages from Aryan dialects in ancient India, such as Pali, the language of what is incorrectly but very conveniently called 'Southern' Buddhism, and Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī and Jaina-Śaurasenī, the languages of Jainism.

Buddhism was, no doubt, first preached in the popular

dialect of Buddha's country—Magadha, the present Behar—a dialect which is known to us, some two and a half centuries later than Buddha's date, from the inscriptions of Aśoka, the great Maurya king of Magadha. The literary Pali of the Buddhist books, whatever its origin may have been, is almost certainly not derived from this particular dialect; and, however good the authority of the Pali books may be for matters of fact and matters of doctrine in the earliest Buddhist age—the latter part of the sixth and the earlier part of the fifth centuries B.C.—they are no evidence for the *language* either of Buddha's age or of Buddha's country. That this language was nearly allied to Pali is of course practically certain; but the two were allied merely as collateral descendants from the same stock, and not otherwise. Pali in its present form represents the Indian dialect, whatever it may have been, which was introduced with Buddhism into Ceylon, possibly as early as the third century B.C., and which had been reduced to literary form by the labours of grammarians in precisely the same manner as Classical Sanskrit. Its form, like that of Classical Sanskrit, had already been finally fixed, and it underwent no material modification during the centuries through which its history can be traced. It is exceedingly probable that it assumed this definite literary form only after it had found a permanent home as the language of the state religion of Ceylon. All the Buddhist literature which must once have existed in the Indian dialect which formed the basis of the literary Pali has disappeared. Practically all that we know of the literary *media* through which Buddhism was promulgated in India proper is: (1) That Buddhism seems everywhere to have used the prevailing language; (2) that, in accordance with this principle, Aśoka, the king of Magadha *c.* 250 B.C., in quoting known Buddhist texts, gives their titles in Māgadhī and not in Pali, while Buddhist countries farther north, such as Nepal, accepted Sanskrit as the language of their scriptures at least as early as the first or second century of our era; (3) that, in the time of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Thsang, *c.* 640 A.D., Sanskrit

had so completely become the language of Indian Buddhism that it was used even in theological discussions.[1]

The history of the Jain scriptures is precisely similar. They have not come down to us in the language in which they were, no doubt, originally preached — the dialect of Vaiśālī, the modern Besārh, north-east of Patna. The languages in which they are preserved are those of the countries in which Jainism became politically important. These languages, like Pali and Classical Sanskrit, found their own grammarians and produced enormous literatures. They continued to hold their own until some time between 1000 and 1100 A.D., when they were forced to yield to Sanskrit, which thenceforth takes its place as the language of the Jain church.

For the history of Indian dialects the evidence of inscriptions and coin-legends is more satisfactory than that of literature. The earliest inscriptions which can be dated with certainty are the edicts of Aśoka, *c.* 250 B.C.; but there are some inscriptions, and possibly also a few coin-legends, which may belong to a somewhat earlier period. In any case, from the time of Aśoka onwards, the inscriptions and coin-legends furnish us with a continuous record, which, from the linguistic point of view, is of the utmost importance.

Now, it is essential to the very nature of an inscription or a coin-legend that it should be written in the ordinary language of the common people for whose information it is intended. It is, therefore, anything but surprising to find that all the earliest Indian inscriptions and coin-legends are in popular dialects, and that this use of the dialects extends to a period subsequent to that at which, as we have every reason to believe, Sanskrit had been generally accepted as the cultivated language of religion, politics, and culture. The history of the Greek dialects affords an exact parallel. For some considerable period after the κοινὴ διάλεκτος had been accepted as the literary and the spoken cultivated language of the whole Greek world, we find the dialects

[1] *v.* Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, p. xli.

still persisting in local inscriptions. A most instructive example is supplied by an inscription of Larissa,[1] the date of which is about 214 B.C., nearly a century and a quarter after the Macedonian conquest had led to the general adoption of the κοινὴ διάλεκτος. This inscription contains two letters addressed by Philip V, king of Macedon, to the people of Larissa, and their replies. The king's letters are in the κοινή, while the replies of the good people of Larissa are in their own Thessalian dialect. The κοινὴ διάλεκτος existed side by side with the local dialects, Arcadian, Bœotian, and the rest, in precisely the same manner as Classical Sanskrit existed side by side with Māgadhī, Māhārāṣṭrī, and the other Prakrits.

We have seen that inscriptions are essentially popular, that their very purpose is to appeal to everyone, learned and unlearned alike, and that they are, therefore, very retentive of popular dialects. But it is characteristic of an established literary language to encroach on the domain of the dialects. The weak give way before the strong, and the use of dialects gradually declines until it disappears.

In our own country, literary English, the language used by educated people, has almost driven the dialects out of the field. They still continue to exist in the mouths of old-fashioned country people, but the spread of education and the facilitation of the means of communication are rapidly destroying them altogether. For literary purposes they have practically ceased, but there was a time when some of them had very real literatures of their own. The would-be dialects which some of our poets and romancers of the present day affect are, of course, in most cases, simply English re-translated, and, as often as not, wrongly re-translated! They find their parallel in the purely artificial Æolic or Doric of Theocritus, and the purely artificial Prakrit of many Indian poems and dramas.

In India, just as in Greece and in England, we may clearly trace this encroachment of the accepted literary

[1] Collitz, *Sammlung d. griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*, i, p. 133 f.

language on the dialects. The gradual growth of Sanskrit and the gradual decline of the Prakrits are most convincingly proved by the testimony of the inscriptions, which possess this great advantage over most literary works in India, that they can be dated, as a rule, with a fair degree of precision.

Professor Franke has most carefully collected the linguistic facts of the inscriptions in his book *Pāli and Sanskrit*.[1] The results which he obtains from a minute examination of all the extant inscriptions and coin-legends may be summarised as follows:—(1) The language of all the earliest inscriptions (third century B.C.) is Prakrit. Such traces of 'Sanskritisms' as they show are very slight, except in the case of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the north-western regions.[2] (2) In the second century B.C. these 'Sanskritisms' are more frequent, but the language of the inscriptions remains substantially Prakrit; (3) in the first century B.C.[3] appears the first inscription in a language which may be called Sanskrit, but which is by no means free from traces of Prakrit; in this century, too, the number of 'Sanskritisms' has increased; (4) even in the first century A.D. Prakrit still continues to be the predominant language of the inscriptions; (5) to the second century A.D. belongs the great Sanskrit inscription of Rudradāman and other Sanskrit inscriptions, which not only exhibit the language in its fully elaborated form, but also show a considerable development of the rhetorical style which we are accustomed to associate with the later *kāvya* literature; (6) in the third century A.D. Sanskrit and Prakrit divide the honours; (7) Prakrit is rare in the fourth century, and after the fifth century it disappears altogether from the inscriptions of Northern India.

These facts surely point as plainly as possible to one and only one conclusion. Indian inscriptions, like Greek inscriptions, were originally in the dialect of their locality;

[1] pp. 55 ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 54.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 58.

but from the very first they show traces of the influence of the predominant literary language, and especially in that part of India in which, as we have seen, there is reason to believe that this literary language had its origin. The results of this influence become more and more apparent with each century, until nearly every trace of the popular dialects is lost.

The influence thus clearly seen is surely most naturally explained, as in the other cases to which reference has been made, by the constant and increasingly intimate contact of the language of the cultured classes with the popular dialects. We have seen that the literary Sanskrit was certainly a spoken language in the latter half of the second century before the Christian era; and everything seems to indicate that it remained a spoken language for many centuries, gradually extending its domain as time went on. The Epics and the Purāṇas, in their older form, must have been widely known throughout this period; and there is no reason for supposing that the Buddhists of the Mahāyāna departed from the usual Buddhist custom of promulgating their doctrines in the popular language. If they did follow their usual custom, such works as the *Buddha-carita* are good evidence that Sanskrit was a living language in the first or second century A.D.; and it must be borne in mind that the *Buddha-carita* is no isolated phenomenon in the history of the Sanskrit epic. It originates no style of its own, but takes its place, as regards both language and style, quite naturally between the early epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and the epics of the Classical period. If, therefore, it can be quoted, as Professor Rhys Davids admits,[1] as evidence of the use of a popular Sanskrit at the date of its composition, this use must certainly be held to have obtained for some centuries previously. The *Buddha-carita*, in fact, supplies an important link in the literary evidence.

The literary language, once firmly established, tended in

[1] *Buddhist India*, p. 316.

India, as in Greece and in our own country and, indeed, wherever we are able to trace the growth of a literary language, to force itself on the dialects until, eventually, it completely overpowered them. We have seen how faithfully this gradually increasing influence is shown in the inscriptions and coin-legends. It is most curious that the evidence of inscriptions and coin-legends should have been quoted over and over again by scholars to prove that there was no spoken Sanskrit at the period during which inscriptions and coin-legends are in some form of Prakrit. A more striking instance can scarcely be found of the fact that, in any investigation whatever, a partial examination of the evidence is apt to lead to an absolutely wrong conclusion. When we survey the linguistic history of ancient India as a whole, we shall see that the dialects, as represented in inscriptions or in literature, instead of pursuing their own line of development and gaining greater strength and greater individuality as time went on, came, at a very early period, under the thraldom of Sanskrit—the cultivated speech of the Brahmans first, and then gradually of all the educated classes—until in course of time they lost their own individuality and became merged into Sanskrit. When we turn also from India, and survey as a whole the linguistic history of other countries — of ancient Greece, or of our own country, for instance — we shall find a precisely similar relation existing between the dialects and the chief literary language which arises from among them.

The choice of the particular dialect which is thus to be raised to a commanding position as a great national language is determined by the circumstances which lead to the predominance, politically or religiously, of some particular district. The dialect from which Sanskrit was elaborated is to be sought for in the north-west of India, the home of Brahmanism, and it is difficult indeed to see why we are not to recognise in the language of the Vedas, in the language of works belonging to the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra periods, and in Classical Sanskrit, different stages, and perfectly natural stages, in the growth and development

of this dialect. The language in all these different stages is organically the same; and, from the point of view of its inflexions and its formative elements, Classical Sanskrit differs from Vedic Sanskrit almost only in so far as the wide choice of alternative forms has been restricted.[1]

The extension of the use of Sanskrit was due to the growth of Brahmanism. No one supposes that this increasing power was unopposed; but there can be no doubt that, at a very early period, Brahmanism had made its power felt over practically the whole of the region between the Himālaya and the Vindhya Mountains. There seems, therefore, no need to suppose, with Professor Franke, to whose admirably clear statement of the linguistic facts we owe so much, that Sanskrit was practically a foreign language, which, formed in Kashmir, gradually intruded itself into India, until at last it predominated over the native languages. Some very strong political or religious impulse would be needed to explain such a phenomenon, and no such impulse can be discovered.

Professor Rhys Davids, in his most interesting and original account of *Buddhist India*, goes much farther than Professor Franke. He looks upon Sanskrit as an artificial language, the product of the priestly schools, both in the Brāhmaṇa or later Vedic period, and in the period of Classical Sanskrit. He supposes the use of the dialects, for literary as well as for inscriptional purposes, to be older than the use of Sanskrit;[2] and he even goes so far as to lay down the general law that, "in the period we are considering, the more closely a book or an inscription approximates to pure Sanskrit, unalloyed by colloquialisms, by Pāli phrases and grammatical forms, the *later* it is—notwithstanding the fact that Sanskrit is, etymologically speaking, older than Pāli."[3]

This is true only in the sense that, as we have seen above (p. 449), the Prakrits of the inscriptions and coin-legends

[1] Wackernagel, *Altind. Gram.*, p. xxiii.
[2] p. 137.
[3] p. 128.

show throughout this period the increasing influence of the established literary language. Such a rule would land us in strange contradictions if it were applied to determine the relative dates of early Sanskrit[1] and Pali books generally. Nor can it be applied to determine the relative dates of inscriptions. A mere glance will show, for instance, that the language of Aśoka's Shāhbāzgarhi Inscription, in the Yusufzai country, is very much nearer to Sanskrit than that of his Jaugada Inscription in Orissa. We know that these documents are contemporary. According to the canon laid down by Professor Rhys Davids, they ought to be separated by a considerable interval. With regard to the two examples chosen by Professor Rhys Davids himself, the Kharoṣṭhī MS. of the Dhammapada and the Bower MS., it is certainly not "precisely because" the former is in Prakrit that it is earlier than the latter, which is in Sanskrit. The Kharoṣṭhī documents discovered by Dr. Stein at Niya are, if one may judge from the alphabet, of about the same age as the Kharoṣṭhī MS. of the Dhammapada, and these show a great variety of language, varying from correct Sanskrit to a Prakrit very far removed.

The fact is that such a chronological test as Professor Rhys Davids proposes is altogether fallacious. The question why any document during this period is in Sanskrit or Prakrit probably depends on the subject of which it treats, on the status of the writer, and on the locality from which it comes—only to a smaller extent on its date. There is no reason to suppose that Sanskrit and a multitude of Prakrits were not in use concurrently through many centuries.

The evidence of the inscriptions, therefore, when rightly interpreted, strongly supports the view that Sanskrit was spoken throughout this period. The cultivated literary language could scarcely have influenced the popular dialects in so striking a manner unless it had been constantly brought into actual contact with them in the speech of the time.

[1] Professor Rhys Davids, indeed, seems to ignore the fact that there are many Sanskrit works which certainly belong to this period.

I cannot see how it is possible to come to the opposite conclusion, except by drawing a wrong inference from this particular portion of the evidence, and by leaving out of account the very considerable body of positive evidence for the existence of a spoken Sanskrit, contained in the literature itself. This positive evidence, which has been referred to above (p. 443), has been dealt with in detail by such scholars as Kielhorn and Kern, and is admirably summarised both in the Preface to Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik* and in Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*. This evidence is generally accepted by scholars; and I cannot imagine why Professor Rhys Davids did not either refute it or give some reason why he has not thought fit to take it into consideration.

His explanation of the fact, which of course cannot be denied and which he does not attempt to deny, that Sanskrit did eventually become "the literary *lingua franca* for all India,"[1] seems to me to be most unsatisfactory; and I venture to say that such a process as he supposes to have been followed is absolutely without a parallel in the whole literary history of the world. He assumes that Sanskrit was a dead language at a very early period, and that this dead language gradually killed all the living languages, until, from the end of the fourth century, it was left alone. "Then," he says, "linguistically speaking, death reigned supreme" (p. 138). We may remark, in passing, that it is a strange kind of death which possesses such activity. It is a strange kind of death, too, which could produce the works of a Kālidāsa or a Bhavabhūti, a Daṇḍin or a Bāṇa. But the fact is that Sanskrit was not dead. Languages, like everything else in nature, obey the laws of nature. A dead language—that is to say, a language which is no longer rooted in the life of a people—can no more produce proper fruit than a dead tree replanted in the ground. It may become the language of learned communication, or a purely artificial literary language. The fruit which it

[1] p. 154.

produced when it was alive may be cleverly imitated, but it no longer possesses the power of initiative or growth. Now, can this seriously be said of Sanskrit? It is difficult to see the point of the analogy which Professor Rhys Davids attempts to draw between the use of Latin in England in the Middle Ages and the use of Sanskrit in India. There was never a period in English history in which the influence of Latin affected the *form*—apart from the vocabulary—either of the literary language or of the spoken language of England. The use of Latin was confined to courts, colleges, and monasteries; and Latin was even there treated as a dead language. There was never at any time even a remote possibility of its adoption as either the literary or the spoken language of England. If the use of Latin in this country proves one thing more certainly than another, it is precisely this very point on which I am insisting—that a dead language, even under the most favourable circumstances, even under the fostering care of learning and religion, can never take root again and produce a real literature.

The evidence of the Indian drama, which is, however, brushed aside by Professor Rhys Davids,[1] shows that the provincial uneducated people contrived to use their own Prakrits, after all cultured people had adopted the literary language. An educated Hindu, whether prince or charioteer, was obliged, for purposes of communication, to understand these provincial dialects. He spoke to a fisherman in Sanskrit. The fisherman perfectly understood him, but replied in his own dialect, and was perfectly understood in turn. The case of an educated Yorkshire squire in the early part of last century was somewhat similar. There can be little doubt that the Sanskrit which the dramatist put into the mouth of the prince was more correct than the Sanskrit which he would have spoken naturally, or that the Prakrits which he put into the mouths of the subordinate characters were rather the sort of made-up dialects, which

[1] p. 148.

we often hear on our own stage, than the very language of the people. But that this confusion of tongues does more or less accurately represent an actual state of things, it seems unreasonable to doubt. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that the Sanskrit dramas were either acted by actors who did not understand what they were saying, or before audiences who did not understand what was said.[1]

To the question "In what degree was Sanskrit a spoken language?" I think we may, then, reply as follows. Sanskrit was a spoken language in precisely the same sense as the literary English which we all speak. It represents the North-Western dialect, the development of which may be traced throughout the literature, and the phonetic characteristics of which are to a great extent preserved in the popular inscriptions of that region. It was, originally, the language of Brahmanism, which came from the same region. Its extension was due to the extension of Brahmanism, and its progress was held in check for a period by the growth of the other great Indian religions, Jainism and Buddhism. With the decline of these in India, its progress was unimpeded, and it spread over the whole of the continent. At first the dialect of a district, then the language of a caste and a religion, it ultimately became the language of religion, politics, and culture throughout India. It became a great national language, and ceased to be so only when Hindu nationality was destroyed by the Muhammadan conquests.

[1] The Sanskrit drama, however, belongs to a period, beginning probably about 400 A.D., for which the existence of Sanskrit as a cultivated spoken language is scarcely disputed. Professor Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 164, admits that Sanskrit "from the fourth and fifth centuries onwards became the literary *lingua franca* for all India."

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

(April, May, June, 1904.)

General Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society.

March 8th, 1904.—A short account of this meeting was given in the April Journal, p. 381, where it was stated that the full account of the discussion would appear in July. Professor Rapson's paper, on which the discussion followed, appears also in the present number at p. 435.

Professor Rhys Davids said:

I am very glad to find my views controverted in so able a paper as has just been read. I know that my Pali studies have led me, in at least half a dozen different points of great interest in the history of India, to views that must seem new and startling, and I am afraid very wrong, to those Sanskritists who draw their views on Indian history from the brahmin books. And, as I stated in the preface to my "Buddhist India," I am only too pleased when any one of those points is discussed and elucidated, even if the view I ventured to put forth should be proved to be wrong. But after hearing Professor Rapson's paper it does not seem to me that I have anything to retract. I find myself in agreement with almost all that he has so well said. The main difference between us seems to be, not as to the facts of the history of language in India, but as to the meaning of certain English words, as to the way in which we ought to express, in English, the conclusions to be drawn from the admitted facts. Sanskrit was a spoken language throughout the long history of speech in India,

and the Sanskrit of Kālidāsa had been regularly developed or elaborated, through the centuries, out of the Vedic dialect. But at the time of Kālidāsa it was not anywhere in India the vernacular in daily use among any people. On all this we agree. It seems that the expression 'dead language' is, therefore, good English as a description of the Sanskrit spoken and written in the time of Kālidāsa. Many more people understood Sanskrit in the time of Kālidāsa than in the time of Asoka. We should probably differ somewhat in our estimate of the numbers at each period. I venture to think that, at the time of Asoka, the number, outside the schools of the brahmins, was not large. And even accepting any estimate of that number which my friend might make, I think the description 'scholastic language' would be good English in which to summarise the facts. That is really the question: "How many people, at any particular date, understood spoken Sanskrit? and to what extent, that is, how often during a year, for what purposes, on what occasions, did they speak Sanskrit?" It is admitted, I think, that classical Sanskrit was the literary form of a vernacular that was once spoken in a certain district included in, if not comprising the whole of, the country between Kashmir and the Doab. Down to what date was the vernacular of that district so close to Sanskrit, as we now know Sanskrit, that one would be justified in calling it Sanskrit? The vernacular of that district is not called Sanskrit now. It has different names in different parts. There must have been a time at which this change first became perceptible. What, approximately, is that time? It was probably some centuries before Asoka. But whatever shall eventually come to be regarded as the right answer to this question, we already know for certain that the language so spoken was not then called Sanskrit. For the word Sanskrit, as the technical name of a language, cannot be traced back earlier than the middle of the second century A.D. That is also the date of the earliest inscription we have in Sanskrit. That is also the date of the earliest book in Sanskrit appealing to a class outside the schools of the brahmins. That is also the time

when the political ascendancy of India passed to the West. Previous to that time, back to the time of the Buddha, back probably as far as the eighth century B.C., the political supremacy was in Kosala, or, afterwards, in Magadha. It is the vernacular of Kosala of which we have the literary form, as finally settled, in Pali. Now all the inscriptions previous to the second century B.C. are in that vernacular; varying of course in different times and places, according to date and locality, but still always in the Hindustanī of that ancient date, never in Sanskrit. I have suggested that we should call that old language Kosala, and keep the term Pali for the language of the books. That would seem to be a gain in precision. But public opinion is apparently against me. Everyone still prefers to call it Pali. Very well, then. Is it conceivable that if during that period Sanskrit had already gained the predominance which it had certainly acquired a few centuries after Christ, the inscriptions would not have been then also recorded, as they were recorded at the later date, in Sanskrit? The facts are admitted. The conclusions I venture to suggest ought to be drawn from them are at variance with the views of the brahmins, who take for granted that the condition of things that prevailed in the Gupta period obtained also in the Buddhist period from the Buddha's time down to the time of Kanishka. My views are based on those of Professor Bhandarkar himself, a brahmin and a scholar of the first rank. I think I have been able to carry the newer interpretation a little further than he did, to suggest political and other reasons *why* the condition of things was different at the two epochs. And since I wrote the chapter to which exception has been taken a young German professor, Dr. Otto Franke, has in his book "Sanskrit und Pali" gone into the question at much greater detail, and with much more exact philological knowledge. His conclusions are all on the same lines, but in many points he has again carried the question further. I don't think we ought to close without mentioning that; and also without again thanking Professor Rapson for the admirable way in which

he has raised a debate which is evidently exciting so deep an interest among so many of our members. I am quite sure that we of the newer party have not settled the matter. But we have at least stirred the dovecotes; and truth cannot fail to gain by the discussion that has followed.

Mr. F. W. Thomas, in reopening the discussion, said:

My Lord, I may perhaps presume that the continuation of the discussion on the position of Sanskrit was suggested by two reasons, the somewhat uncertain character of the agreement between the views of Professor Rhys Davids and Professor Rapson, and the fact that some gentlemen from whom we might expect illumination on the matter—I may refer to Dr. Grierson and Dr. Fleet—had not yet spoken. It will be remembered that after Prof. Rapson's comprehensive and interesting paper, adducing such arguments as the references by Patañjali to a *bhāṣā* or *laukika* speech, which must be Sanskrit, and the great fact of the Mahābhārata, and a number of analogies, such as the very felicitous one of the Greek *κοινή*, Professor Rhys Davids expressed his entire agreement with all that had been said. His own view is contained in his well-known work on "Buddhist India," but we may cite for brevity a passage from an article published in *Buddhism* for December last, pp. 254–5:—

"And it is estimated that it" (sc. the Sanskrit of the Brāhmaṇas) "was in use from about 800 to about 500 B.C. During the whole of this period it was just as much a dead language as Latin was in the Middle Ages in Europe, or as Pali was in Ceylon when the commentaries were written. But it was also just as much a living language as these others were, and it was probably spoken in conversation by the pupils in the schools, though these very same pupils used a sort of Pali in their daily intercourse outside the schools, and a few of the most educated people outside the schools would also have understood it. And in later times, after 500 B.C., it still continued to be used in the same way, developing, though of course not with the same rapidity as an ordinary living language, through the centuries."

I admit that in this question great respect is due to the opinion of the Pali scholars, who are concerned with

a literature belonging in a considerable part to the centuries which we have in view, namely, 500–0 B.C. But we are all more or less in the position of the Blind Men with the Elephant in the Indian parable, and in so extensive a matter it is difficult to take a view so comprehensive as to preclude difference of opinion or fallacious agreement. In order to make my own contribution to the debate as definite as possible, I find it necessary to forgo certain themes upon which much might be said — such as the numbers and influence of the Brahman caste, the application to them of the term 'priest,' the age of writing in India and the language to which it was originally adapted—and I shall content myself with the enunciation and defence of a few propositions of a positive character.

I. My first proposition is — *That during the centuries preceding the Christian era the Sanskrit and the vernaculars bore still so close a resemblance to each other as to preclude a comparison with the position of Latin during the Middle Ages, even in countries where Romance languages were spoken.*

I will illustrate this by comparing two passages from the edicts of Aśoka, selected for their import, with Sanskrit equivalents. I cite the passages *litteratim*[1] from Bühler's texts given in *Epigraphia Indica*, ii, pp. 447 sqq., writing however (in italics) double consonants where, though unwritten, they were certainly pronounced.

A. Rock Edict (Girnar), ix, 1–2.	Sanskrit Equivalent.
devānaṃ piyo priyadassi rājā	devānāṃ priyaḥ priyadarśī rājā
evaṃ āha: asti jano uccāvacaṃ	evam (rūjaivam) āha: asti jana uccāvacaṃ
maṃgalaṃ karote ābādhesu vā	maṃgalaṃ karoti ābādheṣu vā
āvāhavīvāhesu vā puttralābhesu	āvāhavivāheṣu vā puttralābheṣu
vā pravāsaṃmmhi vā. Etamhī ca	vā pravāse vā. Etasmiṅś ca
aññamhi ca jano uccāvacaṃ	annyasmiṅś ca jana uccāvacaṃ
maṃgalaṃ karote	maṃgalaṃ karoti

"Thus says the king, dear to the gods, the Priyadarśi: it is the case that people perform various rites in times of trouble, at marriages of sons and daughters, the birth of a son, starting on a journey. On these and other occasions people perform various rites."

[1] I use, however, *c*, *ṣ*, and *ṃ* instead of *ch*, *sh*, and *ṁ*.

B. Rock Edict (Kālsi), xiii, 37.	Sanskrit Equivalent.
[Sa]vvat*t*ā vaṣati baṃbhanā vā	sarvvattra vasanti brāhmaṇā vā
ṣama[nā] vā an*n*e vā pāśaṃḍa	śramaṇā vā annye vā pāśaṃḍā
gihi*t*thā vā yeśu vihitā eṣa ag*g*[a]-	gṛhasthā vā yeṣu vihitā eṣā aggra-
bh[ūta]ṣuṣ*ṣ*uṣā mātāpitiṣuṣ*ṣ*uṣā	bhūtaśuśrūṣā mātāpitṛśuśrūṣā
galu[ṣu]ṣ*ṣ*uṣa mit*t*asaṃthutaṣahāya-	guruśuśrūṣā mittrasaṃstutasahāya-
n*n*ātikeṣu dāśabhatakaṣ*ṣ*i ṣamyā-	jñātikeṣu dāśabhṛtake sammyak-
p*p*aṭipat*t*i diḍhabhat*t*itā	pratipattir dṛḍhabhakktitā

"Everywhere dwell Brāhmans or ascetics or other societies, or householders, upon whom is enjoined this obedience to superiors (or 'Brahmans'?, cf. *agraja*), obedience to parents, obedience to gurus, right behaviour and firm attachment to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slave and servant."

Is it not plain that the people who understood the language used in the Edicts would have perfectly comprehended, if they had heard or read, the more correct equivalents which we have supplied? Not only have we the same words used in the same senses, and the same idioms, but down to some details of the second order the whole grammatical system is identical. It is not too much to say that in modern English, both spoken and written, we find greater deviations from the norm than these Edicts display.

Assuming, therefore, that the Sanskrit and the language of the Edicts, if spoken, were necessarily both intelligible to the speakers of either of them, we may now proceed to classify the divergences of the latter. These are (1) *incorrectnesses*, as *karote* for *karoti*, *prāp(u)ṇāti* for *prāpṇoti*, the use of nominatives in *-o* before e.g. *p* or a vowel, *ṃ* for *m* before a vowel, and so on; (2) *differences of pronunciation*, as in the use of various nasals and sibilants, and in such changes as *gṛhastha* to *gihittha*, *mittra* to *mitta*, *bhakkti* to *bhatti*, *devānāṃ* to *devānaṃ*; (3) *morphological survivals*, as in *savvattā* = *sarvvattra*, or *innovations*, as *pravāsamhi* (from °*asmi*) for *pravāse*. Not one of those here quoted is of such

a character as to preclude the supposition that the Sanskrit and the language of the Edicts were slightly different modifications of the same dialect, spoken by different classes in the same area.

It is, of course, true that we find in the Edicts three different dialects, a north-western, a south-western, and an eastern (Māgadhī) dialect, a fact in itself sufficient to prove that they represent a current speech. The Delhi Edicts, it is true, are in the Māgadhī, which cannot have been the local tongue, since in later times we find the Śaurasenī and others between. But in general the variations are no doubt dialectical. Now all these dialects (the Māgadhī least) show irregularities and intrusions from another source, and this is the Sanskrit. Is it not a clear inference that the common speech was everywhere affected by the literary speech? The theory of M. Senart that this influence was merely orthographical seems to me to rest on incorrect suppositions, both historical and philological. We know that during these centuries the Sanskrit of the Upanishads and the Gṛhyasūtras existed. Is it conceivable that it should have failed to react upon so similar a speech as that of the Edicts? At all times in India (as in every literary country) the spoken languages have been mixed, at all times the literatures have been reacting upon the vernacular, and this would especially be the case (as Sir C. J. Lyall—to whom I am also indebted for some other observations—has pointed out to me[1]) at a time when the literature was not enshrined in writing, but engraven on the memory. The Hindus have supplied us with a number of moderately pure dialects: such are the Sanskrit, the Pali, and the Prakrits, all due alike to the literary purism, which is one of the main characteristics of the Indian mind, and all in the same sense artificial. But we are submitting to their domination, when we most seek to escape it, if we expect any such regularity in the language of every day.

[1] See his review of Professor Rhys Davids' work in the *Church Quarterly Review* for July.

Nor can I admit that the linguistic necessities point to a different conclusion. If we find at Girnar *pra* 45 times, *pa* 25 times, *tra* 20 times, *ta* 30 times,[1] if we find side by side *priya* and *piya*, *putra* and *puta*, *sarva* and *sava*, *jano* and *jane*, we have indeed evidence that some *pr*'s had become *pp*'s, some *tr*'s had become *tt*'s, and so on. But it belongs to past conceptions of Linguistics to suppose that this had happened to all. We might have *priya* after a vowel, *piya* after a consonant.[2] Such 'sentence doublets' are found in all languages, and they always lead to the kind of confusion which we find in the Edicts. Ultimately the languages make their choice. In some early Sanskrit both *jano* and *janaz* were pronounced, according to the following consonant. *Janaz* is lost to Sanskrit, but in Māgadhī it (i.e. *jane*) has ousted all the other forms; *jano* has survived with *janaḥ* and *janas* in Sanskrit, but in Pali without a rival. If we find *jano* and *jane* in the same edict, it may be due as often to survival as to importation. Accent, again, may have preserved *st* in one place, though it has become *tth* in another. Not to dwell further on this point, we may contend that the sound changes must be known with far greater precision than at present before we judge what even in unmixed dialects the regular forms would be. Nor must the evidence of the Greek be minimized, as is sometimes the case. If *Hydaspes* does not prove that *Vitastā* (not *Vitatthā*) was still the river's name, we must despair of all inferences from borrowed words.

My contention, therefore, under this head is that the Edicts of Aśoka represent a real speech of the time, a common parlance of people who nevertheless understood Sanskrit. In a number of respects it is more ancient than the Pali, and comes between the latter and the Sanskrit, but in morphology and syntax all three stand on approximately

[1] Numbers given by M. Senart (p. 407), which, however, might be modified by the adoption of Bühler's texts as a basis.

[2] Or more probably *vice versa* (*ppiya* from *ppriya* after a vowel), in view of the doctrines of the Prātiśākhyas (cf. Whitney, "Taittirīya-Prātiśākhya," c. xiv, and reff. *sub* xiv, i).

the same level. I will add, in lexicology also, encouraged by the remark of Kern in the Introduction to his translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, p. xvi: "Whatever may have been the phonetic aspect of the oldest standard dialect of the Buddhists, its vocabulary is unmistakably related to that of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa." When we remember that the Mahābhārata shows a similar relation to the same Brāhmaṇa, it appears difficult not to recognize here the outcome of a common middle-class speech, upon which both the Buddhists and the Epic drew. For a further discussion of the lexicology of the Sanskrit and the Prakrit let me refer to Mr. Boxwell's paper in the Journal of Philology for 1885–7, pp. 656 sqq.

II. I now come to my second proposition, which is—*That, in the centuries under consideration, Sanskrit was the language of public religious rites, of domestic ceremonies, of education, and of science.*

Concerning public rites nothing need be said. The domestic ceremonies were ancient Brahmanic institutions, and the rules and formulas for them are preserved for us in the Gṛhyasūtras. These deal with the subjects mentioned by Aśoka in the passage already quoted, birth, marriage, journeying, misfortune, as well as morning and evening ceremonies, funerals, and the like; and it is interesting to find that, while Aśoka describes these as various, the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra, which like the other Gṛhyasūtras constantly allows alternatives, states definitely in one passage that out of varying customs it gives the prevailing one (*atha khalūccāvacā janapadadharmā·grāmadharmāś ca tān vivāhe pratīyāt yat tu samānaṃ tad vakṣyāmaḥ*, i, 7, 1–2): Aśoka, who also uses the word *uccāvaca*, may have had this very passage in mind. That for such old ceremonies any language but Sanskrit can have been used no one will contend. Aśoka, while condemning them as useless (i.e. Brahmanical), nevertheless advises their retention.

As regards education, we may cite the concurring testimony of the Brahmanical and the Pali books. The work of Dr. Fick (*Sociale Gliederung*, etc.), based on the Jātakas,

shows us that teaching of the people (*lokapakti*[1]) was an ordinary function of the Brahmans (p. 134); and he relates (p. 137) how the people made feasts and invited Brahmans with their pupils. No doubt the term *lokapakti* refers primarily to such instructions as those of which we get a vivid picture in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (see below). But that education in the special sense was in the hands of the Brahmans we see from the constant references in the Jātakas (see Dr. Fick's work, index) to the famous Brahman teachers of the north and the schools of Taxila, where regularly the young men of all classes, and not merely the Brahmans (*kṣatriyas*, p. 60; *vaiśyas*, p. 171), received their higher education.

"The three Vedas were not the only matters wherein the Brahmans were instructed during their period of study: often we hear of the sciences in general. The purohita in the *Sabbadāṭha Jātaka* is familiar with the three Vedas and the eighteen sciences." So Dr. Fick (p. 131), who gives a very full account of the various preoccupations of purohits and other Brahmans in astrology, physiognomy, demonology, and tells how their services were required at marriage, child-birth, child-naming, etc. The sciences no doubt included the different Vedāṅgas, such as grammar, prosody, phonetics, etc., but also the Mahābhārata makes mention of medicine, the science of the bow, the science of music, the science of architecture, the science of politics. Most, though perhaps not all, of these were in the hands of Brahmans; and altogether the indications from the Pali side in conjunction with those in the Mahābhārata tend to encourage a by no means minimizing estimate of the activity of Brahman teachers, while Aśoka himself has told us that "everywhere there were Brāhmaṇas or Sramaṇas" and so on. If we turn to the earlier literature we find the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[2] giving a vivid picture of the Brahman priest teaching the people (men, householders unlearned in the

[1] Cf. Satapatha B., xi, 5. 7. 1. The later sense of this word *janapakti*, 'popular flattery' (Harṣacarita, Bomb. ed., p. 44, l. 6; Jātakamālā, x, v. 35), merely illustrates the dangerous possibilities of popular teaching.

[2] See Professor Eggeling's translation, pt. v, pp. 360–71.

scriptures, old men, handsome youths, maidens, evildoers, usurers, fishermen, etc.) the Pāriplava legend, the Ṛg-veda, the Yajur-veda, the Atharva-veda, the Aṅgiras, the Sarpa-vidyā, the Devajanavidyā, Magic, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, the Sāma-veda. This is the *Lokapakti* properly so called, carried on at Śrāddhas (for the Mbh. at Śrāddhas see I, lix, 36) and other assemblies of the people; and as this was at the time of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, so it continued in later centuries, in the times which the Pali books record.

If anyone believes that such teaching was conveyed in any language but Sanskrit, I am unable to agree with him; at any rate, we may refer to the well-known passage of Patañjali, where under the range of speech, i.e. (from the context) of Sanskrit speech, we find included the four Vedas with their Aṅgas and Rahasyas, the Vākopavākya, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Medicine. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa speaks of the Anuśāsanas, Vidyās, Vākopavākya, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Gāthās, and Narāśaṃsīs (pt. v, p. 98). Most of these are also cited by the Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra (III, iii, 1), which further (III, iv, 4) includes among literature deserving of respect the Sūtras, Bhāṣya, Bhārata, Mahābhārata, and the works of the Dharmācāryas.

III. This brings me to my third proposition, namely—*That Sanskrit was the only language of profane literature.*

The number of books which we possess in the Pali and the Jaina Prakrit tends to disguise from us the bareness of these in pure literature. I would ask the Pali scholars whether it is not true that, if we make exception of fables, the whole of the early literature in that language is of a religious character, religious not in the general sense in which most Indian literature may be described as such, but religious in the sense of being devoted to the exposition, propagation, and defence of a particular sect. We are told that the speculations in the Upanishads proceeded from thinkers aloof from the Brahman influence (see e.g. "Buddhist India," pp. 256–7). But where are the Pali Upanishads, the Pali Mahābhāratas and Rāmāyaṇas, the Pali Purāṇas, Itihāsas, Kāvyas, works on the Drama, Law, and Medicine? Where

anything of this nature exists, it is both, I believe, of comparatively late date and based on Sanskrit models. After a careful examination of Professor Rhys Davids' chapter on Literature, I can find only one species which is claimed for Pali. This is *akkhāna*. But this is an ancient type of *Sanskrit* literature, often associated with the Vedas (*vedān ākhyānapañcamān*). In the Mahābhārata it is the Brahmans who recite the divine *ākhyānas* (*divyākhyānāni ca ye paṭhanti*), and Brahmans arrayed in all their internal and external paraphernalia—

"saṃskṛtaḥ sarvaśāstrajñaḥ

. . . . . .

asaṃsaktākṣarapadaṃ svarabhāvasamanvitaṃ
triṣaṣṭivarṇasaṃyuktam aṣṭasthānasamīritaṃ
vācayed vācakaḥ svasthaḥ svāsīnaḥ susamāhitaḥ."

(Both passages quoted by Hopkins, "Epic of India," p. 364.)

Considering that the occasions chiefly referred to are the 'intervals of the sacrifice' (*karmāntareṣu yajñasya*, Mbh. I, lvi, 3. 5), it would require much proof to convince us that any such *ākhyānas* were ever recited in Pali.

The great question of the Mahābhārata I will touch upon only so far as to cite a passage and a quotation from Mr. Hopkins' work: "A Pāṇḍu epic of some sort," he writes, "existed as early as the third century B.C., as is shown by the testimony of Pāṇini and the Jātakas" (p. 385), while the poem itself speaks of "*priests* (who) recite the Mahābhārata at the assemblies of warriors" (p. 369).

What has been said of the Buddhist Pali may, I imagine, be said also, *mutatis mutandis*, of the Jaina Ardhamāgadhī. In general it seems probable that of profane literature two forms alone flourished in Indian vernaculars of ancient date, the fable and the erotic stanza, unless we should add also an amount of proverbial morality in verse.

IV. My fourth and last proposition is—*That there is nothing in the name 'Sanskrit' which implies an artificial language.*

It is necessary to refer to this point, inasmuch as the

implication of the word (which has sometimes been misunderstood) may be elucidated by a passage from the Kumārasambhava, vii, 97—

"dvidhā prayuktena ca vāṅmayena
sarasvatī tan mithunan nunāva |
saṃskārapūtena varaṃ vareṇyaṃ
vadhūṃ sukhagrāhyanibandhanena ||"

"With speech doubly employed did Sarasvatī salute that pair, the venerable husband with that purified by Saṃskāras, the lady with that of easily comprehended structure."

To Kālidāsa, therefore, the '*Saṃskṛita*' language, like the '*Saṃskṛita*' person, was 'made pure by *Saṃskāras*.' If we ask what are these *Saṃskāras*, we are carried back to the old grammatical phraseology of Yāska, with whom the *Saṃskāras* are the regular forms of declension and conjugation, the exact pronunciation of conjunct consonants, and the like. Remembering that the Rāmāyaṇa speaks of *vacaḥ saṃskārālaṅkṛtaṃ*,[1] and further that the comparison of the good man (*sādhu*) with the good word is a commonplace with Indian writers, I am inclined to say that if the term *Saṃskṛta* was not applied to a language at a date much earlier than our evidence at present attests, this must have been due either to some special hindrance or to a miracle.

If I may now conclude with some brief observations of a synthetic nature, these would be to the following effect:—

1. At the time with which we are concerned there was in India no unmixed vernacular dialect, though no doubt the speech of the least cultivated classes would show fewest intrusions.

2. The general language of the middle classes displayed a mixture of Sanskritizing and Prakritizing tendencies: from this language comes the Buddhist Sanskrit, and in some aspects the Sanskrit of the Mahābhārata.

3. Correct Sanskrit was intelligible to the majority, and its use by the cultivated as a social shibboleth is avowed by

[1] Cf. Mbh. I, lvii, 40, *śabdasaṃskāra* (= *yathāsthānakaraṇaprayatnam, uccāraṇam*, Comm.).

Patañjali (whose general attitude, however, like that of Pāṇini, is scientific) in several places, especially in the verse—

"saktum iva titaünā punanto yatra dhīrā manasā vācam akrata |
atra sakhyāyaḥ sakhyāni jānate bhadraiṣām lakṣmīr nihitādhi vāci ||"

(Ed. Kielhorn, vol. i, p. 4, ll. 10–11.)

"Whereas wise men with intelligence created speech, as if clearing meal with a sieve, here friends recognize their friendships: winning is their greatness, reposing upon speech."

4. Hence we may well suppose that the dramas, in assigning Sanskrit to high society, represent an old-established use. As regards the speech of women, we know that in many states of society it differs from that of the men; and the wonderful Indian civilization, erected on a primitive social system not far below, may well have preserved such a trait. How could the dramatists hit upon such an invention?

5. I pass by, as too insignificant for mention and in the main stylistic, the distinction which has been drawn between the Sanskrit of the Upanishads and Gṛhyasūtras and the Classical Sanskrit.[1] But I may quote two passages in which the main truth of this whole question has long ago been admirably summed :—

"The Bhāṣā is not a dead language, still less an artificial one, but likely enough a language which in its correct form has been preserved by artificial means, employed by the higher classes, contrasting with the dialects, and spoken among the higher classes themselves under two forms, correct and incorrect. These are the distinctive traits of a national tongue." (Sörensen, *Om Sanskrits Stilling*, etc., p. 283.)

"But I shall be asked, Do you actually maintain that all *āgopālam* understood Sanskrit in the second or even the fifth

[1] Cf. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, p. xxxii: "In der folgenden Litteraturschicht, den Āraṇyakas und Upanishads einerseits, und den Sūtras andrerseits, ist im Ganzen der Punkt der Sprachentwicklung erreicht, der durch die klassische Grammatik dargestellt wird."

century B.C.? In the first place, I reply that in the case of a nation so sharply divided into castes, families, and clans as the Indian, we cannot without essential modification apply our conception of the people as a more or less homogeneous whole. Secondly, I do not assert that the Rāmāyaṇa was understood by the whole so-called people of India. Whether that was the case or not, is of no moment for my theory. For the Rāmāyaṇa is not intended for the mass without distinction. It is for them too high. Poems for the uncultured must have a coarser kernel: this is shown by the 'Legends of the Punjab.' Such poems 'will not stand the test of time.' In a land like India, where the classes stand so rigidly apart, the epic singer is sure of his audience among the educated: he needed not, therefore, to lower himself to an actor in order to make a livelihood by his singing. If the modern bard is sunk so low, the reason for this is that the broad strata of the people have at their disposal a great literature, which satisfies their æsthetic and social needs. But in ancient times it was not so: the epic singers had to provide for the spiritual sustenance of all, even for the highest classes, like the actors in our own middle ages." (Jacobi, Z.D.M.G. xlviii, pp. 410–11.)

DR. GRIERSON said:

I am afraid that the members of the Society present will be surprised at my audacity in joining issue with two learned Professors and with the Librarian of the India Office, each of whom has more Sanskrit in the tip of his little finger than I have in my whole head. I trust, however, that, before I have concluded, some at least of my audience will say that there is a method in my madness.

I forget the exact words which I have used on former occasions, but I have no doubt that they have been correctly quoted by those who have already spoken. I may say that, though I have learned much in the interval, the position which I occupy to-day is substantially the same as that which I took twenty years ago, after I had first seriously thought on the matter. I cannot describe that better than in the words of M. Senart, "Classical Sanskrit is an archaic language, preserved at first by oral tradition and subsequently retouched by the labours of literary men."

There was Vedic Sanskrit, which we are all agreed was a vernacular. It developed in two gradually diverging lines.

In one direction it developed like all vernacular languages, and in the course of centuries ultimately became one or more of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars of the present day, passing on its way through the stage commonly known as Prakrit, including Pāli. In the other direction it was preserved as a spoken literary language amongst the Brāhmaṇs, its development being retarded by the influence of literature and being finally arrested, or nearly arrested, by the labours of Pāṇini and his school. In Vedic times the Sanskrit of this latter line was a vernacular, but it gradually ceased to be one as its development was retarded, and as centuries passed it differed more and more widely from the more quickly developing real vernacular of the country. In Pāṇini's time it was a spoken language, as it is a spoken form of speech at the present day. In Patañjali's time it had dialects, as it has at the present day; but it is now a dead language, and it was a dead language when it was spoken by Pāṇini, just as, *pace* Mr. Thomas, Latin was a dead language a century ago, but was, all the same, freely spoken in some parts of Europe.

Before proceeding to the constructive part of my discussion, I would ask leave to reply to some arguments put forward by those who have already spoken.

Professor Rapson has laid stress on the fact that a great portion of a Sanskrit play is written in Sanskrit, and that therefore that language must have been widely understood when the Sanskrit drama was flourishing. I venture to suggest that this is not a sound argument for an Englishman, of all persons, to put forward. What about our Italian operas? How many of the people who crowd Covent Garden to hear Verdi or Mascagni understand a word of what is said? The parallel is closer than you may think it at first sight, for an Indian drama much more nearly resembles an opera than an ordinary stage play. I suppose that at the present moment there is a greater amount of Sanskrit learning congregated in this room than in any other room in Europe, and yet I do not believe that there is a single person here—I speak with all admiration for the

scholars whom I see before me—who would be able to understand at first hearing the Sanskrit poetry and Sanskrit songs of a play, say by Bhavabhūti, which he had not read beforehand. He could not do it if Sanskrit was his vernacular—no, not if it had been the vernacular of his ancestors for the past ten generations. Crowds of all classes, from ignorant cultivators to princes, attend the performance of Sanskrit plays to-day, but they do not go with the primary object of hearing what the characters say. They go, as our opera audiences go, to see a story with which they are familiar reproduced on the stage, and to hear the music and the singing. The actual spoken words are of minor importance. Even in modern plays in which the songs are written in the vernacular, as is sometimes the case, the audience cannot follow the words of the singer unless they know them beforehand. I can vouch for this from personal experience.

It was, therefore, not necessary for writers of Sanskrit dramas to consider their audiences in selecting the language they employed. It must be remembered that the plays were written by Brāhmaṇs, who naturally used their own literary language as much as possible, and I quite admit that at the late period at which these works were written education had so spread that persons of the upper classes could follow the Sanskrit prose portions without difficulty; but there was one part of a play which *had* to be intelligible to everyone — the jokes. The story would have been intelligible if it had been in dumb-show, but jokes had to be spoken and, if not understood by everyone, would have fallen flat. What do we therefore see? *All the comic portions of a drama, even the speeches of the Vidūṣaka, who was necessarily a Brāhmaṇ by caste, had to be written in Prakrit.* If they had been in Sanskrit they would not have raised a laugh. What stronger comment can we make on the proposition that classical Sanskrit, as used in the dramas, was a vernacular?

Mr. Thomas has appealed to me to explain the presence of the cerebral *ṣ* in the modern vernacular of India. I am

not quite sure that I understand his argument, but I believe it to be this. At a very early stage in the history of Prakrit the distinction between the three Sanskrit sibilants was lost, and yet *ṣ*, under the form of *kh*, still exists in Hindī. He asks me to explain the existence of this *kh* if Sanskrit was not a spoken language when the letter was first introduced into the vernacular. To me this gives rise to no difficulty. This *kh* does not exist in Hindī words. It is only found in borrowed words, taken from Benares School Sanskrit, in modern times, to supply fancied deficiencies in the vocabulary. The *kh* is an attempt to reproduce the pronunciation of *ṣ* affected by Benares Vedic Pandits.

Mr. Thomas maintains that there is a great similarity between the Sanskrit of Pāṇini and the Pāli of Asōka. He argues, as I understand him, that anyone who spoke one must have been able to speak the other. I am not prepared to admit that this similarity does exist. The two languages are on different levels of phonetic development, and one bears the same relationship to the other that Latin bore to old Italian.

He also expressed the opinion that classical Sanskrit was the language of public religious rites, of domestic ceremonies, of education, and of learning. In this I am in entire agreement with him. But the case is exactly the same at the present day, when Sanskrit is admittedly dead. It is still used in public religious rites and in domestic ceremonies. Up to fifty years ago it was still the only language of education and learning. No Paṇḍit would in those days admit the existence of anything worth reading in the vernacular literatures. Even such a masterpiece as the Satsaiyā of Bihārī was not admitted to citizenship in the book-world of Benares until it had been translated, and very well translated, into Sanskrit.

Mr. Thomas further quotes from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in order to show that Sanskrit was well known when that work was composed. But this was a *śāstra* of the pre-classical period, so that I do not see how it affects my

argument. Moreover, we can hardly take the passage literally, for, if I heard Mr. Thomas aright, the author makes, not only women, but snakes understand Sanskrit.

Mr. Thomas next quoted the passage in the last canto of the *Kumāra-saṁbhava*, in which Saraswatī addresses Śiva and his bride in "two-fold speech," i.e. in Sanskrit and Prakrit. The address to Śiva was 'saṁskāra-pūta,' while that made to Umā was in language which she could understand.

Here I may remark that this shows that in Kālidāsa's time women, even princesses, did not understand Sanskrit. How could it, then, have been a 'mother'-tongue? In this connection I may refer to two other passages. In the Sundarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa, Hanumān is in doubt as to whether he should address Sītā in Sanskrit, "like a Brāhmaṇa," or "in the language of common men." In the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* the Jester says that there are two things that make him laugh, a woman repeating Sanskrit and a man singing a song. He adds that when the woman is in such a predicament she reminds him of a heifer snuffling when the leading-rope is first passed through a hole bored in her nose.

Mr. Thomas lays stress on the use of the word 'saṁskāra-pūta' by Kālidāsa, and argues that while I translate 'Prākṛta' correctly by 'natural,' I am wrong in translating 'saṁskṛta' by 'elaborated.' He prefers 'purified.' I am not concerned to defend my interpretation. Perhaps, as opposed to 'natural,' 'artificial' would be better than 'elaborated.' A Brāhmaṇ would of course look upon his own 'artificial' language as 'purified.' Anyhow, what is opposed to 'natural' cannot have been 'natural' itself, and that is quite sufficient for my purpose. Pāli and Prakrit were 'natural' languages, while Sanskrit was not.

Mr. Thomas reminds us of the *ākhyānas*, which he says were in Sanskrit, and must have been widely understood. That does not follow. In every large village in India the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata is habitually read, and attracts the whole population. No one pretends to understand it. Each verse is read in the original. The *dēva-vāṇī*

is in itself good for the souls of the hearers. Then the verse is interpreted for those who want the story, exactly as the Prophetical books used to be read, and interpreted, in a Jewish synagogue in our Lord's time.

I now turn to the other side of the question. What proof is there that Classical Sanskrit was never a *living* language?

A language to be living must be capable of connoting all the ideas which its speakers may conceivably want to express. Classical Sanskrit could not do this. Its vocabulary supplied the ordinary needs of learned men, but when it came to the every-day things of common life, it had to borrow from the Prakrits, and re-coin old Sanskrit words of the pre-classical period which no longer existed. It betrays this by its mistakes. It borrowed, for instance, the Prakrit *aggaaḍa* for 'sugar-cane sprouts,' and by assuming a false derivation concocted the word *aṅgāra*, when it should have concocted *agraka* or something of that sort. Classical Sanskrit had no word for it. Such a form of speech cannot be called a living language. I do not, however, wish to press this point unduly, for I have much stronger arguments.

We date Classical Sanskrit from Pāṇini. The real question is, "Was Classical Sanskrit a mother-tongue, a vernacular, in his time?" I answer this with a decided negative.

We all, I suppose, agree that Sanskrit is the daughter of one of a number of Indo-Aryan dialects spread over North-Western India. The home of that particular dialect must have been near the Saraswatī, the source of all Indo-Aryan civilisation. We may call it roughly the dialect of the Eastern Panjāb. It was here that the Ṛg-vēda was compiled; it was from here that Aryan civilisation (and Sanskrit) spread over India; and it was here that all the great decisive battles for the ownership of India have been fought out.

In finding out an answer to our question, we have four fixed points to go upon—

First, there were the pre-classical periods. We may take the Vedic period as the most important for our purposes.

Second, there is, say, eight hundred years after, in 350 to 300 B.C., Pāṇini.

Third, after another fifty or hundred years, we have the Asōka inscriptions, in 250 B.C.

Fourth, after another century, we have Patañjali, B.C. 150.

Now we are bound to assume that the rate of development of the Indian languages was a fairly constant one. The vernacular of the Eastern Panjāb of Vedic times took six hundred years to develop into Classical Sanskrit. That development is very slight. There is no essential difference between Vedic and Classical Sanskrit.

The Asōka inscriptions are not in Sanskrit. They are in Pāli. They were meant to be generally understood, and are in some cases directly addressed to the educated classes. The difference between them and Classical Sanskrit is great. That difference could never have developed in a hundred years. Therefore I hold that Sanskrit could not possibly have been a vernacular language in Pāṇini's time.

I know of only one serious answer which can be made to this objection; and that is, that Sanskrit in Pāṇini's time was the vernacular of a certain set of people who were not the ancestors of those who spoke and understood the language of the Asōka inscriptions. Two arguments are adduced to prove this. One is the well-worn one that Pāṇini called Classical Sanskrit 'the Bhāṣā,' and that 'Bhāṣā' means a spoken language. So it does, but a spoken language is not necessarily a vernacular. Sanskrit, as I have said, was, in Pāṇini's time a spoken language, and 'Bhāṣā' can only mean 'Sanskrit as spoken at the time of the composer of the grammar' (mind, it was not a written language at that time, and could only have been spoken), as distinct from the older form of the language found in the Vēdas. I used to speak Sanskrit myself, but that does not make it my vernacular.

The second argument is that some of the Asōka inscriptions possess certain conjunct consonants which represent a stage of development older than that of Pāli; that, therefore, they are not in Pāli, but are in bad Sanskrit; and that hence Sanskrit *was* a vernacular at least in the tract where these inscriptions are found. These inscriptions are the Kharoṣṭhī

ones at Shāhbāzgaṛhī and elsewhere in the extreme North-West. I confess that this seems to me but an argument of despair. What else can we call it when we remember that Sanskrit is based on the Indo-Aryan vernacular of the Eastern Panjāb, and that the Asōka inscriptions of *this* locality, at Khalsi, Mīraṭh, and Delhi, are in pure Pāli without these conjuncts?[1] If conjuncts were due to the influence of Sanskrit, it is here that we should have to look for them, and not four hundred miles to the west. Their presence in the North-West is easily explained. M. Senart maintains that the words in which they occur are orthographical *tatsamas*—strivings after learned spellings. There may be some truth in this, but we need not depend upon it. There are two other very good reasons which I will defy anybody to explain away. One is, that most of these conjuncts have *r* as their second member, as in *priya, dhramma, srava, savra,* and so forth. Surely the pro-Sanskritists forget that such words are pure Prakrit, and were Prakrit a thousand years later. Hēma-candra (iv, 398) specially allows the optional employment of such conjuncts in the most degraded of all the Prakrits, Apabhraṁśa, and gives as an example one of the very words used by Asōka—*priya*.[2]

But there is another reason, which, so far as I am aware, has not hitherto been brought forward,[3] but which seems to me to be conclusive against the Sanskritic origin of these conjuncts. I refer to the influence of those tribes who in later times were known as Piśācas, and whom the Greeks called Dards. These people inhabited the country surrounding and to the north of Shāhbāzgaṛhī. They had colonies down the Indus as far as the modern Sindh. Now we know the

[1] It was objected at the meeting that these edicts are in Asōka's Māgadhī dialect. True. But they were meant to be understood, and if the local vernacular did possess these conjuncts, it is inconceivable that they should have been omitted.

[2] The wording of Hēma-candra's *sūtra* is indeed that the retention of the *r* is the rule, and that it is its omission which is optional. There are numbers of Apabhraṁśa words in Hēma-candra with these conjunct *r*'s. Some *r*'s, in fact, are *inserted* without excuse of origin (iv, 399). Reference can be made to Professor Pischel's index. Compare also the Greek words mentioned later on.

[3] I must withdraw this claim to originality. I see that I have been anticipated by Professor Pischel on p. 28 of his Prakrit Grammar.

peculiarities of Paiśācī Prakrit partly from Hēma-candra and partly from the modern 'Dard'[1] languages. It was Indo-Aryan, but was not Sanskritic in the sense in which we talk of the modern Indian languages as being Sanskritic. It hardened soft consonants and preserved them when unprotected. So, in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī inscription we have *caturē*, 'four'; *maka* for *maga*; both *hita* and *hida*; and *paḍham* for *bāḍham*. In Paiśācī a conjunct of which the first member is a sibilant is sometimes preserved.[2] So it is with the Dard languages of the present day, in which 'a horse' is *aśpō* (for *aśva*) and 'eight' is *ošt*. Similarly at Shāhbāzgaṛhī, *sv* becomes *sp* in *spasunaṁ*, and *ṣṭ* optionally remains unchanged in *aṣṭau* or *aṭh*. The modern Dard languages show that the *r* of a conjunct was often retained —'three' is *trē*, 'a son' is *piutr*. So in Shāhbāzgaṛhī we have *putra*, 'son,' and numbers of others, including the very instructive *dhramma*, and *srava* or *savra*.[3] The argument from these inscriptions that Sanskrit was a vernacular language at the time of Asōka will therefore not hold water.

We now come to the oft-quoted passages in Patañjali.[4] He gives us the first definite information on the subject. He says that Sanskrit was spoken in his time by the *śiṣṭas*, and that people in ordinary life (*lōkē*) who were not *śiṣṭas* spoke another language, which the examples (*āṇapayati* for *ājñāpayati*, *kasi* for *kṛṣi*, and so forth) show was Pāli.[5] That, I think, we all admit.

The question therefore is, "Who were the *śiṣṭas*?" Here, with all respect, I think that my learned friends on the other side have been misled by the great authority of Professor Bhandarkar. They translate *śiṣṭa* by 'educated,' and say that Sanskrit was the language of the educated classes. I admit that *śiṣṭa* can mean 'educated'; but does

[1] I employ the word here in Dr. Leitner's sense, as the language of the country between Laghmān and Gilgit. It will be noticed that I treat Paiśācī and Cūlikāpaiśācikā as but varieties of one and the same language.

[2] Hēma-candra, iv, 314. *Snāta* becomes *sināta*, and *kaṣṭa* becomes *kasaṭa*.

[3] Compare Dard *krom* for *karmma*.

[4] Especially the commentaries on Pāṇini, 1, 3, 1, and 6, 3, 109.

[5] See vol. i, p. 259, ll. 5–14, and vol. iii, pp. 173–174, of Kielhorn's edition.

it mean that here? I am convinced that it cannot. The word means literally 'taught,' and here evidently applies to those who are 'taught' Sanskrit. Every 'educated' man in England does not speak German, only those who are 'taught' it do so. The meaning of '*śiṣṭa*' is carefully explained by Patañjali himself. "Who are the *śiṣṭas*?" his opponent asks. He replies, "The *vaiyākaraṇas*—those who have studied grammar." His opponent is not satisfied and presses for a further explanation, and he dots the '*i*'s' and crosses the '*t*'s' by saying that a *śiṣṭa* is a Brāhmaṇ who is not greedy . . . and who is an expert in some branch of knowledge. He must be a *kumbhīdhānya*, that is to say, his whole possessions must be limited to a jarful of rice, and he must inhabit a limited tract called Āryāvarta, which is defined. That is to say, the poor learned Brāhmaṇs of a certain part of India spoke Sanskrit. Everyone else said *āṇapayati* instead of *ājñāpayati*, and *kasi* instead of *kṛṣi*, i.e. spoke Pāli. Patañjali, it will be observed, makes no distinction between good Sanskrit and bad. According to him a man spoke either good Sanskrit or Pāli. To him bad Sanskrit *was* Pāli. Moreover, according to him, this Sanskrit had to be taught, even to these poor and pious *śiṣṭas*. If anyone spoke Sanskrit who had not studied Pāṇini it was a case of the special grace of Good Fortune, or he did so from instinct.

How Professor Bhandarkar can conclude from this that Sanskrit was the *vernacular* of holy and respectable Brāhmaṇs of Āryāvarta, I cannot see. Patañjali states as clearly as possible that it was a language acquired by the study of grammar, and was spoken only by poor 'Grammarians.' This puts the suggestion that it was in his time a court language altogether out of the argument. *Poor* Brāhmaṇs are not such as are found in kings' chambers. In later times of the renaissance, as education spread, it was no doubt spoken and understood by many persons of the upper classes—but as a second language, not as a vernacular, just as it was not any more the real vernacular of the *śiṣṭas*.

Here I would venture to protest against the use of the

comparison which was put forward a month ago, that Sanskrit bore to Pāli much the same relationship that standard Italian bears to the Italian dialects. I would submit that such a comparison is misleading. The facts are altogether different. Italian and the other dialects are sister dialects all in the same generation from Latin. On the contrary, Sanskrit and Pāli are on quite different planes. They belong to two distinct generations. The comparison will not be correct until Latin is the polite language of Italy.

There is one other piece of evidence which I should be glad to lay before you, and that is the reports of the Greeks. The Indian names which they quote seem to me to be Pāli or Prakrit, not Sanskrit. To mention a few names recorded about the time of the Asōka inscriptions—Soanes (Suvaṇṇa), Erannoboas (Hiraṇṇavāha), Sandracottus (Candragutta—note how the *r* is retained in Apabhraṁśa),[1] Palibothra (Paḍalivutra), and Peukelaotis (Pukkhalavatī). The last was in Swāt, the Piśāca country, and hence the *t* was preserved.

For these reasons I do not believe that Classical Sanskrit was anyone's vernacular at the time of Pāṇini or afterwards. The language was unsuited to be a vernacular; and all the evidence which we possess shows that the only vernacular in existence, at the time, was in that stage of development which is commonly and conveniently called Pāli. At the same time, from Pāṇini to the present day, it has always been a second language, a polite language like Latin in the middle ages, learnt and spoken as an accomplishment by people the number of whom varied from century to century according to the extent of public education in India.

MR. FLEET said:

I have followed with interest what has been said to-day by Mr. Thomas and Dr. Grierson. And I was particularly struck by the apposite instance adduced by Dr. Grierson,

[1] Alexander met Sandrokottus in the Western Panjab, the Piśāca country. Note how the *g* has been changed to *k*.

to illustrate how thoroughly the people of India appreciate the Sanskṛit language in other uses than simply its religious scope, without being able to understand it. I can myself vouch for the absorbed attention with which uneducated villagers will listen to recitals of the Sanskṛit Epics and Purāṇas, and to representations of Sanskṛit plays,— pleased by the sonorousness of the language, and satisfied with only the vague idea of what it all means which is supplied by their general acquaintance with the outlines of the topics. And I know, in fact, of nothing that interests them more, except a public recital of any of the historical ballads, composed in the vernaculars of the present day, and particularly numerous, racy, and well-known in the Kanarese country, which appeal to them so closely from other points of view.

But it seems to me that, valuable as are all the details that have been laid before us, they have gone rather beyond the record, and have taken the matter into a sphere of philological discussion which bears more upon the connection between Sanskṛit and the vernaculars, and upon a question which deserves full consideration at some other time,— namely, the development of what is known as Classical Sanskṛit, and the time at which, and the influences under which, it was brought about,— than upon the question that was actually propounded for discussion.

The question actually before us, introduced by Mr. Rapson at the last preceding meeting, is:— In what degree was Sanskṛit a spoken language?

I think that we must look for the answer, not to deductions drawn from literary statements which are often easily capable of more than one application, and to philological details as to which not everyone may be in agreement, but to what we can put together in the shape of plain actual facts. And for the facts in this matter, as also ultimately in every other line of Indian research, we must turn to a certain source of information which has been my particular line of study for very many years, namely, the epigraphic records,— the ancient inscriptions which

fortunately exist in such great numbers throughout the length and breadth of India.

For the present, indeed, owing to the want of a systematic exploration, including the opening out of buried ancient sites, the inscriptions do not carry us back beyond the time of Aśōka, or say roughly B.C. 250. But from that point of time, to the establishment of the Imperial Gupta dynasty, roughly about A.D. 350, we have a sufficient supply of them. And they seem to me to settle the question with which we are concerned.

Of the inscriptions of India, some, in fact the large majority, originated from the reigning kings or from their governors, ministers, and functionaries. Of the remainder, some originated from guilds and corporations, and others from private individuals who had no share whatever in public affairs. But, whether of official or of non-official origin, the inscriptions were all records put together, and perpetuated on stone or copper as the case might be, for the information of the public. Notably was that the case with the edicts of Aśōka, which were religious proclamations, published in conspicuous places on rocks and pillars of stone, at towns or close to highways frequented by travellers and traders, for the guidance of his subjects. The inscriptions were, therefore, necessarily cast in a language which would be understood by the people at large. It would not follow that everyone inspecting them would be able to read them, or that they were published with that expectation. But such a language must have been purposely selected that there would always be someone in the town or village, or in the band of travellers or traders, who would be able to decipher any particular record and explain it to inquirers. And the fact that before A.D. 150 there is not a single inscription in Sanskṛit, is sufficient, to my mind, to shew that Sanskṛit was not then a language readily capable of being handled in that way, for an explanation of public notifications drawn up in it; that is to say, that it was not then understood by the people at large, and, much more, that it was not spoken by the people at large.

From A.D. 350 we come to a very different state of things. We find, indeed, that in Southern India the vernaculars were still largely used for the public records which have survived to us in the shape of the inscriptions. We find the large majority of the inscriptions of the Kanarese country in the Kanarese language, and the large majority of the inscriptions of the Tamil country in the Tamil language; with the result, due quite as much to that fact as to literary activity, that there was developed in at any rate the Kanarese country,— probably in also the Tamil country, but on that point I am not competent to speak,— a highly cultivated vernacular which, in beauty, polish, and power of expression, stands unsurpassed among the vernaculars of India. Even there, however, we have Sanskṛit inscriptions from roughly A.D. 600 onwards; and the number of them increased largely as time rolled by. And all over Central India, and throughout Northern India, Sanskṛit became practically the only language used for these public records from as early a date as A.D. 350.

This fact may suggest, on first thought, that in those parts of India Sanskṛit was then understood and was spoken by the people at large. But it does not seem to me that we may interpret the fact in that way. It only indicates, to me, the existence, in a larger number of outlying towns and villages, of a larger number of educated people, acquainted with Sanskṛit, and competent to draft public records and notifications in that language, or to explain the purport of such records and notifications drawn up in it by others. The actual spoken languages were still the local vernaculars. But, owing to the predominance then as now,— or at any rate until quite recently,— of the Brāhmaṇ element in official posts, Sanskṛit, when once fully established in its classical form, became naturally the official language. Because, in every direction, there were so many more people competent to compose in Sanskṛit and to explain it, any actual necessity for drafting official proclamations and records in the vernaculars ceased. And the increasing issue of such proclamations and records in Sanskṛit set a fashion

which was copied far and wide by private individuals, who quickly came to think it more *comme il faut* to get their private proclamations translated into Sanskṛit, and published in Sanskṛit, by the numerous local agencies that were then available, rather than to issue them in vernaculars which were not favoured, even if recognised at all, for any strictly official purposes.

That is the explanation of the general use of Sanskṛit for inscriptional purposes in Northern and Central India from about A.D. 350, and of the partial use of it for the same purposes in Southern India from about two centuries later. And we are not to infer from that use that Sanskṛit had then become, or that it ever became, a spoken language of the people at large, even in Northern and Central India.

On the other side, there are no reasons for regarding Sanskṛit as a dead language, in the sense of one which, after the Vēdic or any particular subsequent period, was never spoken at all. It is still a spoken tongue. When I first went to India, nearly forty years ago, there were few, if any, Sanskṛit Paṇḍits, really qualified to teach Sanskṛit, and at the same time able to explain it in English. The explanations of the Paṇḍits were given in Sanskṛit itself; their instruction was all imparted in that language; and their conversation was all in it. In that respect there has been a change; and Sanskṛit is now largely taught by Native teachers who are as well acquainted with English as with their classical language or with their vernaculars. But there are still many Sanskṛit Paṇḍits,— the Śāstrīs properly called,— who know no English. When they meet an European who has any knowledge of Sanskṛit, their desire is to converse, not in a vernacular, but in Sanskṛit. I myself have had to talk Sanskṛit in such circumstances. And, I may add, I have had to talk Latin with a Portuguese priest living out in the jungles, because, as he did not know English or any vernacular, and as I did not know Portuguese, there happened to be no other medium of communication.

To that extent Sanskṛit must always have been a spoken

language, among the Brāhmaṇs, chiefly for instructional purposes, but sometimes for purposes of display. It must also have been the language used in the religious and philosophical wrangles in which, as again we know from the inscriptions, wandering Brāhmaṇs, Jains, and Buddhists used to indulge, visiting distant centres of learning with that object, and announcing by beat of drum their arrival and their desire to meet disputants. And, no doubt, it must have been the customary means of even ordinary communication between learned people from different parts of India, whose vernaculars were mutually unintelligible. Further, as a result of its having been established as the official language, the members of the royal caste would naturally acquire a rough and ready conversational knowledge of it; and in this view we find the explanation of the theory of the Hindū dramatists, that kings and nobles, as well as any Brāhmaṇs who may figure as principal personages, must speak in Sanskṛit. And, if we may base any conclusion on the extent to which Sanskṛit words, usually somewhat corrupted, but sometimes in their original forms, have become embedded in the Kanarese vernacular, and, as may be easily seen from a perusal of the ballads, are freely used by the uneducated classes at the present time, the people at large would understand isolated Sanskṛit words, and on occasion would even comprehend brief intimations conveyed by means of them. In support of this last suggestion, I may cite an ancient Kanarese inscription which I happen to have just now in hand for editing. It narrates how a ruling prince, the governor of the Banawāsi province, coming on tour to a certain village in the Dhārwār district, requisitioned a supply of fodder, and how a champion grass-cutter met the requirements of the prince so well as to obtain the withdrawal of the prohibition of the performance of certain rites which bore much upon the happiness of the inhabitants of the village. The composer of the record, casting the whole of it in thoroughly good Kanarese, has, where the villagers are concerned, naturally denoted 'elephant' by *āne* and 'grass' by *pullu*. On the

other hand, most appropriately, and quite in accordance with the theory which is so conspicuous in the Hindū drama, he has made the prince demand from the village-elders *tṛiṇa-saṁgraha*, 'a store of grass,' for *haya-hasti-samūha*, his 'troop of horses and elephants.' But he has, of course, worked these Sanskṛit words into a Kanarese sentence, which runs:— emma haya-hasti-samūhakke tṛiṇa-saṁgraham bēḷkum; "a store of grass is required for Our troop of horses and elephants."

Isolated Sanskṛit words of a practical nature, and short intimations on familiar matters conveyed by means of them, were doubtless freely understood by ordinary people in ancient times. But I cannot detect any reason for thinking that the Sanskṛit language itself was ever spoken by the people at large, or that in ancient times, any more than in the present day, it was understood by the people at large, so that it could serve any of the purposes of a general medium of communication outside the Brāhmaṇ circle itself, except to the limited extent indicated just above. The evidence of the inscriptions distinctly negatives the supposition.

April 12th, 1904.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

Mr. Vaughan Bateson,
Mr. Ellinghausen,
Mr. Reginald Fleming Johnstone, and
Mr. E. A. Khan

were elected members of the Society.

Professor Rhys Davids read a paper on "Oriental Teaching at Home and Abroad." A discussion followed, in which Sir Raymond West, Professor Bendall, and Professor Rapson took part.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

The Anniversary Meeting was held on May 10th, Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

Mrs. S. A. Strong,
Mr. T. Hart Davies,
Dr. M. B. Parar, and
Mr. Hem Chandra Das Gupta

were elected members of the Society.

The Annual Report of the Council for 1903 was read by the Secretary:—

Report of the Council for the Year 1903.

The Council regrets to report the loss by death or retirement of the following forty-four members:—

There have died—

Mrs. Beer,
Sir James Campbell,
Professor M. N. Chatterjea,
Mr. E. A. Floyer,
The Maharaja Gajapatti Rao,
Mr. H. C. Kay,
Mr. C. G. Luzac,
Mr. A. T. Pringle,
Major-General Reid,
Mr. G. W. Rusden,
The Right Hon. Lord Stanley of Alderley,
Professor S. A. Strong.

There have retired—

Mr. Amenomori,
Dr. Guru Das Banerji,
Mr. W. G. Campbell,
Mr. A. C. Chatterji,
Mr. H. Chatterji,
Mr. W. D. Deane,

Mr. F. A. Elliot,
Mr. C. M. Fernando,
Captain de Guiraudon,
Mr. M. S. Husain,
Mr. G. S. Iyer,
Dr. Kapadia,
Mr. J. Kennedy,
Mr. H. Leitner,
Major Livermore,
Mr. L. R. Maxwell,
Rev. C. F. Mermagen,
Mr. R. Mitra,
Mr. C. T. Naidu,
Mr. T. M. Nair,
Mr. P. Newberry,
Mr. S. C. Niyoji,
Mr. J. M. Parsonson,
Mr. M. H. Phelps,
Mr. P. Ramanatha,
Mrs. E. Reed,
Mr. H. Sastri,
Mrs. Shrewsbury,
Raja V. Singh,
Miss J. Smith,
Mr. Tahl Ram,
Professor Tolman.

On the other hand, the following twenty-four new members have been elected :—

Mr. S. Krishna Swami Aiyangar,
Mr. S. Parameswara Aiyar,
Rev. T. Grahame Bailey,
Mr. H. Borgström,
Rev. John Bowen,
Mr. N. E. F. Corbett,
Mr. M. J. Deen,
Mr. W. Fyfe,
Colonel H. S. Jarrett, C.I.E.,

Mr. Mir Imdad Ali,
Mr. S. M. Mitra,
Mr. C. M. Nair,
Mr. W. H. Noyce,
Mr. T. P. Pillai,
Mr. H. Price,
Mr. H. B. Rae,
Major W. H. Salmon,
Mr. E. H. Seaton,
Mr. C. N. Seddon,
Mr. Syed M. Sheriff,
Thakur Joonjar Singh,
Shaykh Hasan Tawfiq,
Professor H. H. Tilbe,
Mr. Lim Chin Tsong.

Of the subscribing libraries, one has been added to the list and one has withdrawn, leaving the numbers the same.

These figures show a diminution in our numbers of twenty. This represents, however, no corresponding loss of income, as most of those members who are described in the above list as having retired have signified their intention to do so by not paying their subscriptions for several years. In point of fact, our receipts from subscriptions are larger this year than they have ever been. In this connection the following table may be of interest:—

	Annual Subscriptions.	Sale of Journal.	Total Receipts.	Total Expenditure.
	£	£	£	£
1894	574	185	1280	1260
1895	570	230	1284	1172
1896	570	143	1318	1188
1897	578	188	1286	1159
1898	612	224	1341	1285
1899	628	202	1275	1330
1900	622	205	1290	1230
1901	652	205	1391	1328
1902	635	185	1460	1470
1903	663	249	1451	1394

On the other hand, we have lost by death no less than twelve members, as against seven in 1902 and ten in 1901.

On the receipt side of our accounts the rents we have received show a slight increase of £3, the sale of our Journal an increase of £64, and the receipts from interest an increase of £6. These items, especially the last two, are satisfactory. As is shown in the above table, the sale of the Journal forms a substantial, and on the whole a steady, source of income to the Society—all the more satisfactory as the proceeds of sale used to be taken by the publisher, and have only been rescued under the new arrangements, by which the Society publishes for itself. A decrease last year of some £20 on the returns of previous years was disquieting; and the increase of £64 this year, showing the highest total as yet received under this head, is reassuring. The increase under the head of interest is due entirely to the increased amount received from the Post Office Savings Bank. Our account there, owing to the deposit of the compositions received last year, amounts now to £338, as against £229 last year. The total receipts amounted last year, for the first time, to over £1,400, the exact amount being £1,460 13*s.* 6*d.* This year, in spite of a decrease of £37 under the head of donations, we have again received over £1,400, though the total is £9 less than last year.

On the expenditure side the main item, as usual, is for rent; and the Council has still to deplore the fact that, while other societies of no better standing than our own are provided by Government with handsome and commodious quarters, the Royal Asiatic Society, in spite of our great national interests in the East, is left out in the cold, and is obliged to spend yearly on rent sums which would otherwise go far towards enabling it to set on foot important and much needed work in Oriental research.

Of the other items the only one that calls for special remark is the payment of nearly £100 for monographs. This represents the cost of printing Professor Winternitz's Catalogue of our Sanskrit MSS. in the Whish Collection. This is a work of great importance which ought to have

been done long ago; and the Council congratulates the Society on its having been at last completed, and so well completed. But the Council would remind the Society that no such proper catalogue as yet exists of the Sanskrit MSS. in our Tod Collection, and that funds are now required to supply this want also.

This want does not stand alone. Last year the Council pointed out that catalogues of our Burmese and Malay MSS. are also required; and further, that the time was rapidly approaching when a new catalogue of our printed books would become, for the reasons then stated, a pressing necessity. These necessities still exist, and the Council has only been prevented from meeting them by the lack of the necessary funds.

As regards Monographs and Translations, the Council has been able, during the year under review, to take some steps towards working off the arrears. A monograph by Dr. Codrington, our Honorary Librarian, on Muhammadan Numismatics, "puts together all the information and all the practical hints which are likely to assist the student in the actual work of reading and identifying these coins. He, in fact, puts on record for the benefit of others the experience he has himself gained during many years as a collector of Muhammadan coins. . . . Especially worthy of note is the valuable 'List of Mint Towns.' . . . This list will be of the greatest use, and its value is enhanced by the addition, wherever possible, of the precise geographical position of the places, and of any descriptive or honorific epithets habitually associated, on the coins, with their names."[1] The cost of this monograph has been entirely defrayed by the author; and the Council congratulates both him and the Society on this valuable addition to our list of monographs.

The Council has also brought out as a monograph Mr. Guy Le Strange's important paper on the geography of Persia under the Mongols in the fourteenth century,

[1] E. J. R. in J.R.A.S., 1904, pp. 352, 353.

with corrections and additions and a new map. The paper was originally published in four different issues of our Journal. It was considered desirable that the paper should be procurable as one book, especially as this would afford opportunity for the map, which was on too small a scale, to be redrawn and otherwise improved. Mr. Le Strange was kind enough to give the necessary assistance; and the work is now on sale as No. 5 of the Monograph Series.

The Council has also determined to bring out in the Monograph Series a volume by Mr. Longworth Dames on the Baloch Race, a historical and ethnological sketch. It will be a volume of about 100 pages, giving an account of the present divisions, and as much as can be ascertained of the past history, of this interesting frontier tribe. The work is now just finished, and the Council has reason to believe that it will fill up one more of the many gaps in our knowledge of the history of India.

The first volume of the late Mr. Watters's commentary on the travels in India, during the sixth century, of Yuan Chwāng, is now ready for issue in the Oriental Translation Fund Series; and it is expected that the second volume, with maps and indices, completing the work, will be ready during the course of the year.

The Council has, therefore, at last, and after many struggles, succeeded in organising three serial publications —the Journal, for shorter papers, in which some one point of more or less historical importance can be discussed and elucidated; the Monographs, for longer papers, in which more important questions can be more fully treated; and the Translations which, with the necessary introductions, notes, and indices, are intended to make more accessible and to facilitate reference to the historical materials out of which papers and monographs can be composed. The Council would be glad to add to these three series a fourth, to consist of hitherto unpublished Texts.

The only really efficient method of carrying out such series is for the Council to be able to offer to the most distinguished scholars in each department of Oriental research

a sufficient payment for the work it is proposed they should undertake. This method cannot, however, be adopted until each of the four series shall have been provided with an endowment or income of about £200 a year. For the printing costs about £100 a year, and it would hardly be possible to offer to the authors less remuneration than is paid to the compositors. To this end the Council has appealed, and again appeals, for donations or legacies. And it has much pleasure in announcing that a member of this Society, and of the Pali Text Society, has, in response to these appeals, left to the Society, subject to certain life interests and certain conditions, a sum of £5,000 for the objects in question. This splendid gift, which the Society owes to the generosity of General Forlong, himself a sympathetic and able scholar, more especially in Buddhism and in the comparative study of the history of religious belief, would go far towards providing an endowment for one of the four series of publications, though under the conditions of the gift it cannot be applied exclusively to any of the four. It will remain as a permanent encouragement to Oriental research; and will be the means of adding, year by year, to our knowledge of those Eastern peoples in whose welfare the enlightened donor, with whose name the publications of the fund will be always associated, took so deep and so real an interest. The influence and value of the gift will go on, therefore, continuously increasing; and the Council does not hesitate to give expression to its fervent hope that General Forlong's example will be so far followed by other members of the Society that all the four series of publications will be placed beyond the difficulties and dangers against which they have now so constantly to contend.

The Council has been very glad to receive, from the subscribers to it, a copy of the bronze plaque, designed by his son, to the memory of the distinguished Orientalist, Dr. Rost, who was for the six years 1864–1870 Secretary to the Society. The plaque has been placed on the first landing.

In 1888, there being then no index to the publications of

the Society, a complete index to all of them, from 1827 to 1888, was brought out. In the year under review a further index of names and subjects mentioned in our Journals from 1888 to 1903 has been added. Both are now on sale, and the Council hopes that they will materially facilitate the use of our publications by members and other scholars.

In the last Report it was announced that the Government of India had adopted a scheme, laid before it by the Council, for the annual publication of an Indian Historical Records Series. Details regarding the carrying out of this scheme were given in the January issue of our Journal for this year; and it will suffice to state here that the following volumes have been arranged for, and will be sent to press as soon as the authors can complete their work.

In the Text Series.

1. A collection of Historical Maps of India. Edited by Professor Rhys Davids.
2. An Historical Index to names and subjects mentioned in Vedic Texts. By Professor Macdonell.
3. History of Gujarat. Edited in the original Arabic and translated by Principal Denison Ross.
4. Storia do Mogor by Nicolaò Manucci. Translated by W. Irvine.

In the Record Series.

1. Papers relating to the capture of Calcutta by Sirāj-ud-daula, and other events in Bengal in 1756–57. Edited by Mr. S. C. Hill.
2. History of Fort William in Bengal. Edited by Dr. C. R. Wilson.

Under the scheme for encouraging the study of Indian History among the boys at our public schools, from whom are drawn so many of our public servants in India, the first medal is to be presented this year. The Secretary of State for India has kindly consented to present the medal on this occasion, and the presentation will take place to-day after an interval at the close of these proceedings.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions—						
96 Resident Members at £3 3s.	300	15	0			
2 ,, ,, in arrears	6	6	0			
189 Non-Resident ,, at £1 10s.	283	11	7			
,, ,, in arrears	31	16	7			
,, ,, in advance	15	15	0			
14 ,, ,, at £1 1s.	14	14	0			
7 Library Members at £1 10s.	10	10	0			
				663	8	2
Rents				241	13	0
Donations				211	1	0
Journal—Subscriptions	165	0	0			
Sale	70	4	6			
Sale of Pamphlets	7	8	0			
Sale of Index		9	0			
Advertisements	6	8	8			
				249	10	2
Catalogue Sale					5	0
Library Subscriptions					10	6
Miscellaneous				9	14	6
Subscriptions paid in error				7	13	0
Dividends and Interest—						
N.S.W. 4 per cent.	30	7	4			
Midland 2½ ,, ...	5	0	0			
				35	7	4
Interest on Deposit in Bank	13	2	7			
,, ,, in Savings Bank	8	17	4			
				21	19	11
Future Purchases				3	0	10
Monographs—By Sales				7	4	6
Total				1451	7	11
Balance at Bank, January 1, 1903	58	4	3			
,, on Deposit	254	7	6			
,, P.O. account	38	3	10			
,, Petty Cash	3	0	3			
				353	15	10
				£1805	3	9

FUNDS.

£802 13s. 10d. New South Wales 4 per cent.
£212 6s. Midland 2½ per cent. debenture.
£300 3 per cent. Local Loans.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Balance, January 1, 1903	149	11	6
By sales	32	9	0
	£182	0	6

INDIA EXPLORATION FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Balance, January 1, 1903	46	1	0
Subscriptions	19	19	0
	£66	0	0

EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR 1903.

EXPENDITURE.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
House—Rent	343 16 0	
Fire Insurance	10 0 0	
Water	12 8 0	
Gas	26 9 10	
Coals	5 8 0	
Income Tax	18 10 0	
Repairs	6 11 7	423 3 5
Salaries—Secretary	250 0 0	
Assistant Secretary	50 0 0	300 0 0
Wages		80 0 0
Journal—Printing	312 4 3	
Illustrations	39 2 6	351 6 9
Library—New Books	6 3 11	
Binding	16 13 6	
Fixtures	1 10 0	24 7 5
Stationery and Printing		20 16 9
Miscellaneous		4 4 10
Stamps		59 0 0
Petty Cash		33 3 6
Monographs		94 9 7
Returned Subscriptions		3 0 0
Bank Charges		10 10
		1394 3 1
Invested in Local Loans		102 2 6
Total		1496 5 7
Balance at Bank, December 31, 1903	57 17 10	
,, on Deposit	217 6 2	
,, P.O. account	28 18 8	
,, Petty Cash	4 15 6	308 18 2
		£1805 3 9

Outstanding debts on December 31, 1903, amount to £246.

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND.

Office expenses, Salary	10 0 0	
Binding	3 6 8	
Petty Cash, 1902–3	2 19 9	
Balance December 31, 1903	165 14 1	£182 0 6

INDIA EXPLORATION FUND.

Printing	1 17 6	
Petty Cash	2 1 6	
Balance December 31, 1903	62 1 0	£66 0 0

Examined with the books and vouchers, and found correct, March 24th, 1904. { W. IRVINE, for the Council. R. W. FRAZER, E. T. STURDY, } for the Society.

MEDAL FUND.

Dr.	£	s.	d.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, December 31, 1902	29	12	4	June 9. Cost of Medal	22	0	0
Dividends, 1903	9	16	0	Balance, December 31, 1903	17	17	7
Interest to December 31, 1903	9	3					
	£39	17	7		£39	17	7

Funds—Nottingham Corporation Stock, £325.

PUBLIC SCHOOL MEDAL FUND.

Dr.	£	s.	d.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
To Balance in hand, December 31, 1902	29	18	6	June 9. Cover, design, etc.	14	15	0
Dividends, 1903	18	14	0	Balance, December 31, 1903	34	13	5
Interest up to December 31, 1903	15	8					
Donation, A. N. W.		3					
	£49	8	5		£49	8	5

Funds—Nottingham Corporation Stock, £645 11*s.* 2*d.*

Examined with the books and vouchers, and found correct, March 24th, 1904.

W. IRVINE,
R. W. FRAZER,
E. T. STURDY.

MEDAL PUBLICATIONS FUND.

Dr.	£	s.	d.	Cr.	£	s.	d.
Received during 1903	54	18	9	By Balance at Bank, December 31, 1903	54	18	9
	£54	18	9		£54	18	9

Funds—Nottingham Corporation Stock, £600.

By the lamented death of Geheimrath von Böhtlingk, the distinguished Sanskritist and part author of the famous Sanskrit dictionary, the standard work on which all other Sanskrit dictionaries rely, there is a vacancy in our list of Honorary Members. The Council proposes the election in his place of Professor Julius Jolly, of Würzburg, our leading authority in the history of the two departments of Indian Law and Indian Medicine.

Under the rules of the Society Lord Stanmore retires this year from the office of Vice-President, and is re-eligible; and there retire from the Council Sir Richard Temple, Sir Robert Douglas, Professor Macdonell, Mr. Ellis, and Dr. Grierson, of whom two only are re-eligible. The Council recommends the election as Vice-President of

Lord Stanmore;

as members of Council, of

Professor Browne,
Mr. Stanley Cook,
Mr. Ellis,
Mr. Frazer,
Dr. Grierson.

The Council also recommends the re-election of

Mr. James Kennedy as *Hon. Treasurer*,
Dr. Cust as *Hon. Secretary*,
Dr. Codrington as *Hon. Librarian*.

The usual statement of accounts is laid on the table.

Sir Raymond West: My lords, ladies, and gentlemen,—I rise to move the adoption of the Report, which I think you will find gives an account of reasonable prosperity, to be greater still in the future, and which will, I hope, prove satisfactory to the members of the Society. The first point to notice is the accounts. Everything depends upon finance, and I should like to felicitate the Society on the clear statement which is put before them — clearer than the

statement of accounts usually issued by the ordinary joint stock company. The thanks and gratitude of the Society are due to the present Treasurer and to his colleagues for the improved and lucid manner in which he has presented his statement. The financial position, if not especially flourishing, is yet one of perfect solvency, indicating the careful way in which the funds have been expended, and the diligence of the officials responsible for their expenditure. The resources of the Society have been greatly improved during the year by the generous bequest of the late General Forlong. £5,000 will, eventually, fall into the Society for use in promoting the objects in which General Forlong was most deeply interested. We shall best carry out his wishes, as I gather them from portions of the will read at the Council meeting to-day, if the money is expended in promoting the study of the languages of the East. The work of the Society is continually increasing, and bequests to it, we feel sure, will work as much good, in proportion to the amount received, as in any other way of furthering the public interests. Money is needed for the "Journal" and for the valuable Monographs we publish. Most scholars require financial assistance in preparing Texts for publication. It is desirable that the Society should have money. It is not necessary that it should be given in large sums; people in moderate circumstances may render very efficient help. We feel that we are less left out in the cold now that the Government of India is assisting in the Historical Series; the volumes which are produced year by year will become a valuable library. We are most thankful to the Government of India for its help, and we hope that as the Empire extends, the consciousness of the duty owing by the country, by Departments, and by individuals, to those under our sway, will move other Departments to come forward with similar help. The Foreign Office and the Colonial Office might, if they consider the Royal Asiatic Society a good almoner, place some money at our disposal for promoting knowledge of the countries and provinces under their control.

As I have said, the expansion of the Empire necessarily

increases the work of the Society, and its objects cannot be carried out without additions to its funds. That the funds are well disposed of is shown by the appreciation on the Continent and in other parts of the world of the papers read at the Society's meetings. This is indicated by the increased sale of the "Journal" all over the world. The index just published of the subjects dealt with in the "Journal" shows a wide field of scholarship and investigation under the auspices of the Society. The papers read and those contributed to the "Journal" are not only scholarly; many are of a highly practical character, and might be read with advantage by statesmen and administrators. As an instance of what I mean, I may mention the paper which our honoured Secretary, Professor Rhys Davids, recently read to us on the Teaching of Oriental Languages in England and on the Continent. In no country in the world is it more clearly the duty of the nation to promote the welfare of its subjects in the East than in England, yet in no country is the study of Orientalism so neglected. A generous fulfilment of this duty would redound to our honour, and our want of appreciation of its value is not creditable to our supposed practical character. The world rests on ideas. When we intend men to be governors of millions and millions of people, it is only just that they should be enabled to possess some knowledge of these people, of their literature, and of the languages in daily use. Nothing could be more important than the suggestions of Professor Rhys Davids' paper; they should be taken to heart, not only by the Government, but by all persons of influence. The establishment of an Oriental College for the diffusion of Oriental knowledge is a pressing need. That such an institution does not exist in England is a continued disgrace, at which I blush when I talk to foreigners; that a reproach in this respect may be justly thrown at us cannot be repelled. With our great Empire, we neglect the means of empire—the study of Oriental languages when that study should be seen to be of prime importance, and of increasing, almost illimitable, interest.

The amount necessary for the establishment of an Oriental College would be comparatively trivial. Suppose that the construction of one mile of light railway per annum in India were postponed, and that its cost formed the contribution of the Government of India to the proposed institution, the amount would be ample, and India, in the long run, would gain more by the study of men and of languages and institutions, such as the Institution would afford. I do not object to light railways—far from it—but in the contending claims of the two ways of spending the money, the balance is decidedly on the side of the intellectual gain. An Institution of the kind would facilitate the further instruction of those who return from India and who desire to extend and enlarge their knowledge of that country. In an Oriental College, and among men like-minded with themselves, further study and progress would be possible. Such a college would do more good than many of us can conceive. The contributions of the India Office, of the Colonial Office, and of the Foreign Office, need not be large; they would be insignificant in comparison with sums of money that are thrown away on useless objects. £10,000 a year would be ample. Of course, the revenues of poor India would be called upon for most of the money; but its gain would be great; a distinct step forward would be made in the establishment of an Oriental College. The immense fund of latent ability now practically wasted, and the scattered knowledge of the East, might be brought into focus, and it would be possible to have in England the best Institution of foreign languages in the world.

Meanwhile to diffuse and arouse interest in Oriental subjects, the establishment of a Public Schools' Prize is a very useful scheme. The writing of essays on Indian subjects will produce, we hope, a marked effect in creating an interest in the history of Britain's great Dependency. We are indebted to the Indian Chiefs, who have done so much towards the endowment of the fund, and to Mr. A. N. Wollaston for his energy in arranging it. We hope that the fund will be extended and enlarged, so that it can be

used for the publication of Monographs, which are so earnestly desiderated.

We hope that you will think that the Council, in performing its duties to the best of its power, has furthered the interests of the Society. We have to-day to give an account of our stewardship. We try to meet all exigencies, feeling at times like Keats' "Watcher of the skies when some new planet swims into his ken"; we do what we can to appreciate the new-comer, and give it welcome into the world of learning. Our talents may be small, but we have done our best, and hope for your approval. We have tried to strengthen and adapt our Committee to the needs of the situation. Each year brings new interests in learning, and we have endeavoured to keep abreast of those interests. The Council has recommended the election of Professor Browne, of Cambridge, as Member of Council. Professor Browne is now as well known in Egypt and in Turkey as he has long been in England, Germany, and France. Mr. Stanley Cook, whose knowledge of Syriac and Armenian is so highly appreciated, and the other eminent scholars whose names are before you, will all by their presence add weight to the deliberations of the Council. The Society deeply regrets the death of Geheimrath von Böhtlingk; his place as a Foreign Honorary Member it is proposed to fill by the election of Professor Julius Jolly, of Würzburg. I may congratulate the Society on the acquisition of Professor Jolly; his is an honoured name, and for my own part I may say he has been working with me for some time in a way which enlarges and exalts my admiration for his great ability and learning.

The Council hopes for your approval of its labours in the past, and undertakes to conduct to the best of its abilities the work of the Society and to foster the learning it patronises in the years to come. I beg to move the adoption of the Report.

Sir Robert Douglas: I have great pleasure in seconding Sir Raymond West's proposal for the adoption of the Report, and congratulate the Society on the work of the past year;

especially I would mention the contents of the Journal, which are of exceptional interest. The foundation of the serial publication is a step in advance which is likely to prove most useful, and no better series of Monographs could have been undertaken than the three mentioned in the Report: Dr. Codrington's work on Muhammedan Numismatics; Mr. Longworth Dames' volume on the history and ethnography of the Baloch race; and Mr. Guy Le Strange's work on the historical geography of Persia. The first volume of the late Mr. Watters's commentary on the travels in India of Yuan Chwang in the sixth century is a most important addition to our Translation Fund Series. Mr. Watters was a most keen and erudite Chinese scholar, and had a considerable knowledge of Sanskrit; he was thus well equipped for his task, and I shall be greatly surprised if we do not find that his book throws considerable light on the geography and interpretation of that most difficult and disputed text.

One point in the Report is not so satisfactory. It appears to me passing strange that in our country, with its huge interests in the East, only ninety-six persons have been found who are able and willing to become Resident Members of the Royal Asiatic Society. The fact has to be faced, as Sir Raymond West mentioned, that Orientalism is not popular as a study in England. In illustration of this I may give you a fact which has come under my notice. For the last two or three years the post of Persian Librarian at the British Museum has remained vacant, because the Trustees cannot get a man with sufficient knowledge of Persian and who at the same time is able to satisfy the other requirements of the Civil Service Commissioners. The abstention on the part of the Imperial Government from granting a sum which the Society might reasonably hope to receive is not creditable to us as a nation. Continental Governments give valuable help to such Societies in their respective countries. During the last few days, however, a step in the right direction has been taken. Recent events in the Far East have taught the War Office

that the encouragement of the study of Chinese and Japanese is most advisable. These two languages are now optional subjects for the Staff College. This example ought to be followed by other Departments. The Foreign Office, for example, might make Oriental languages optional at the preliminary examinations for Consular appointments in Asia. A great impulse would thus be given to the study of Oriental languages and literature; to foster and stimulate which knowledge is the aim of our Society. I beg to second the adoption of the Report.

Lord Reay: Before putting the adoption of the Report I will make only a few observations after the interesting speeches of Sir Raymond West and Sir Robert Douglas. It is my duty to allude to a few of the members whom the Society has lost during the past year. To Mrs. Beer, whose death we have to record, we owe the portrait of Rénan which hangs in our rooms. The memory of another member of the Society, whom I had the pleasure of knowing in Bombay and whose work I admired—I mean Sir James Campbell, editor of the *Gazetteer of Bombay*,—will be always held in honour. I must also refer to the late Lord Stanley of Alderley. Lord Stanley belonged to an energetic and intellectual race. His interest in India was real, and his knowledge of the Indian administration was accurate. I hardly ever met him without his putting some question to me about Indian affairs, and in the House of Lords he often raised a debate on some question connected with India. His sole purpose was the welfare of India, and he showed great independence of character. To Professor Strong I have referred on a former occasion. The death of Major-General Forlong we all deeply regret. He has given an example, in remembering in his will the Royal Asiatic Society, which might be widely followed, and the sphere of the Society's activity thereby greatly extended. It is true, as Sir Raymond West remarked, that the Society does not appeal to any popular instinct; at the same time its influence must become ever greater, as the interest of an intelligent public in Oriental affairs goes on increasing.

It is my further duty, in your name, to give the Society's best thanks to our most energetic and able Secretary. There is no doubt that the success of the Journal and of other publications which this Society undertakes is mainly due to the Secretary, who consecrates all his time and his splendid talents to the work. To Miss Hughes also our best thanks are due for the admirable manner in which she seconds the efforts of Professor Rhys Davids. Many members of the Society are indebted to her for efficient assistance in their research work. I must also congratulate Dr. Codrington for his valuable addition to Oriental literature.

We have, in association with the India Office, been able to initiate the publication of a series of valuable records. I attach special importance to the fact that in this way the India Office recognises that the Society is the proper channel for the publication of such works.

Within the last year arrangements have been made by the University of London for courses of study in Oriental subjects for internal students. The University has set a worthy example in providing for the systematic study of Oriental subjects. In future its B.A. and M.A. degrees will be within reach of those students who wish to confine their attention to the study of Oriental languages and literature. This will be a great advantage, and will take away the validity of the excuse that students were unable to specialise in Oriental subjects. I also trust that when this curriculum becomes known in India a greater number of students will be attracted to the lectures. The Professors appointed to deliver the lectures are men in the front rank of Orientalists. There has never been any difficulty with regard to teaching; the trouble has been the scarcity of students.

I agree with Sir Raymond West and Sir Robert Douglas that the Government can undoubtedly give a greater stimulus to the study of Oriental languages, as is now done in the recognition by the Staff College of the value of Chinese and Japanese. The Foreign Office might well make the appointment to the Consular Service in the East dependent upon attendance at these lectures. Their importance will be

more fully recognised when it is realised that students from India go to the University of Tokio for the training they require. I do not grudge Japan the University of Tokio, but we should all sincerely regret if the stream of students went East instead of West.

Oriental studies ought to receive a great impulse from the events in the Far East which are at present attracting so much attention. The development of Japan and the part she will claim in the future development of the East are facts of singular importance at the present time, all the results of which we cannot yet foresee. I take it for granted that it imposes on the rulers of our great Empire the special responsibility of taking care that they are represented in the East by those who have been able to avail themselves here of a complete equipment for their duties. Every day the duties of our representatives in the East become more arduous, more delicate, and more varied. I believe that this Society, with the slender means at its disposal, may look back with satisfaction on the work it has accomplished during past years. It depends for support entirely on those who realise the importance of its work in furthering the study of Orientalism. We trust that our members, each in his own sphere, will do all in their power to increase the efficiency and usefulness of the Society. I put the adoption of the Report.

The Report was adopted unanimously, and after an interval for tea the company again assembled for the presentation to Mr. W. N. Ewer, of Merchant Taylors' School, of the Society's Public School Gold Medal. The presentation was made by Mr. W. St. John Brodrick, Secretary of State for India, and the proceedings commenced with some introductory remarks by the President.

Lord Reay: It is my pleasant duty to welcome the Secretary of State to the Royal Asiatic Society. The Society is in close touch with the India Office, as the Secretary of State knows.

We are assembled for a ceremony of a very pleasant nature: the presentation of the medal instituted by some

Indian Chiefs of the Presidency of Madras. To them our thanks are due and are cordially given. To Mr. A. N. Wollaston also, one of the oldest civil servants and one of the oldest members of our Society, we tender our thanks for arranging the competition for the medal.

With regard to the study of Indian history, I need not go into details to show how vastly important it is to boys of Public Schools and undergraduates at the Universities. The study of English history exclusive of Indian history is hardly possible. They are intimately connected. England's influence on India and India's reflex influence on England are so great that to start a man on any career in the public service in England, without a knowledge of Indian history, is to expose ourselves to ridicule among civilised nations. Until recently no country in the world neglected the study of history more than England has done. I am happy to say that recently there has been a wide awakening throughout the country to the fact of the responsibility laid upon us to redeem our reputation as educationalists, and to make the study of history compulsory in elementary schools. I am glad that before I left my office on the School Board that reproach had been removed from the London elementary schools. This fact increases the responsibility of those schools which lead in education and where the governing classes are educated. The study of history should not be optional, but compulsory. The Royal Asiatic Society wishes to emphasise its interest in the study of Indian history by giving the Public Schools Medal. The Headmasters of the schools have thoroughly entered into the spirit of the competition. I thank them for the facilities they have given to the boys to prepare for this competition. The jury who have had to judge of the merits of the essays sent in consider them most creditable. The competition has been severe, and our heartiest cotigratulations are due to the school and to the boy who has won the medal. I am very pleased that the medal goes to a London school—a school founded by one of the great City Companies, which has ever taken a great interest in education and shown a progressive

spirit. In asking Mr. Brodrick to hand the medal to the winner, I wish to couple our congratulations to the boy with congratulations to the school and the Headmaster.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA: Lord Reay, ladies, and gentlemen, — Before handing to the successful competitor the medal which I have been asked to present, I should like to say a few words. It has given me great pleasure to accept the invitation which Lord Reay was kind enough to convey to me. All who labour in connection with India are aware of Lord Reay's five years of devoted service in Bombay; his memory will not be forgotten, and his name will ever be held in high honour among the distinguished men who have preceded and followed him in India.

A good deal has been said with regard to the object of the competition for this medal. It came home to my heart and experience when I noticed in the printed statement sent to me that the desire was to interest future citizens, at an impressionable age, in the past, present, and future history of England's greatest Dependency. This is most laudable and most necessary. I must express my astonishment that those who go through an English Public School career learn so little of India and the Colonies. There are two subjects on which Public School boys are usually entirely ignorant after five or six years spent at school. The first is the study of the politics of the era immediately preceding their own. They may study the Napoleonic era—that is ancient history — but they must beware of knowing anything of the era of their fathers or grandfathers, lest they should be exposed to the influence of a political creed at variance with the traditions in which they have been brought up. So it comes about that there is a total ignorance of the political history of the preceding age. A similar fear lest they should be drawn into exaggerated imperialistic sentiments, I think, keeps them ignorant of Indian and Colonial subjects. After seven years at a public school which shall be nameless, if I had been asked, either as a holiday task or as a pleasant recreation, to write an essay on the Emperor

Akbar, I should have regarded it as a brilliant oasis in the barren desert of Public School education. Whatever be the trend of the position of the India Office, without going to the extreme limit of one not least distinguished ruler, who declares that the pivot of the British Empire is in Asia, we must all agree that the pivot of British action is very often controlled to a great extent by questions relating to Asia. Having this in view, is it possible that those who will carry on England's work of ruling several millions of our Indian subjects by a small body of Europeans can have their interest too much aroused in the past, present, and future of India?

I must congratulate the Society on the subject of the essay for competition. What figure in the ancient or modern drama which it is the privilege of historians to portray to us is more interesting than that of the founder of the Mogul dynasty? In Akbar we have a man who was not only great as a conqueror, but was still greater as an administrator of the lands he conquered. These are traits common to very few great rulers. Of the Emperor Napoleon it may be said that he was a great conqueror, and the Code Napoleon showed that he had administrative power, and the Code will last as long as the memory of any of his victories; but it cannot be said that Napoleon showed any great powers in the pacification of the countries he conquered.

I have had the advantage of reading the prize essay, and I heartily congratulate the author on his skill in bringing out the leading principles and features which made a man, who was so strong and of so great a personality in carrying out his conquests, so conciliatory and tactful in bringing under his rule men entirely differing from him in religious creed, in nationality, and in those habits the appreciation of which forms so large a part of the work of an Indian administrator. The Emperor Akbar seems to have discovered three centuries ago the secrets of rule which we are so laboriously putting into practice to-day. Most great rulers have striven to centralise power. I must confess that I am struck with the ruler of three centuries ago who strove to

decentralise power, giving power to those whom he trusted, although they were not of his own religion or nationality. He exercised, too, a degree of religious toleration which would be remarkable now, and was still more so at a time when Europeans were burning each other at the stake for small differences of religious belief. Akbar showed in many ways the power of adopting the highest arts of statesmanship. He utilised matrimonial alliances for bringing under his sway those furthest removed in a way which is denied to his successors under the present rule. Regarded from the point of view of peace, is it not remarkable that, three hundred years ago, he was anxious to prohibit child-murder; he permitted the remarriage of widows; he stopped extortion in the collection of taxes—a method which obtained in Europe then, and, in some parts, obtains even to-day; and he arrived at a practical idea for old age pensions in an era when there were no general elections. Equally remarkable was he in war. He put an end to the practice of selling women and children into slavery for the offences of their fathers, husbands, and brothers; he paid his troops, and therefore prohibited plunder—in this he was an example for modern rulers. In peace and war he exemplified his own proverb: "There is good in every creed; adopt the good; discard the remainder." It is the spirit of broad toleration of the Mogul ruler by which, in the main and with certain variations, the present contentment of India alone is secured. There have been great advances, and we have enjoyed special advantages. We must all have been impressed by the success of the despotic ruler, who was obliged to consult no parliament, no official, whose every command was promptly carried out, who had the whole population in his power both for taxation and for war. We could not do better than take Akbar as an example. Yet his sovereignty was brief. His successors did not know how to profit by the example he had afforded them; they caught no inspiration from him. History ought not to be looked at through a magnifying-glass which emphasises all that is near into enormous bulk; it should rather be

regarded through the small end of the telescope if we wish to judge of the effect of actions. It is the studied moderation, the persistence in well-doing of which we are proud, that has enabled England to avoid the mistakes which have given other nations continued trouble in Asia. It is a fine ambition for the younger generation to strive to follow in the footsteps of those who have administered India with so much credit.

Once more, I must refer to the excellence of the prize essay. The writer has fully grasped the principles which guided a man, whose education must have been defective and whose mind ought to have been narrow, into a noble policy of broad statesmanship. I am sure that the Society, in establishing the medal, have taken a most wise step in thus stimulating and encouraging research which will be profitable to those students who undertake it, and to us who congratulate the recipient of the medal on the distinguished honour he has won.

THE HEADMASTER OF MERCHANT TAYLORS' SCHOOL (the Rev. J. Arbuthnot Nairn): I am very glad to have an opportunity of expressing my thanks for the kind way in which the school has been referred to, and also of stating that although the Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company is unable to be present, we have here this afternoon a Warden and the Clerk of the Company.

I may, perhaps, be excused a certain natural exultation as Headmaster of the school which has produced the first winner of the medal. But let us endeavour to take a wider view of the situation. We are here to inaugurate a scheme which owes so much to Mr. Wollaston, and which, to quote *The Times* of November 3rd, 1902, was started with the object of interesting Public School boys in our Indian dominions. Not many years ago such a scheme as this was scarcely so necessary as it is to-day. Boys could pass direct into the Indian Civil Service, so their interest in India and her affairs was automatically maintained. Changes have, however, taken place; the age limit has been raised, and a large majority of candidates are now University men.

Hence it is necessary, as it is certainly most desirable, to imbue boys at an impressionable age with the importance of the dominions which give to our King the proud title of Emperor of India.

The scheme of the Society appears to me to be excellent, and the subject of the first competition no less excellent. After what Mr. Brodrick has so eloquently said, it is not necessary for me to enlarge upon and explain the lessons of Akbar's life. Yet one point has particularly impressed me on looking over the annals of his period, and that is that he was the one of all the native rulers of India who most approximated in his methods to our countrymen. A contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, he made a compact kingdom out of discordant elements, partly by his strong arm, but chiefly by conciliatory methods, by wise measures for the benefit of the people who owned his sway, and by his interest in the language, literature, and religion of the Hindus, though he was himself a Muhammedan. I will not dwell upon a comparison of Akbar's methods with our own, but it would be a fruitful subject for discussion. I congratulate the Council for having chosen Akbar as the subject wherewith to launch the scheme.

I may perhaps be pardoned for referring to the fact that Robert Lord Clive was at Merchant Taylors' School from 1737 to 1739. There is no reference to this in Macaulay's well-known essay, but Macaulay was no lover of Public Schools. It was at Merchant Taylors' that Lord Clive learned enough Latin to translate Horace "into very proper English *extempore*." His victory at Plassey laid the foundation of our Indian Empire, which was afterwards, during Clive's second governorship (1765–1767), strengthened and confirmed by the principles of equity and incorruptibility which are the chief glory of English rule in India. Since that time great vicissitudes have had to be faced, and England has made great sacrifices; in particular she has given up year by year many able administrators to carry on the government of her great Dependency. And in that work Merchant Taylors' has not failed to play

a suitable part in different fields of activity. I would refer to two eminent men connected with India at the present time who have been at Merchant Taylors'—I mean Sir Philip Hutchins, K.C.S.I., and the Bishop of Calcutta.

The history of British rule in India is eminently a fit subject for English boys to study. England need have no fear of their judgment, stern and severe as it always is, towards injustice and hypocrisy, for she believes that she has used her power in India well and wisely. It is therefore with all the greater confidence that I congratulate Mr. Wollaston, his coadjutors, and the Royal Asiatic Society, on the successful inauguration of a scheme at once prudent, far-seeing, and likely to prove more and more fruitful of good with every succeeding year.

Lord Reay: I have now sincere pleasure in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Brodrick. I have welcomed him as Secretary of State and as an old friend. No one, I am sure, would have been more pleased to see him here than my dear friend, his uncle, the late Warden of Merton, who during his lifetime was a constant student of history.

I quite agree with the Secretary of State that it is a great pity that statesmen are not taught the history of their immediate predecessors. It would be of real advantage to them. I congratulate Mr. Brodrick that he has in his Council at the present moment a distinguished member of the Bombay Civil Service, whose recent contribution to our knowledge of Indian history has vindicated the memory of a distinguished Scotsman, Lord Dalhousie. This work shows the treasures still to be found in the ancient records of India; as long as members of the Civil Service turn their thoughts in that direction, they may be sure of a rich harvest.

Mr. Brodrick, in replying to the vote of thanks, said: I wish to express my appreciation and thanks for the very kind remarks which Lord Reay has addressed to me personally. Fortunately the meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society was fixed to coincide with the discussion of the Licensing Bill at Westminster. An agreeable opportunity was afforded to those whose presence was not an absolute

necessity and duty at the House of Commons to enjoy the pleasure of attending other functions. I have only, as yet, seen a review of Sir William Lee-Warner's work, but I have seen enough to know that it is unprejudiced. The Madras Presidency, in providing means for the Public Schools' competition, will perhaps further other similar works to the history of Lord Dalhousie. I am quite amazed when I notice how Scotsmen usurp so many important posts in the Empire! I must again highly congratulate the Headmaster and the able pupil of Merchant Taylors' School on the success that has been won. Lord Reay expressed his pleasure that the prize had fallen to a London school; I cannot help regretting that Eton did not come out on the top. At the Jubilee dinner of Old Etonians, held in 1887, we received many telegrams from Old Etonians then serving in India; they included the Governor-General, the Governors of Madras, Bombay, and the Panjab, also the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Roberts. I hope the laurels of this excellent competition will next year go to Eton.

June 14*th*, 1904.—Lord Reay, President, in the Chair.

Mrs. Steele,
Sir James Walker, C.I.E., and
Mr. Mirza Jalal-uddin

were elected members of the Society.

Mr. R. Sewell read a paper on "Roman Coins found in India." A discussion followed, in which Colonel Plunkett, Sir Raymond West, Mr. Kennedy, and Syed Ali Bilgrami took part. The paper will appear in the October number.

OBITUARY NOTICES.

MAJOR-GENERAL FORLONG, M.R.A.S.

THE death of Major-General Forlong, at his home in Edinburgh, on March 29th, 1904, was the peaceful close of a strenuous, happy, and successful life, both as a man of action and as a scholar. He was the third son of the late William Forlong, of Erines. His mother was the eldest daughter of Lieut.-General Gordon Cumming Skene, of Parkhill, Pitlurg, and Dyce, in Aberdeenshire. He was born at Springhall on November 6th, 1824. A short autobiographical note, prepared in April, 1889, gives the main facts of his career as follows:—

"James George Roche Forlong, H.B.M. Army, born Lanarkshire, Scotland, November, 1824. Educated as an Engineer in England and Scotland; joined the Indian Army 1843; fought in the South Mahrāta campaign, Bombay Presidency, 1845-6. Appointed to the Engineering Staff of the Army, Madras Presidency, 1847; and in 1852 to the Engineer Staff of the "Army of Ava," serving throughout the second Burmese war. On the annexation of the country, became the head of the Survey Road and Canal Branches, P.W.D. In 1858-9 travelled extensively throughout Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Greece, Italy, Spain, etc. End of 1859 appointed a Special Commissioner, and Inspector-General of Prisons, to enquire into the employment of convicts on public works, and to establish large prisons on Andaman Islands and adjacent coasts of Burmah. In 1861-2 appointed Superintending Engineer, Presidency Circle, Calcutta. In 1863 Superintending Engineer, Upper Bengal, Darjeeling, etc. In 1864-7 the same in North-West Provinces and Native States. In 1868-71 the same, and Secretary to the Government of Rājputāna, embracing all the

great Native States of Western India. In 1872–6 appointed Secretary and Chief Engineer to the Government of Oudh. In 1877 retired, after active service of 33 years, during which he frequently received the thanks of the Indian and Home Governments. Has long been a writer in many periodicals of the East and West — always on matters concerning religions, archæology, and philology. A great student of Eastern rites, symbols, customs, and languages, of which he has studied seven—Aryan, Turanian, and Semitic, being able to converse freely in four. Was an active Evangelical in his youth, preaching to the natives in their own tongue. Shortly after retiring from active service he brought out a large work, in two beautifully illustrated quarto volumes, called 'Rivers of Life,' the matter of which he had been collecting and considering for many years in the East. It is to show the evolution of all religions from their radical objective bases up to the present spiritualised developments; and this is much helped by a large and elaborate chart of the quasi 'rivers,' showing, by streams of colours, the modes of thought, with accompanying symbols and rites, chronologically and historically, from 10,000 B.C. to the present time."

In this very modest account of his life there is no mention of the arduous character of some of his duties, which, however, are not forgotten by Indian historians. He received the Burmese medal and clasp in 1852; and immediately afterwards distinguished himself by a work which showed, not only his energy and ability, but also the influence he could exert over Orientals, as the following extracts will serve to show:—

"No sooner had Pegu become a British province than Lord Dalhousie saw the necessity of connecting it with Bengal by a military road, thus to obviate the objections of the Sepoys to the sea. A road was constructed from Dacca to Arracan, but not without a great sacrifice of life and money. To pass from Arracan to Pegu it was necessary to cross the Yoma range, through the Toungoo pass, which presented such formidable obstacles to the engineer that the construction of the road appeared, at first, an impracticable undertaking. The mountains were lofty; the forest was dense; water was scarce, and labour still more so; and the climate was so pestiferous as to reduce the working season to five months in the year. It was entrusted to Lieut. Forlong, who

succeeded in collecting, embodying, and training a brigade of Burmese labourers; and by his untiring zeal and energy he completed the enterprize in two years."—Marshman's "History of India," vol. iii, p. 436.

The appointment was due to the Governor-General himself, as appears from his biography.

"Again Phayre proposes the name of an engineer for the work of constructing the important road over the mountains from Arakan to the Irrawady. But the Governor-General prefers to entrust this work to another officer, and the Commissioner at once agrees that Forlong is the best selection, explaining that he had not been aware that his services were available."—Warner's "Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie," vol. ii, p. 12.

The following is from p. 15 of the same work:—

"The invincible objection of some native regiments to a passage by sea induced the Governor-General to connect Pegu, by land, with Bengal. For this purpose he at once ordered the construction of a road from Dacca to Akyab, passing through a most pestilent tract and a number of river estuaries. For the transit of the rivers iron ferry-boats were provided, and from Akyab to Ramree an inland creek was made use of. Thence, by the energy of Lieutenant Forlong, a road was carried 157 miles over the Arakan mountains, by the Toungoo pass to Prome, and continued to Meadag, along the eastern bank of the Irrawady. The highest elevation crossed was 3,000 feet, and the gradient nowhere exceeded 3 feet in an hundred. The density of the forest, through which 150 elephants had with immense difficulty forced a way in the expedition of 1852, and the extreme unhealthiness of the climate, which limited the working season to five months in the year, were only one part of the obstacles encountered. Water was scarce, and there were no labourers to be obtained except the Burmese, impatient of steady toil, and afraid to commit themselves to our service. Shelter and water had to be supplied along the route; but, although the road was not actually commenced until December, 1853, the Arakan battalion was able to march along it, from Prome to the sea, with all its baggage and followers, in the Spring of 1856."

The estimation in which General Forlong was held, on account of his high personal character, is best illustrated

perhaps by the words of the Rev. Dr. Glasse, of Greyfriars' Church, Edinburgh, on the occasion of the funeral, by cremation, at the Western Necropolis, Glasgow, on 1st April, 1904:—

"He had not only a successful but a brilliant career in his profession, and surrendered it at a comparatively early age to devote himself to the service of truth. The last years of his long life were spent in earnest labour in connection with religious studies, and the result was given to the world in his 'Rivers of Life.' It is a monument of industry. He spared no effort or expense on it. The literature of the world was laid under contribution for arguments and illustrations. It was difficult to work such a huge mass of diversified knowledge into graceful form; but it is a wonderful example of persevering research and faithful exposition. There was no doubt as to the reality of the main contention. 'Short Studies in the Science of Comparative Religions' is more mature; and indicates, not only multifarious reading, but comprehensive thinking. It is a valuable quarry to the student, and might furnish suggestions, as well as information, for many a popular treatise on similar subjects. There may be controversy over his writings; but there will be only one opinion among his friends and acquaintances as to the excellence of his personal qualities. He was one of the best of men. I shall ever remember him as courteous and honourable, kindly and unaffected, intensely earnest and yet eminently reasonable. He was singularly pleasant in discussion. So far from being aggressive, he was always willing, with reference even to his strongest positions, to consider criticism; and by his deferential bearing did much to commend his ideas. One felt that he was willing to sacrifice himself. Difference of opinion thus only revealed his virtues and deepened our respect. He appeared to advantage in every department of life, whether as a citizen, a soldier, or a thinker."

In 1863 General Forlong married the eldest daughter of Major Montague Perreau, of his old regiment (1st Madras N.I.), and enjoyed forty years of perfect domestic happiness, through the care of a devoted wife of intellectually congenial character.

From the preceding statements it will be seen that General Forlong, when he undertook to present to students a work on Asiatic religions and superstitions, possessed

unusual qualifications for such a task. He was not merely a bookworm, writing the "History of Human Error." He spoke of countries and customs as to which he had already gained intimate personal knowledge before he began to write. Not only in Burmah or in India did he study such questions on the spot, by aid of constant intercourse with the Asiatic custodians of traditions, but he knew also the homes of other faiths, in Palestine, Greece, and Italy. He held long talks with Gurus in Burmese forests, and he visited the remote west of Ireland to study on the ground its prehistoric monuments. In his library were to be found, not only ancient works, like those of Bryant and Monfaucon on mythology, but also the latest dictionaries and books of reference, the Transactions of all the leading learned societies, and such works as the long series of "Sacred Books of the East." He also followed with the keenest interest the progress of exploration and research, in Asia especially. His shelves contained all the leading works of travellers in the East. He was familiar with questions of Assyriology and Egyptology; and one of his latest studies was devoted to the great discovery of the Laws of Hammurabi, found at Susa. But his strength lay especially in his knowledge of Indian religions, not only those of Vedas, Puranas, and Sutras, but especially the folklore of the peasant, and the early superstitions often only orally preserved, which cannot be studied save by those who are able to gain the confidence of Asiatics. He read Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, besides speaking the languages most useful in India; and he understood the philosophy of Greece, as well as that of Buddhists, Confucians, and Taoists.

But it was by the mild and compassionate figure of the Buddha that he was chiefly attracted, in a country where so many warring faiths are to be studied—"Right thought; Right words; Right deeds": the narrow path of the Bikshu. From these he learned that there are fair humanities and deep truths to be recognised beyond the pale of Christianity. It was not his object to attack the Bible; and no man ever fulfilled the duties which Christians

confess more fully or more constantly than did General Forlong. When he first wrote, the things he said were often strange to British thought at home, though familiar to those who had been in the East. He was a pioneer in 1880, and he said many things very unacceptable to the general public. To-day, when we consider the writings of Dr. Cheyne, or of Mr. Frazer in his "Golden Bough," we see that, not only German antiquaries, but scholars in our own Universities have come round, in many respects, to the views which had been expressed in General Forlong's book some twenty years before.

These views were published in two large works; and the author has left ready for publication a third work, representing twenty-five years of research, which is to be shortly published, and which contains even more valuable materials than those to be found in his "Rivers of Life"[1] and "Short Studies."[2]

A few points in which General Forlong's studies were most original and valuable may finally be noted. India is the home of the curious phallic symbolism, as to which so much has been written that is based only on theory. General Forlong had studied it as it exists still, and the symbolism was fully explained to him by Brahmins. This enabled him to treat with real knowledge questions of comparison with the symbolism of earlier ages, in Babylonia, Greece, Italy, and among rude tribes in Africa, Polynesia, America, and Europe. He did not, as others have done, attribute to a phallic origin every custom and myth. He recognised other elements in early superstition, such as the worship of trees, of sun and planets, of ghosts, of water and fire. The rites and beliefs of the past he was able to understand by the living beliefs of the present, as they are found especially in Asia.

[1] "Rivers of Life: or the Faiths of Mankind in all Lands; showing the Evolution of Faiths, from the rudest symbolisms to the latest spiritual developments." By Major-General J. G. R. Forlong, F.R.G.S., F.R.S.E., M.A.I., A.I.C.E., F.R.H.S., F.R.A.S., etc. Quaritch, 1883. 2 vols. 4to. Illustrated.

[2] "Short Studies in the Science of Comparative Religions: embracing all the Religions of Asia." By the same. Quaritch, 1897. 1 vol. Large 8vo.

Another point of importance was his development of the idea of early Turanian or Mongolic influence on the ancient world. He shows how the civilisation of Aryan and Semitic races was based on that of the Turanians, such as the Akkadians of Chaldea. He maintained both that the Indian Aryans entered the Punjab at a late period of history (about 800 B.C.), and also that they found a large Turanian population and a highly developed Turanian civilisation of primitive character, by which in time they were much influenced. These views, now very commonly accepted, were very new when first he put them forward in print.

To the present writer he was a dear and most kind friend, and an instructor in many Asiatic researches. To scholars he was a benefactor who will be sorely missed. He had the time, the money, the intellect, and the inclination to undertake work otherwise impossible of execution. He will live through his works in the memory of many future leaders of thought; but we shall hardly see his like again.

C. R. CONDER.

(إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَإِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ)

SHAYKH ḤASAN TAWFĪQ.

DIED FRIDAY, JUNE 3, 1904, AGED ABOUT 40.

THE death of Shaykh Ḥasan Tawfíq at Cambridge on the night of Friday, June 3, after a brief illness lasting only three hours, has caused, to all who knew him well enough to appreciate his gentle, amiable, and modest character, and his devotion to learning and a high ideal of the scholar's life and duty, the deepest sorrow; while his loss to his country and ours, and especially to the University of Cambridge, is one which cannot be made good.

Originally a student at the great University of al-Azhar, founded at Cairo nearly a thousand years ago by Jawhar

(an officer in the service of the Fáṭimid Caliphs), and still numbering some nine or ten thousand students from all parts of the Muḥammadan world, he afterwards entered the excellent training-college for *Shaykhs* destined for the profession of teaching, which was formerly known as the *Dáru'l-'Ulúm* ("Abode of Sciences"), but is now more often called the *Madrasatu'l-Mu'allimín an-Náṣiriyya*, or "Náṣiriyya Training-College." Here he pursued his studies for four or five years, and soon after leaving it he was lent by the Egyptian Government to the Orientalisches Seminär at Berlin, where for four or five years more he taught the Arabic language to a number of young German Orientalists, many of whom have since distinguished themselves in diplomatic, consular, and commercial careers. For his services, which were highly appreciated, he was decorated by the German, as he had already been decorated by the Egyptian, Government. On leaving Berlin, he spent some months travelling in other parts of Europe, especially England, and visited all the chief centres of education (including Oxford, Cambridge, Eton, and Harrow) in this country. Apart from the literature of his native tongue, a tongue of which he was justly proud and in the intricacies of which he was deeply versed, education was the subject in which he was most interested, and he returned to Egypt to bestow on his countrymen the best that East and West had given him, the devotion and enthusiasm of the former combined with the scientific method of the latter. For a time after his return he acted as Inspector under the Ministry of Public Instruction, but presently he was established once again as Professor of Pedagogy and Arabic Literature and Composition in the training-college where he had formerly been a student.

Here it was that the writer made his acquaintance in the early part of last year. A new scheme was under consideration for the training at the English Universities of a limited number of young Englishmen selected by the Government of Egypt for service in that country and in the Súdán. This scheme necessarily involved the appointment at Cambridge

(where the experiment was first tried) of a Shaykh who, by virtue alike of his learning and his character, should command the respect of his colleagues and pupils. Careful enquiries proved beyond all doubt that the late Shaykh Hasan Tawfíq was the man of all others for the end in view; but his services could not easily be dispensed with by the Egyptian Ministry of Public Instruction, and only after many urgent appeals was he at length lent, primarily for a period of two years, to the University, where he arrived on October 10 of last year. The eight candidates selected in the previous July, conditionally on their passing a test in Arabic at the end of their year's probation, had already in most cases begun their Arabic studies: soon all of them were amongst the late Shaykh's pupils, and, under his careful and tactful instruction, they began to make extraordinarily rapid progress. By the end of last year the total number of his pupils had risen to eighteen or nineteen, the teaching was perfectly organized, and the late Shaykh had been officially appointed University Lecturer in Arabic. Thanks to his enthusiasm, devotion, learning, and method, a school of Arabic studies had been created at Cambridge the like of which had never before existed in this country; and, in response to a further appeal to the Egyptian Government, the period for which he was lent to the University was extended to five years.

The examination of the selected candidates, which was to prove the reality and extent of the knowledge of the Arabic language which they had obtained during their year of probation, was fixed to begin on Tuesday, May 31, and to conclude with the oral examination on Friday, June 3, at midday. On the evening of Monday, May 30, the late Shaykh met his pupils, and in a short address in Arabic, simple and clear enough to be followed by all present, revealed the high and patriotic motives which had induced him to leave his country to take up this work in England. He desired, he said, a better understanding and a greater sympathy between his countrymen and the English administrators of his country, an understanding and sympathy

which only a thorough knowledge of, and feeling for, the Arabic language, could bring about. He saw in the new departure which he had helped to inaugurate a great promise for the future; young Englishmen, carefully chosen for their high intellectual and moral qualities, going out with a sympathetic understanding and knowledge of the language and literature of the people entrusted to their care, and with a comprehension of the great part played by the Arabs and Arabic-speaking peoples in the history and civilisation of the world. Then at the close of his speech he recited the following *qaṣida* which he had composed for the occasion :—

قصيدة

ألقاها حسن توفيق على طلبة اللغة العربيّة

فى احتفال أقاموه فى ٣٠ مايو سنة ١٩٠٤

فى كمبردج ،

ذَهَبَ ٱلْخَفَاءُ فَلَا تَسَلْ عَمَّا جَرَى ، وَ ٱنْهَضْ و هَنِّئْ مِصْرَ مَعْ إِنْجِلْتَرَا ،

فَٱلْيَوْمَ قَدْ بَدَتِ ٱلْحَقِيقَةُ بَعْدَ مَا ، بِٱلْأَمْسِ كَانَ ٱلْأَمْرُ أَحْلَامَ ٱلْكَرَى ،

وَ تَوَاصَلَ ٱلنِّيلُ ٱلسَّعِيدَةُ أَرْضُهُ ، بِٱلْتِئَامِ وَ ٱسْتَوْلَى ٱلْوِفَاقُ وَ كَبَّرَا ،

يَا أَيُّهَا ٱلشُّبَّانُ قَبْلَكُمُ مَضَى ، قَوْمٌ يَعُدُّونَ ٱلتَّعَارُفَ مُنْكَرَا ،

فَتَنَاكَرَ ٱلْقَوْمَانِ وَ ٱسْتَوْلَى ٱلْجَفَا ، إِذْ لَا لِسَانَ يُبِينُ مَا قَدْ أَضْمَرَا ،

كَيْفَ ٱلْوِفَاقُ يَكُونُ بَيْنَ عَشِيرَةٍ ، خَرْسَاءَ لَا تُبْدِى وَ أُخْرَى لَا تَرَى ،

وَ ٱلْآنَ قَدْ أَدْرَكْتُمُو وَ عَرَفْتُمُ ، هٰذَا ٱللِّسَانَ ٱلْعَذْبَ فَٱنْقَشَعَ ٱلْمِرَا ،

وَ عَلِمْتُمُو أَخْلَاقَ مِصْرَ وَ إِنَّكُمْ ، سَتَرَوْنَ لُطْفًا كَٱلنَّسِيمِ إِذَا سَرَى ،

إِنْ كُنْتُمُو نَفَرًا فَإِنَّ رِجَالَنَا ، فِيكُمْ وَ كُلُّ ٱلصَّيْدِ فِى جَوْفِ ٱلْفَرَا ،

عَهْدِى بِكُمْ أَنْ تُقْشِعُوا سُحُبَ ٱلْجَفَا ، عَنْ أُفْقِ مِصْرَ وَ تُحْكِمُوا تِلْكَ ٱلْعُرَى ،

A Qaṣída

RECITED BY Ḥasan Tawfíq TO THE STUDENTS OF THE Arabic Language AT A Reception HELD BY THEM ON May 30, 1904, AT Cambridge.

"[*The time for*] *concealment hath departed; ask not, then, of what is past, but arise and congratulate both Egypt and England;*

For to-day the truth hath become apparent, after that it was but yesterday like visions of sleep.

The land of the auspicious Nile is joined to the Thames; harmony hath prevailed, and hath cried, 'God is most great!'

O youths, there hath preceded you a people who reckoned geniality an offence;

So the two peoples held aloof, and harshness prevailed, since there was no tongue to declare what was in their minds.

How, indeed, can concord exist between a people which is dumb, unable to express itself, and another which cannot see?

But now ye have understood and known this sweet tongue, and contention is dispelled;

For ye have known the character of Egypt, and surely ye shall meet with kindness, [gentle] as the breeze when it bloweth.

Though ye be but a small number, verily our hopes are fixed on you, for 'all game is included in the Wild Ass.' [1]

I trust in you to dispel the clouds of harshness from the horizon of Egypt, and to make firm these ties [of friendship]!"

The examination ended on Friday, June 3, at midday, and during the greater part of the afternoon the Shaykh was busy, helping to work out the final results, which surpassed our most sanguine expectations, and to draw up the list of successful candidates. At 4.30 p.m. the work

[1] The Wild Ass, *al-Fara*, is regarded by the Arabs, as by the Persians, as the noblest of quarries, on account of its strength, speed, and endurance. The proverb here cited is applied to whatever is the best of its kind.

was finished, and the list signed, the last act of a pen which had rendered such signal services to the Arabic language. Shaykh Ḥasan Tawfíq was then, apparently, in perfect health, and was looking forward eagerly to meeting his pupils again later in the evening for the last time. But the last meeting had already taken place: within two hours he was stricken by a rare and fatal malady (acute hæmorrhagic pancreatitis), which, as it appears, defies alike diagnosis and treatment; and about three hours later the end came with terrible suddenness, ere it was realized that his life was in danger. The best medical aid was obtained, but to no purpose; and he died about 9.30 p.m. surrounded by a few of the many friends he had made during his short year at Cambridge, but far, alas! from any relative or fellow-countryman. At the wish of his parents, between whom and himself the most tender affection subsisted, his body will be interred in Egypt, whither it has been already sent. It was conveyed from Cambridge on the first stage of the last, sad journey on Tuesday, June 7, after a brief funeral service, performed by Mehemmed Rijá'í Efendi, the Imám of the Turkish Embassy, and attended by the co-religionists, pupils, and friends of the deceased, being followed to the station by the Vice-Chancellor and many officers and members of the University.

In meditating on such a loss, on so valuable a life cut off in its prime, and, as it were, in the very hour of achievement, we are irresistibly reminded of Zuhayr's melancholy verse—

رَأَيْتُ ٱلْمَنَايَا خَبْطَ عَشْوَاءَ مَنْ تُصِبْ ‘

تُمِتْهُ وَمَنْ تُخْطِئْ يُعَمَّرْ فَيَهْرَمِ ‘

"I see Death like the blundering of a night-blind camel: whom it smites it slays, and whom it misses lives long and grows old."

Yet we who knew him, and understood the quality of his work and the nature of his ideals, firmly believe that his influence, living and working in those whom he taught and

whose affection and esteem he won, will yet accomplish for his people those things which he hopéd and dreamed, and for which he left his home and died—

بَعِيدٌ مِنَ ٱلْأَوْطَانِ فِي بَلَدٍ وَعْرِ

"Far from his country in a rugged land."

E. G. B.

June 14, 1904.

EDMOND DROUIN.

THE history and Oriental numismatics of the vast period which extends from the foundation of the Bactrian kingdom to the Arab invasions was the subject in which, above all scholars of the present time, Edmond Drouin pre-eminently excelled. Geographically his favourite studies embraced not only Persia and India, but Turkestan, Mongolia, and even Africa and Ethiopia. But few people study the numismatic monuments of the immense Asiatic region which lies between Mesopotamia and China—a region peopled by such diverse races, and whose history is still so little known. For that many reasons can be given. Collections in Europe do not contain many coins from these countries; artistically they do not tempt amateurs; the legends they bear are in different languages, difficult to decipher; the names of the personages found on them are little known, or even unknown, to historians; finally, the geographical classification is far from being as easy as if it had to do with a Greek town or mint place of the middle age, be it in the Moslim or the Musulman model. These points, though in themselves unattractive, nevertheless particularly took the fancy of Edmond Drouin, because his painstaking and penetrating mind loved to study and solve difficulties; to hear him talk of his finds was enough to prove that the delight of a scientific discovery is the greater the more laborious has been the effort to attain it. Edmond Drouin had the qualities of mind and the linguistic preparation which

equipped him for the class of work which he made his speciality, and in which he became a master. He was polyglot, knowing well all the modern scientific languages; he was an Orientalist, reading Arabic and deciphering Pehlvi with great skill, with a capable knowledge of the languages of India, Turkestan, and even Chinese. He required all this knowledge in order to decipher and classify coins from all parts of the East, about which he was consulted by the learned world from all parts of Europe. He rendered eminent service to the Société Asiatique of Paris, of which he was a most active member. He practised for a long time as an avocat, and, working only for his own pleasure and without ambition of any kind, it was only comparatively recently that he published the results of his studies. His first writings go back to 1875. He died after a long illness, regretted by all who knew him, on the 29th January, 1904, at the age of 66.

In 1900 he obtained "Le prix de numismatique Allier de Hauteroche" at the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. In remembrance of this award, which, owing to his modesty, was a great surprise to him, Edmond Drouin himself founded, by his will, a new numismatic prize. This will be known as "Le prix Edmond Drouin," of the value of 1,200 francs. It will be given every four years by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres to a work written in French, either printed or in manuscript, on Oriental Numismatics.

Edmond Drouin was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1888 to two years ago, when he retired owing to ill-health, and an Honorary Member of the Numismatic Society.

Bibliographie des Principales Publications de M. Edmond Drouin.

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Edmond Drouin a donné en outre de nombreuses notices de numismatique orientale insérées dans la chronique de la *Revue*, ainsi que les comptes rendus bibliographiques de la plupart des ouvrages importants de numismatique orientale publiés à l'étranger dans les vingt dernières années.

[*From the* REVUE NUMISMATIQUE, 1904, *Trim.* 1°.]

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

HASTIVANJ.

In Mr. Beveridge's article on Hastivanj in the April number of the Journal, he says:—

> "But if *vanj* be the proper reading, is it necessary to go to an obscure dialect like Western Panjābī for its derivation? *Ch* and *j* are very much alike in Persian, the only difference being in the number of dots. They also are often interchanged."

May I point out that all the dots in the world will not alter the pronunciation of a word used by people that hardly ever read or write, in a locality in which the character used by the few who can read or write is not Persian but Ḍōgrī. The word 'Hastivanj' is in use at the present day, and is the name applied by the local mountaineers to the pass.

The dialect called by Mr. Beveridge "Western Panjābī" is the language of the immediate locality in which Hastivanj is situated. It can hardly be called obscure, as it is spoken by more than three and a quarter millions of people. In that dialect and in Sindhī the root *vanj* is in every-day use over the whole country between the Pīr Pantsāl and Karācī, and means 'to go.' In the censuses of 1891 and 1901 "Western Panjābī" is classed as a distinct language. We have several grammars of it and a dictionary, so that it can hardly be called "obscure," even if we use that word to mean 'little known.' In the census of 1901 it is called "Lahndā."

I should be inclined to derive Abū'l-Faẓl's *watar* from the Kaśmīrī *wat*, 'a road.' In that language the termination *ar* is used to form diminutives (see pp. 33 and 37 of my grammar), so that *watar* could well mean a small road, a pathway. I have not, I must admit, come across this particular form in the course of my reading.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey.

THE MIDDLE COUNTRY.

With reference to the interesting points raised by Professor Rhys Davids in his article on this subject, the following passages are found in Chinese sources:—

(1) Mūlasarvâstivādanikāyâdhikaśatakarma, translated by I-Tsing: "To the east is the country called Puṇḍavardhana, and to the east not far from the town is the sāla-tree called Puṇḍakakṣa; this is the eastern limit, beyond that is called the border-country.

"To the south is the town called Savāravatī" (rest is the same as in the Divyāvadāna).

I-Tsing's note: "The distance between the eastern and western limits is approximately 300 yi (驛), and the distance between the southern and northern limits is 400 yi (驛); from the eastern limit 40 yi (驛) to the south lies Tāmralipti country."

Elsewhere in a note to the same book he states, that according to his experience one yojana is nearly equal to one yi (驛), that is, a little more than 30 li.

(2) As to the identity of Ka-chu-u-gi-lo and Kajangala there can be no doubt. In his note to Ka-chu-u-gi-lo Yuan Chwang states that "it is sometimes called popularly Kajangala."

(3) In the Chinese translations of Dharmaguptavinaya and Sarvâstivādavinaya a different passage in the same connection is found. The latter mentions the five limits, i.e., south, west, north, east, and north-east.

U. WOGIHARA.

2, *Schochstrasse, Strassburg.*

THE "TAPROBANE" OF PLINY AND PTOLEMY.

I have read with much interest Mr. Kennedy's note on "Seres or Cheras?" in the April number of the Journal (pp. 359–362); but I confess that I should have been better pleased if our learned Hon. Treasurer had given his reasons for (apparently) accepting Pliny's story of that extraordinary Taprobanian embassy. If the embassy really came from Ceylon, "it is singular that all the positive geographical statements which Pliny has transmitted to us, on what would appear to be such good authority, are either erroneous or unintelligible" (E. H. Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, ii, p. 422). According to Pliny, in the reign of Claudius (41–54 A.D.) "a freedman of Annius Plocamus, who had farmed from the treasury the Red Sea revenues, while sailing around Arabia was carried away by gales of wind from the north beyond Carmania. In the course of fifteen days he had been wafted to Hippuri, a port of Taprobané, where he was humanely received and hospitably entertained by the king," etc. (M'Crindle's *Ancient India*, pp. 103–4). The mention of Carmania need not, of course, lead us to infer that the freedman implied that the northern gales carried him from the coast of Arabia to that of Kermān, which would be impossible; he simply meant that he was blown across the Indian Ocean in a south-easterly direction. In fifteen days (from where?) he was wafted to "Hippuri, a port of Taprobané." Now, where was this "port"? M'Crindle, blindly copying from Bunbury, says: "Hippuri or Hippuros has been identified with a port called

Kudremale, the name of which has the same meaning (horse-tails) in Sanskrit." Of course, "Kudremale" has no such meaning in Sanskrit, nor, indeed, in any other language, so far as I know. As a matter of fact, Kuthireimalei, which is the name of a point on the north-west coast of Ceylon, means, in *Tamil*, 'horse-mountain,' and this was identified by a writer in the *Madras Gazette* of 16th September, 1830, with Pliny's Hippuros (*scil.* Hipporos). Tennent, Yule, and others have accepted this identification, but it fails to carry conviction to my mind. In the first place, Kuthireimalei is not a port, but a headland; and, secondly, I know of no mention of it in any of the histories of Ceylon or by any of the old travellers. (Moreover, travellers in strange countries do not, as a rule, inquire into the meanings of place-names, but attempt to reproduce the *sound* of the names, as heard by them.) But it would seem from Pliny's account that the king of Taprobané had his court in this "port" (the wording is, I admit, doubtful); and that this king dressed "like Father Bacchus; the people like the Arabs." This "king," moreover, was so impressed with the character of the Romans, as exhibited by the fact that the denarii found in the possession of the freedman were all of equal weight, that he despatched the embassy in question, consisting of "four ambassadors, of whom the chief was Rachia." After this last word M'Crindle adds in parentheses "*i.e.*, Rajah." Mr. Kennedy (*u.s.*) says, "a Singhalese embassy . . . , at the head of which was one Rachias—doubtless the Latin for a Rajah." But why should the *j* in *rāja* have been pronounced by the Romans as a guttural; and is there any instance of a rāja's being sent as an ambassador from the East to Europe? Tennent (*Ceylon*, i, p. 556 n.) quotes a suggestion of Casie Chitty's that the person in question was an āracci (a Sinhalese petty officer); but this is almost as objectionable as the other. Tennent's own suggestion, that "Rachia" may represent the proper name Rakkha (see Mahāvaṁsa, chap. 74, v. 50), is more plausible, and might be worthy of consideration were the whole story of this alleged Taprobanian embassy not so utterly incredible. We

know from the Mahāvaṁsa (chap. 35) that at the period mentioned (41–54 A.D.) Ceylon was in a very unsettled condition politically; and the kings had too much to do in keeping their thrones to think of sending embassies to Rome. As to the lake Megisba, the river Cydara, the city Palæsimundus, and the rest of the details furnished by the embassy—well, I should like Mr. Kennedy to explain them!

While Pliny gives us very few names of places in Taprobane, Ptolemy, on the contrary, supplies "a mass of information concerning the island, which surprises us by its copiousness, including not merely a complete *periplus* of its coasts, with the names of the headlands, rivers, and seaport towns, but also the names of many cities and tribes in the interior" (Bunbury, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 603). But, unhappily, the later writer is almost as mystifying as the earlier. To the above-quoted words Bunbury appends the following footnote:—"Colonel Yule justly observes in the notice accompanying his map of India [in Smith's *Atlas of Ancient Geography*, p. 23]: 'The number of names which Ptolemy gives us on this island, including rivers and promontories, promises a facility of identification which is not realized. It seems difficult with such landmarks to go very far astray, yet thoroughly satisfactory identifications are very few.'" One of the absurdest identifications (which Yule adopts in his map of Ceylon) is that of "Orneōn," or "Avium Promontorium," with Point de Galle, the only apparent reason being that *gallo* in Portuguese means a cock! (Of course there is absolutely no connection between Gālla, the Sinhalese name of the port, and *gallo*; and the Portuguese never called the promontory 'Cock's Point,' but invariably 'The Point of Gale.')

Until convinced to the contrary, I shall continue to believe (1) that Pliny's Taprobanian embassy did not come from Ceylon, and (2) that Ptolemy's Taprobane was probably Sumatra.

DONALD FERGUSON.

Croydon.
May 13*th*, 1904.

Centenary of the Bombay Branch.

The Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch, originally instituted under the Presidency of Sir James Mackintosh as the Bombay Literary Society, is preparing to celebrate the centenary of its foundation. The celebration will commence on the 17th January, 1905. Papers will be read by distinguished scholars, the possessions of the Society will be exhibited, and public entertainments will be held. Mr. R. Scott is the Honorary Secretary.

A Fifteenth Century Astrolabe.

Mr. H. S. Cowper, in his paper on "A Fifteenth Century Planispheric Astrolabe, made at Granada," has, on p. 63 of this year's Journal, attempted to fix the date of his astrolabe by a method depending on the precession of the equinoxes. But in his calculations he has omitted to take into account the days dropped in the sixteenth century. The difference between the modern English calendar and the Russian one, which is still based on the old system, is thirteen days. By allowing for this it will be seen that the so-called precession is really a retrograde movement. I have been unable to find out to what extent the method he has adopted is reliable, as the date used may have been purely conventional. But if any reliance may be placed on it, his astrolabe, on which the sun enters Aries on March 14th, must have been constructed previous to Chaucer's in 1391, in which the sun entered Aries on March 12th.

I have attempted to calculate back the dates of several astrolabes, of which the date was shown on an inscription, by noting the date on which the sun entered Aries, but was unable to obtain concordant results, and accordingly feel some hesitation in attempting to give a date to the instrument on these grounds, though it would appear to have been constructed in the thirteenth century. It would be interesting to know if an approximate date can be placed thereabouts on artistic or archæological data, or from the history of Granada at that period.

Of the stars he has been unable to identify, No. 8 would appear *from its position* to be η Ursæ Majoris, and No. 28 ϵ or ζ Hydræ. In an astrolabe made by Hartman of Nuremburg, 1537 (see my article in the *Geographical Journal* for 1904), the star places on the astrolabe differed from those obtained by calculation in many cases by two or three degrees, which lends an uncertainty to this method unless aided by the names.

S. A. Ionides.

I must thank Mr. Ionides for showing that the calculations which I made to ascertain the age of my astrolabe are based on an error. I forgot, as he notes, to take into account the days lost by the reformation of the calendar; and I suppose, according to the present Russian calendar, the sun now enters Aries on the 8th March instead of the 21st. Consequently the instrument must be considerably earlier, instead of later, than that of Chaucer's of 1391. The curious thing is that after I had made my calculation, based thus on an error, not feeling sure of my ground, I sent a communication on the subject, together with my figures, to a well-known astronomer; and he, though on his holiday, courteously answered at once that my date of 1442 was not far wrong, and that he would verify it on his return. This unfortunately he omitted to do.

I do not think this correction will affect much I have said, beyond the actual date I assigned to the instrument. Granada was hemmed in by Christianity even in the thirteenth century. Valencia, Cordova, Seville, and Murcia had all fallen into the hands of Ferdinando III of Castile and Jayme I of Aragon by about 1260, and the Beni-Nasr of Granada were themselves paying tribute to the Christians.

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H. S. Cowper.

BĀṆA'S *Harṣacarita*, v. 18.

Professor Kirste's note in the last number of this Journal (pp. 366–7) encourages me to devote a few more words to this verse. Professor Kielhorn and I have taken

hṛdayasthaiḥ smṛtair api

as forming one clause, with *api* qualifying *smṛtair*, and the latter in antithesis to *hṛdayasthair* ('*though* abiding in the heart, *yet* remembered'). This interpretation was suggested also in the translation of the Harṣacarita, where the note (n. 7) gives as a possible rendering 'which though mentioned abide in my heart.' In the text, however, we adopted 'even when they are only remembered as abiding in my heart,' that is to say, we regarded *api* as qualifying the two words *hṛdayasthaiḥ* and *smṛtair* taken together.

Professor Kirste now proposes to separate *hṛdayasthaiḥ* from *smṛtair api*, and take the latter phrase as antithetical, not to *hṛdayasthaiḥ*, but to *na pravartate*. I cannot say that I am convinced by this, and I feel that a proper weight must be allowed to the passage which I quoted above from the Prabodhacandrodaya. On the other hand, I am glad to see that Professor Kirste does not propose to take *api* with *hṛdayasthaiḥ*, as might be suggested. In any case, by all the rules of the Sanskrit Kāvya, the fact that the achievements survive in Bāṇa's heart must be, not the reason *in spite of* which, but the reason *in virtue of* which, his tongue, being attracted inwards, does not go forward in poetry.

June, 1904. F. W. THOMAS.

THE POSITION OF KAUŚĀMBĪ.

Major Vost's article in the April number of the Journal (pp. 249–267) is naturally welcome to me as the first public acknowledgment that I was right when I contended six years ago (Journal, 1898, p. 503) that Kosam on the Jumna

cannot possibly be the site of the Buddhist city of Kauśāmbī visited by Hiuen-Tsang (Yuan Chwang). Major Vost further agrees with me in holding that the kingdom of Kauśāmbī roughly was equivalent to the modern native state of Rīwā (Rewah), with some adjoining territory. But when he goes on to urge that Gūrgī, twelve miles east of the town of Rīwā, should be accepted as the site of Kauśāmbī, I am unable to agree. The remains at Gūrgī, so far as known, do not go beyond the tenth century A.D., and the position is too far east. The exact position of Kauśāmbī cannot at present be determined, but it should be looked for on an arc distant about ninety miles from Allahabad by road or track in a direction between south and west, and probably in the valley of the Tons river. I cannot undertake to indicate the site more precisely, and hope that somebody with local knowledge may be guided by these hints to discover its exact position.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

MAX MÜLLER MEMORIAL FUND.

On November 14th, 1903, the Executive Committee met at All Souls College to make arrangements for the final disposal of the Fund. The Hon. Treasurer reported that Professor Hubert Herkomer, R.A., Honorary Fellow of All Souls College, and formerly Slade Professor of Art at Oxford, had, as a further contribution to the objects of the Fund, presented a fine portrait, painted by himself, of Professor Max Müller, which had been hung in the Hall of All Souls College. As a personal memorial had been provided by this generous gift, the Committee resolved to offer the whole of the Fund to the University, to be administered by a Board in accordance with the general conditions set forth in the circular quoted above.

This offer was accepted by the University in a Convocation holden on Tuesday, December 8th, 1903, in the form of the following Decree:—

"Whereas a sum of about £2,400 has been raised by subscription, and it is the wish of the subscribers that it shall be applied to the creation of a fund to be held by the University in trust for the promotion of learning and research in all matters relating to the history and archæology, the languages, literatures, and religions of ancient India, the University decrees :—

That the said sum of £2,400 be accepted, and the thanks of the University be given to the subscribers.

That the said sum be applied to the creation of a Fund to be administered under the following Regulations :—

1. The Fund shall be called the 'Max Müller Memorial Fund.'

2. The income of the Fund shall be applied to the promotion of learning and research in all matters relating to the history and archæology, the languages, literatures, and religions of ancient India.

3. The administration of the income of the Fund shall be entrusted to seven persons, who shall be—

The Vice-Chancellor.
The Boden Professor of Sanskrit.
The Laudian Professor of Arabic.
The Warden of All Souls College.
One person to be nominated by the Board of the Faculty of Arts (Oriental Languages).
Two persons to be chosen by co-optation to serve for five years.

4. All the powers of the administrators of the Fund may be exercised by a majority of those present and voting at a meeting duly summoned, provided that four of the administrators at least be present.

5. The accounts of the Fund shall be audited and published in each year with the other University Accounts.

6. The regulations shall be subject to alteration from time to time by Convocation, provided that the object of the Fund as defined in regulation 2 is adhered to."

Subsequently to the Decree a further donation was received from a friend which, together with a small balance in hand, enabled the Committee to bring up the amount of Consols held under the Trust to £2,500, and this amount has accordingly been transferred to the University.

The Siam Society.

Bangkok, May 16th, 1904.

An Oriental Society, called the *Siam Society*, has been recently founded in Bāngkōk, with objects similar to analogous societies in the Far East, in so far as Siām and neighbouring countries are concerned. Although founded as lately as the 26th February of this year by a general meeting of foreign residents, including also a few Siāmese, the Society has already held two ordinary general meetings at which papers have been read and discussed. The Society already counts upwards of 120 members, including most of the chief foreign residents, besides several prominent Siāmese. H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Siām has accepted the honorary office of Patron of the Society, and Prince Damrong, the Minister for the Interior, that of Vice-Patron. A Journal will be issued twice yearly. The Council elected for this year includes Mr. Beckett, British Consul, as President; Colonel Gerini, one of the Vice-Presidents; Dr. Frankfurter as Hon. Secretary.

Pāramitā in Pali and Sanskrit Books.

May I call attention to what seems to me the correct grammatical explanation of the word *pāramitā*, which plays so great a part in the Buddhist writings? This explanation has really been given long ago by Childers in his Pali Dictionary. In spite of that you will not require me to prove by citation that a quite different interpretation is almost exclusively current. This latter interpretation (which prevailed when Buddhist writings were translated into Tibet) regards the word as a compound of *pāram* and *ita* in the sense of 'gone to the further shore' (Tib. *pha . rol . tu . phyin*), and regards it either as originally an adjective agreeing with *prajñā*, etc., or as derived by haplology from **pāramitatā* (see Böhtlingk and Roth's

Lexicon *sub voc.* and reff.). But it is well known that the Buddhist Sanskrit has the word *pāramĭ* in the same sense (see the indexes to Cowell and Neil's Divyāvadāna and M. Senart's Mahāvastu), and the same word is frequent in the Pali books. Instances from the former are—

Mahāv., i, 215, l. 4: rūpapāramigatasya.
ii, 29. 8: lakṣaṇapāramīprāpta.
Divyāv., p. 637, l. 5: mantrāṇāṃ pāramiṃ gata.

Childers' statement (*sub voc.*) is as follows:—"Of these nouns the first is a feminine derivative of *parama*, and the second is *pāramī* + *tā*; they both have the same meaning, but the form *pāramitā* is generally used at the end of a compound."

This seems to me to put the matter in exactly the right light. *Pāramĭ* is an old noun (which may have had a bye-form *paramĭ*) denoting 'the highest point.' From this we get such compounds as *dānapāramĭ*, 'the highest point of liberality.' The possession of this as a quality (perhaps *viâ* a Bahuvrīhi) is *dānapāramitā*. Referring to this in comparison with *śīlapāramitā*, etc., we get the 'six *pāramitās*,' and the uncompounded word is started on an independent career.

I may suggest also that what Childers says under the head of *tathāgata* seems well worthy of attention. Do both this word and *sugata* originally mean merely the 'blest,' i.e. 'departed'?

F. W. Thomas.

June, 1904.

Note on the Invention of Rag-paper.

With reference to my paper on this subject published in the Journal for 1903, p. 663, it may be of interest to mention that Professor Wiesner's Report on Dr. Stein's paper-fragments, referred to in my note 2 on p. 672, has now been published in the *Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der*

Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, vol. cxlviii, No. 6, under the title *Ein neuer Beitrag zur Geschichte des Papieres*. It fully confirms the results of Professor Wiesner's previous investigations, which I have explained in my paper. Only on one point—the history of the method of rendering paper inscribable (*ante*, pp. 677, 678)—has additional light been thrown. Originally all paper appears to have been 'running,' and incapable of taking writing, except with viscid ink. The first attempt to remedy this drawback consisted in giving the paper a coating of gypsum. Then followed the attempt to 'size' or to glue the paper with gelatine made from lichen (*ante*, p. 674, note 1). Next came the impregnation of paper with raw dry starch-flour, apparently first resorted to in Tibet; later on the dry starch-flour was mixed with thin starch-paste, until it was discovered that for the purpose of sizing the sole use of starch-paste was the most suitable. The great majority of the ancient Chinese papers have been made fit for writing in this way, and it seems that every other method was soon abandoned in its favour (see p. 25 of the Report).

There is, however, one point which calls for a remark. The oldest paper in my collection is a Chinese document dated 768 A.D. Among the papers of Dr. Stein's collection there are two Chinese documents, dated 782 and 787 A.D. respectively, found in Dandan Uiliq. Prof. Wiesner appears to believe that the latter collection includes two manuscripts found in Endere, which are older than any of the other three. They are supposed to be referable to the "first half of the eighth century at the latest," and to have been written "probably before 719 A.D.," the date of a Chinese graffito also found in Endere (see pp. 8 and 24 of the Report). In proof Professor Wiesner refers us to Dr. Stein's statements on pp. 418 and 419 of his *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*. The statements, however, hardly bear out his conclusion. In the first place, the date of the graffito is not absolutely certain; it may be 719 or 791, though the earlier date seems to be the more probable. In the second place, according to Dr. Stein, it is "quite certain" that the date

of the graffito precedes the deposition of the manuscripts, that is, that deposition occurred later than 719 A.D., if that be really the correct date. There is nothing to show when the manuscripts were *written*; there is only some vague evidence of the date when they were *deposited*. Dr. Stein considers that the interval between the incision of the graffito and the deposition of the manuscripts cannot have been "many years." But according to his own showing it may have been sixty or seventy years; for at some time between 781 and 791 A.D. the Tibetans would seem to have possessed themselves of the country about Endere. It does not necessarily follow that the abandonment of the Endere shrine coincided with the Tibetan conquest, though it is perhaps very probable. Anyhow the deposition of the two manuscripts—only one of which, by the way, is written in Tibetan characters—must have occurred before the abandonment of the shrine. But for the date of the latter we have for the present no conclusive evidence; it may have occurred as late as 791 A.D. It follows that we really know nothing about the exact date when the manuscripts were deposited, still less about the date when they were written. It may be anything up to 791 A.D., possibly—at least so far as the Tibetan manuscript is concerned — even later. For the present there is nothing that militates against Dr. Stein's view (p. 419 of his book) that "the second half of the eighth century" is the latest possible time for the production of the Tibetan as well as the other manuscripts found in Endere. I say "for the present," because it is possible that we may be furnished with more exact and conclusive evidence regarding the date of the graffito, as well as of the manuscripts of Endere, in Dr. Stein's forthcoming detailed official report.

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

Oxford, 24th June, 1904.

Rock Dwellings at Raineh.

Lord Curzon, in "Persia and the Persian Question," merely mentions Raineh as a place passed on the way from Amol over the main range of the Elburz to Teheran, and the other books I have read are no more enlightening.

Having recently followed this route—it is a mere mule-track—over the Elburz Mountains, and being interested in what I saw at Raineh, I venture to enquire whether any more definite information is available.

To facilitate the acquisition of such, and perhaps to elicit suggestions or explanations, I briefly give the salient details of the rock dwellings. Raineh is close under Demavend, that is, it is the first halting-place after finally rounding that great cone-shaped mountain on the short mule route from Teheran to Amol, Barferush, Meshed-i-ser, and the Caspian coast thereabouts.

The rock dwellings are at a distance of a mile or so from the village on the Barferush road, opposite the place where the track to Dehat ascends the opposite side of the ravine.

What from afar looks like a pigeon-cote in the cliff facing up the valley, proves on closer acquaintance to be a collection of entrances to numerous chambers or cells hollowed in the solid rock. To a height of perhaps sixty feet and for a space of about fifty yards the cliff is literally honeycombed with various shaped openings, the majority square; the entrance to all save the lowest and in some places the centre ones being impossible without a rope or ladder.

The examination I was able to make was necessarily brief; I had a long march to make, and anyone who has had any dealings with the muleteer of Persia will understand that my *charvadar* had some say in the matter; while the account I give here must be of the shortest.

Briefly, the lowest chambers, easy of access, presented no very remarkable features. A square entrance led to a plain oblong room, usually about seven feet high, fifteen long, and eight wide.

Sometimes there were suites of rooms, and in one instance a rough hole in the floor, apparently broken, led to a lower cell, which I was unable to enter.

There were apparently no inscriptions, though in the cells the marks of the chisel were plainly visible in the soft stone of which the cliff was composed. The 'doorways' and 'windows' altogether numbered over fifty, the majority, as I say, inaccessible, while the lower and more accessible rooms had obviously been often visited by natives.

However, with a great deal of difficulty I at last managed to reach a 'door' about thirty feet up the rock by scrambling across the face of the cliff, and here I found in a suite of rooms a collection of débris, apparently long untouched, of the contents of which I made some notes, as also I did of the shape and size of the apartments.

As I have already exceeded my limits, I must now end this short account, merely adding that when I enquired of the intelligent native how old the dwellings were, he informed me that they were *khaile kadim* and *vakht-i-Jamshyd.*

But, then, to the Persian everything "old" was "made by Shah Abbas," and everything "very old" is "time of Jamshyd."

So I appeal for rather more minute information.

E. Crawshay-Williams.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

C. M. Pleyte. Bijdrage tot de Kennis van het Mahāyāna op Java. I, Opmerkingen naar anleiding van Grünwedel's "Mythologie du Buddhisme au Tibet et en Mongolie"; II, Vajrapāṇi als Dharmapāla (Bijdr. tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie). Sér. VI, viii, pp. 362–380, and x, pp. 195–202, 1901–2; with 10 plates.

These articles, so far as I know, have not been noticed in the *Journal*; they deserve much attention, not only because they afford new materials for the iconography of the Buddhism of the Great Vehicle, but also on account of the knowledge and ability displayed by the writer. His larger work, "The Legend of Buddha in the Sculptures of the Temple of Boro-Budur,"[1] has been fully appreciated by M. Barth in the "Bulletins" and by M. Speyer in the "Onze Eeuw."[2]

The title of the first article is somewhat misleading. Mr. C. M. Pleyte proposes in a short, decisive manner new identifications[3] for a large number of stone and bronze Javanese statuettes now in the Royal Museum at Leiden. The so-called Lakṣmī is really a Prajñāpāramitā, the Mahākālī must be named Bhṛkuṭī, and so on; on the other hand, where the old catalogue (not so very old, having been published in 1885) furnishes a vague mention as a *Statuette of Buddha*, we have to admire in one place a Śākyamuni,

[1] Amsterdam, de Bussy, 1901.
[2] ii, pp. 77–95 (1902).
[3] Giving all details and argument for these.

in another a Vairocana, in another an Akṣobhya. The "female Buddhas" are Pāṇḍarās or Locanās. No doubt the standard work of Grünwedel has given the clue to unravel the mysterious characteristics of the Indonesian icones; but one must remember that the publications of Waddell, Foucher, and Grünwedel himself, not to mention older works on the Tibetan Pantheon, were already of great use for such a task.

Mr. Pleyte gives a very interesting account of the visit paid by the Buriat friends of Prince Oukhtomsky to the Javanese Section at the Exposition of Paris: "It was evident that the two Asiatics were in no ways strangers to the iconography of their religion; . . . the [Indonesian] sculptures are intelligible to the actual followers of the Mahāyāna; . . . they may as well have been made in Northern Tibet as in Java." In the description of the sculptures the author gives observations on the 'pose,' according to the technical terms of Waddell's Lamaïsm; as concerns the 'mudrās,' he does not alter the designations proposed by Groeneveldt, "as there is an infinite variety of attitudes of which the specific name is as good as unknown to us" ("van hare namen is nog zo goed als niets bekend"). This last remark is somewhat strange, but I completely agree with Mr. Pleyte that such works as the *Sādhanamālātantra*, "which contains minute and exact descriptions," must be studied with greater care than has been the case hitherto. Mr. F. W. Thomas has published in the *Muséon* exhaustive catalogues of some Tibetan and Sanskrit *Sādhana-garlands*, and it should not be very difficult to find in these rich nomenclatures of the Buddhist deities exact and trustworthy references to the "explicative" Tantras.[1]

The task of the iconographist has been in some cases facilitated by the presence of Javanese inscriptions; for instance, the statue of Vajradhātvīçvarī, the so-called *śaktī* of Vairocana, is inscribed with the word *Verocanā*, the female Vairocana. I wish to make some objection, not to the very

[1] I now hear that M. A. Foucher has found in this work the starting-point of new iconographical inquiries.

clear and interesting exegesis of the beautiful Prajñā-pāramitā-icon (p. 372), but to the definition of this deity as the *śakti* of *Ādibuddha*. I am not sure that there is not some anachronism. At an early date Lassen thought that the name of Ādibuddha occurred on Indo-Scythian coins; but, so far as we know, there is no mention of Ādibuddha in old documents; the data quoted by Hodgson on the Aiśvarikas (or theist Buddhists) and the Svayambhū-purāṇa cannot be said to be old.[1] The idea of an Ādibuddha is very clearly expressed in the Lotus of the Good Law: "From the very beginning (*ādita eva*) I have roused, brought to maturity, the Bodhisattvas to be fit for their Bodhisattva positions,"[2] words which provide the analogy-hunters with a splendid opportunity for comparison with the eternal procession of the Logos; but, although Major Waddell writes that the Anuttarayoga (i.e. the 'feminising' theory and practice of the Yoga schools) has awarded female energy to the primordial Ādibuddha himself, I feel inclined to believe that the Prajñāpāramitā, being, as is well known, the 'spiritual body' (*dharmakāya*) and 'the mother' of all the Tathāgatas, being the incarnate Pratītyasamutpāda (evolution's or origination's law), is a *śakti* by itself without the assistance of a celestial or metaphysical tutor,—the same can be said of Pārvatī;—or rather, if one wants a special Tathāgata as a counterpart to the Prajñā, he must be found in Vairocana, who is by some schools elevated to the dignity of Ādibuddha. Vajradhātvīçvarī, the official wife of Vairocana, the central deity of the *maṇḍalas*, can be etymologically the wife of the mystical Vajradhātu-master, the so-called Vajrasattva. There is something 'male,' or, as Tibetans say, 'fatherlike' (*yab*), in the Vajradhātu; something 'female' or 'motherlike' (*yum*) in the Garbhadhātu.

The second essay, "Vajrapāṇi as Dharmapāla," bears on four compositions—three Javanese, at Leiden, in London (Raffles Collection in the British Museum), at Batavia, and

[1] But, on the contrary, the Nāmasaṃgīti is rather old.

[2] Quoted by Waddell from Kern, "Lotus," pp. xxii–xxv (Lamaism, 126).

one Indian of Buddhagāyā—which, notwithstanding small discrepancies, agree on the whole. The principal figure, an eight-armed divinity, with four concentric heads and a fifth as a diadem with a third eye (which is sometimes an *ūrṇā*), and with the terrific attributes, must be, from Tibetan types, a *Dharmapāla*, or rather a divinity in the *rôle* of a protector of the law.[1] There is round the neck a chaplet of Amitābha figurines.[2] This figure stands in a well-known leg-posture, on the corpses of two personages—divinities, one male, the other female, the attitude of which, in one piece at least, is very 'Tāntric.' It is in itself very interesting to observe that the Javanese icones are in such a way analogous to the so-called Bhairava of Buddhagāyā (according to Rājendralāl, p. 139, pl. xxvi, fig. 2); some chronological data are afforded by this circumstance. But we must admire the perspicacity with which Mr. C. Pleyte attempts the identification of the Dharmapāla and the deities thus trampled on.

There is in the "Tibetische Lebensbeschreibung Çākya-muni's" a curious episode. The future Buddha, having paid visits, before his illumination, to the highest heavens, has intercourse with the Dhyāni-buddhas.[3] By way of pleasure or edification the Tathāgatas display, by magical power, a collection of sixty female deities. Then Maheśvara and his cohort being deluded by their charms, Vajrapāṇi does not hesitate to give orders to the Great God. Maheśvara answers, "Shall I obey your orders? You are nothing but a Yakṣa." Such insolence is, of course, punished. Vajrapāṇi, under his choleric form, presses down on the soil Umā with one foot and the Great God with the other, etc. I believe, with Mr. C. Pleyte, that our sculpture must probably be explained as an illustration of this episode or of episodes of the same sort. There are, indeed, some other legends of battles between Buddhist and Hindu divinities

[1] Tibetan, *yi-dam*. Quite an *iṣṭadevatā*, as everybody chooses his tutelary deity. See Wassilieff, p. 195 (213).

[2] So Mr. C. Pleyte. The photograph is not clear enough for verification.

[3] For a similar account from Chinese sources, see Wassilieff, p. 187 (204).

in Nepal, namely, between the Śaivas and the Tāntrikas. They are too near relatives not to be hostile one to another.[1] But, be the icones illustrations or not of this very performance, it is a good fortune to find so exact a correspondence between written and iconographic documents. Add that the narrative of Schiefner is derived from a book written in 1734 A.D.

As concerns the Yakṣa-nature of Vajrapāṇi, Mr. Pleyte refers to the Lalita, c. vi (to be exact, p. 75, 12[2]), where a relation is established between him and the Guhyakas or Yakṣas; to a *mantra* (quoted by Csoma-Feer, p. 300), "Oṁ Vajrapāṇi Mahāyakṣa Nīlāmbara hūṁ phaṭ"; and to a curious passage of the *Subāhuparipṛcchā*, quoted by Wassilieff (Buddhism, p. 198): "There are Bhikṣus and other people who do not accept the doctrine of the Dhāraṇīs, who ascribe to it a demoniac origin: they believe that Vajrapāṇi himself is of the family of the Yakṣas." It is very useful to bring together such documents as show clearly the hostility between the Tantra-yānists and the followers of the old Vinayas. Certain as is the antiquity of the Tāntric rituals and theories —they are, we may say, older than Śākyamuni—the question remains open at what epoch these superstitions found for the first time literary (?) expression. They were never orthodox, so much is certain.[3]

[1] Śiva is, of course, the fiendish counterpart of Vajrapāṇi; but, for the Yogin, there is no difference to be made between them. See Pañcakrama, vi, 33: *yathā rudras tathā vajrī* . . . (readings confirmed by the Tib. version).

[2] Bibl. Indica.

[3] There is a noteworthy document in the translation of Atīśa's *Bodhipathapradīpa*, by Candra Dās.* Being, as it is, lost in the luxuriant footnotes, I fear that it might have escaped the attention of the reader. The Ācārya, we are told, at the time of his death, said to his pupil, the celebrated Hbrom-ston, "O Kalyāṇamitra, purify your mind by means of the Sūtras. The four classes of Tantras being mixed up together would be dissolved, i.e. discarded as misleading and useless." The exegesis of Candra Dās is mixed up with the text; but it appears that the Ācārya had objections to the fourth class of Tantras; the three first, being necessary to the pūjā and to the ordinary yoga by regulation of the breath, are assured of a relative orthodoxy.

* See Journal of the Buddhist Text Society, i, p. 44.

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

INDIAN MYTHOLOGY ACCORDING TO THE MAHĀBHĀRATA IN OUTLINE. By V. FAUSBÖLL. (Luzac's Oriental Religious Series, vol. i.) pp. xxxii, 206. (London: Luzac & Co., 1903.)

Sanskrit scholars do not require to be told that the most important literary problem still awaiting their solution is the problem of the Mahābhārata. The great epic, the most genial and vigorous, if not the most characteristic, product of the Indian mind, occupying a position midway between the ancient and the classical Sanskrit, and connected on the one hand by certain indications with the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Hopkins' "Epic of India," p. 368), on the other with the Buddhist Sanskrit literature, which in its turn bears lexicographical affinities to the same Brāhmaṇa, forms the centre of an important linguistic development. It constitutes also the great storehouse of ancient mythology and tradition, whereby it becomes the key to much that is obscure in the Vedic books, while its use by the classical writers more than justifies its own confident pretension—

anāśrityedam ākhyānaṃ kathā bhuvi na vidyate |
āhāram anapāśritya śarīrasyeva dhāraṇaṃ ||
idaṃ kavivaraiḥ sarvvair ākhyānam upajīvyate |
udayaprepsubhir bhṛtyair abhijāta iveśvaraḥ ||
(I, ii, 380–1.)

To the study of this really national creation, which during the last decade has elicited so many important works, Professor Fausbøll devoted in 1897 a volume in Danish entitled "Four Studies towards an exposition of the Indian Mythology according to the Mahābhārata," and he has now given to us in the present work a systematic treatise based in part upon the same materials. We may perhaps conclude that in the opinion of the great Pali scholar the time is ripe for bringing the results of the investigations of early Buddhism to bear upon the immense problem of the epic.

Professor Fausbøll's work is wholly expository. After enumerating all the noticeable discussions of early Indian

mythology, he observes that "in order not to be influenced by the opinions and views of others, but to be quite independent," he has, "while writing this book, not made use of any of the treatises mentioned above." He gives us, therefore, an objective picture of the chief mythological conceptions as they appear in the poem itself. It must be admitted that there was room for a manual of this nature, and it will be of great use to students both of the Mahābhārata itself and of all the later poetry. The index is quite satisfactory, though we note a very few omissions (e.g. Skanda).

The arrangement is that of a classification. First we have the heading Asuras, with subdivisions for Daityas, Dānavas, Dasyus, Nāgas, Rāxasas, and Piśācas; then Suras, divided into Ādityas, Apsarases, Aśvins, Lokapālas, Maruts, Pitṛs, Prajāpatis, Ṛbhus, Ṛṣis, Rudras, Sādhyas, Siddhas, Vālakhilyas, Vasus, and Vidyādharas; thirdly Yaxas. Exception may no doubt be taken to this order, but it supplies, especially as drawn out in the very full table of contents, a clear conspectus of the Pandaimonion and Pantheon. Under each heading we find a full account of the beings named, with their legends, attributes, and names, supported by citations, sometimes of considerable length, and in all cases accompanied by renderings, whereby we see the actual working of the myths. It is curious to note what a different impression the śloka produces in four lines instead of two.

There are some particulars in which we are compelled to dissent from the author's views. He infers "that by Asuras the Aborigines of India have been understood" (pp. 41–2); "it is more probable," he holds, "that the word Indra originally has been Indura from indu, a drop" (p. 82); in the sentence *vṛhatvād Viṣṇur ucyate* it seems scarcely correct to see an etymology of *Viṣṇu* from √*vṛh* (p. 107), where probably √*viṣ* is intended. We must also call attention to the somewhat excessive number of misprints in the Sanskrit words, giving the careful reader unexpected shocks.

In spite of these small scruples and defects, we must

cordially thank Professor Fausbøll for giving us in an interesting and comprehensive form the first systematic account of the middle Indian religion. In later times the beings whom the Mahābhārata presents in lifelike characters were swamped by conceptions of a metaphysical order, which reduced most of the minor powers to lay figures for literary use. The Trimūrti, as we learn on the authority of Professor Sörensen (p. xi), does not yet occur at all. More unexpectedly we find that so thoroughly familiar a figure as that of Gaṇeśa is but twice mentioned in the poem (*ibid.*).

Contribution préliminaire à l'étude DE L'ÉCRITURE ET DE LA LANGUE SI-HIA, par M. G. MORISSE, Interprète de la Légation de France à Pékin. Extrait des Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1904.)

The peculiar script to which this scholarly article is devoted was first introduced to the learned world of Europe; as M. Morisse observes, by Mr. Wylie, in a paper published in our own Journal in 1871. It is one of the scripts preserved in the well-known hexaglot Buddhist inscriptions within a sculptured archway of the Great Wall at Chü-Yung-Kuan, near Peking, where it occurs in connection with Devanagari, Tibetan, Bashpa Mongolian, Uigur, and Chinese. The inscriptions from one side of this archway were illustrated in Mr. Wylie's paper, and a reduced facsimile of his impressions of four of the scripts is also to be found in Yule's *Travels of Marco Polo* (vol. i, p. 28). They have since been published *in extenso* in a magnificent album of *Documents de l'époque mongoles des xiiie et xive siècles* by Prince Roland Bonaparte, under the competent editorship of MM. Devéria et Chavannes.

The unknown script was at first supposed, on doubtful Chinese authority, to belong to the Juchen (Niuchih) Tartars, who ruled Northern China in A.D. 1125–1234. But later researches into the works of Chinese epigraphic and numismatic authors have conclusively proved it to be

really the national script of the Tangut kingdom, which flourished in north-western China, under the Chinese name of Si-Hia, with its capital at what is now Ning-hia Fu on the western bank of the Yellow River, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and was finally overthrown by Genghis Khan in the year 1227. Their copper coinage up to the year 1086, of which three varieties are known to us, one being represented by two specimens in the British Museum, was of Chinese type, with inscriptions in the national script; the later issues, down to the fall of the dynasty, were cast with legends in the ordinary Chinese character.

The important walled city of Liang Chou on the main road to Central Asia was added to the new realm in 1002, the year when the second ruler of the Si-Hia dynasty succeeded Li Tê-ming, who is said to have invented the Tangut script. A bilingual stele erected in 1091 beside a pagoda in a Buddhist temple within this city is still standing, and the inscriptions have been reproduced in China as well as in France.

These have hitherto been the only materials for the study of the script. M. Morisse has now secured an important addition to the limited number in the shape of a manuscript version of the *Saddharma puṇḍarîka sûtra*, which was translated by Burnouf from the Sanskrit text into French under the title of *Lotus de la Bonne Loi* in the middle of the last century. Three volumes of the Tangut text are in his possession bound in flowered silk, folded inside in the fan-like fashion of old Buddhist books, and pencilled in gold with a flowing brush. Three other volumes are in the possession of M. Berteaux, interpreter of the French Legation in Corea. The remaining one or two volumes of the complete work were unfortunately lost after the troubles at Peking in 1900, and have not yet been traced. The sûtra is preceded by two prefaces, of which the second is a translation of the preface of the monk Tao-hsüan, which is always attached to the Chinese version. The first, which is presumably the work of the Si-Hia translator, if not from

the pen of his royal patron, has not yet been sufficiently deciphered to reveal either the author or the date.

M. Morisse gives a facsimile of the first three pages of the MS., accompanied by a plate of the corresponding Chinese text taken from a printed book, and his analysis shows that the Si-Hia text has been translated, almost word for word, from the Chinese, and that the only difference is a change in the order of the words due to the exigencies of a different syntax. His rendering is very careful and painstaking throughout, and the only criticism I would venture to suggest is that the word which corresponds to *lien*, 'lotus,' in the Chinese title, should be so rendered, and not changed, even interrogatively, to *ching*, 'spotless,' although it may have this latter meaning elsewhere. In the title of the sûtra of the Chü-Yung-Kuan inscription the same Tangut character corresponds to the Chinese *ming*, 'bright,' while in another part, with the character for 'white' attached, it apparently renders the Chinese *pai lien*, 'white lotus.'

Some 3,500 Si-Hia characters have been classified in this "preliminary study," and arranged under the various headings of *Prononciations*, *Significations*, and *Observations Grammaticales*. The meaning of most of the graphic symbols can be determined with more or less certainty, but their sound can be rarely guessed, except in direct transliterations from the Sanskrit and Chinese. The clue to the principles of the original formation of the complicated script, in fact, remains to be discovered. The author, who has well gained his spurs, promises further excursions in the field after his return to the celestial capital, and we wish him every success in his fascinating but difficult quest.

S. W. B.

REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT PĀṬALIPUTRA (PATNA), THE PALIBOTHRA OF THE GREEKS. By L. A. WADDELL, M.B., LL.D., Lieut.-Col. I.M.S. (Calcutta, 1903.)

This little work, consisting of 83 pages of print, with five plates, four plans, and a map, is a second edition of the

pamphlet published by the author in 1892, in which he announced his "discovery of the exact site of Asoka's classic capital of Pāṭaliputra." The Report under notice bears date "China Expeditionary Force, Hongkong, 26th July, 1900," and the writer begs that its shortcomings may be excused on the ground that it was written in the brief intervals snatched from engrossing official duties. The plea is valid so far as the original draft is concerned, but loses its force when confronted with a title-page dated Calcutta, 1903. The long interval might have been well employed on much needed revision.

Lieut.-Col. Waddell is entitled to the credit of proving that Cunningham was mistaken in believing that a large portion of Pāṭaliputra had been carried away by the Ganges; the fact being that nearly the whole of the site of the city is intact, although much of it lies below the modern city of Patna, the civil station of Bankipore, and the East Indian Railway. Even where buildings do not stand over the site, the ancient remains are buried to a great extent under silt from ten to twenty feet deep. These circumstances preclude the possibility of any attempt at complete exhumation of the old capital, and only certain localities can be explored. The exploration, so far as it has been effected, has been carried out and reported in an amateur fashion, and the results are disappointing.

Lieut.-Col. Waddell, although he quotes the remark of Patañjali that Pāṭaliputra was on the Sōn, twice alleges that it stood on the south bank of the Ganges (pp. 12, 19). In reality, the old city was several miles distant from the Ganges, which in ancient times took a more northerly course, being then deflected by the Sōn, while that river joined the Ganges at Phatuhā below Patna. When the confluence moved up to its present position above Patna, the Ganges shifted to the south. The Report fails to bring out clearly the effects of river movements upon the topography.

I am not aware of any authority for the statement (p. 8) that "before the dawn of our era the great city Pāṭaliputra had decayed with the downfall of Asoka's dynasty, and the

transfer of the capital elsewhere." On the contrary, there is good reason for believing that the Śunga kings, who succeeded the Maurya dynasty, continued to reside at Pāṭaliputra, which retained its rank as a capital until the reign of Candragupta II, Vikramāditya, that is to say, until about A.D. 400. The Guptas certainly did not change their capital from Pāṭaliputra to Kanauj, as stated in the note to p. 9. The author does not seem to have read any publication on Gupta history of later date than Prinsep's Essays.

Errors of the press are numerous, the references to the illustrations being especially erroneous. On p. 41 a reference is given to plate vi, which does not exist. I possess a rough draft Report by the late Bābū Purnachandra Mukharjī, which shows that that enthusiastic explorer had prepared fifty-eight plates and four photographs in illustration of his researches. The author has not utilized this mass of material.

The author's photograph (plate ii) of the very fine Perso-Ionic capital excavated at the Bulandī (misspelled Bulandhi) Bāgh, just north of the railway, is of great interest, but the description of it (pp. 17, 40) is extremely meagre. This capital, which I had the pleasure of seeing soon after its discovery, evidently belonged to an important and splendid building, and deserves study by a competent architectural expert. The site where it was found could be easily excavated, and labour concentrated upon this spot would repay the time and cost spent better than desultory scratchings all over the place.

The other large sandstone capital (miscalled a base, p. 42) was dug up by Bābū Purnachandra Mukharjī in a potato-field of the Lohānīpur village near the Bankipore railway station. I saw this fine object, which bears an indistinct inscription on one side. The Bābū's account of the discovery is as follows:—"About 250 feet west of the last pit, I sank another about 12 feet deep, and was glad to alight on the top of the capital of the Asoka pillar, whose diameter is 3′ 7½″. On clearing it further the capital appeared to be

of a flattened vase form, in the centre of which was a hole for the reception of the mortise of the lion or some other animal, which must have originally crowned the pillar. Innumerable fragments of it, besides the capital, were found in the pit, some of which showed ornamental bands of lotus petals and guilloche [i.e. ornament of twisted bands]. On the north side of the pit, I traced a wall about five feet below the present soil, which traversed northward to a length I could not determine. The base of the capital is square, being 3′ 6″ on each of the faces, of which one has an ornament of lotus-flowers or inscription in shell or cup-mark characters, which no scholar has yet deciphered." This site should be acquired, and then excavated and surveyed by some competent person, if such can be found.

Space forbids further discussion of the remains of Pāṭaliputra, concerning which much might be said; and I conclude by expressing the hope, rather than the expectation, that future researches at this most interesting site may be executed more scientifically and reported more adequately than those carried out hitherto.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

May 27th, 1904.

NOTES ON SOME RECENT PUBLICATIONS IN BOMBAY AND BENARES.

In accordance with the nyāya "*Abhyarhitaṃ pūrvam*," the first place must be given to a work which has just issued from the Nirṇayasāgar Press. It contains the Vedānta sūtras with Śankara's *bhāṣya*, and three commentaries thereon, namely, Govindānanda's *Ratnaprabhā*, Vācaspati Miśra's *Bhāmatī*, and Ānandagiri's *Nyāyanirṇaya*, together with the poetical part of Bhāratītīrthâ's *Adhikaraṇanyāyamālā*. The editors, two Bombay paṇḍits, have thus brought together, in one well-arranged volume, matter which has hitherto necessitated a reference to six! For the Ratnaprabhā (with Bhāṣya) we had to go to the two volumes published in the

Bibliotheca Indica series in 1863, and for the Bhāmatī to another of the same series, issued in 1880. Both of these are now out of print. The only edition of Ānandagiri's ṭīkā was contained in two goodly tomes of the Ānandāśrama series, and a third gave us the Vaiyāsikanyāyamālā. The work under notice is printed in the clear type for which Jāvajī Dādājī's press has become famous, and is sold at the low price of eight rupees.

Some scholars in Europe and America may still be unaware of the issue of another important work from the same source, in 1899, namely, the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, with the two commentaries *Tattvabodhinī* and *Subodhinī*. For the two latter we were previously dependent, so far as I know, on a two-volume edition published in Benares in Saṁvat 1944 and 1945, apart from the text of the Kaumudī, and, as usual, without any numbers to the sūtras. The price of the new volume is four rupees.

Another noteworthy point in connection with Sanskrit literature is the resurrection of the dead-and-buried *Benares Sanskrit Series*, for its restoration to life has given us the much-needed completion of Kumārila's important treatise, the *Tantravārtika*. This volume, consisting of 1,183 octavo pages, commences with the second pāda of the first adhyāya, and carries us on to the end of the third chapter. The vārtika on the following nine chapters, and styled *Ṭupṭīkā*, has also just been completed; but it fills only 328 pages, and is in every way vastly inferior to the preceding volume. Indeed, its ascription to Kumārila might well be challenged. For the various names given to these two portions of the vārtika, see Hall's *Index*, p. 170. The *Tattvadīpana*, a lengthy comment on the *Pancapādikāvivaraṇa*, which is itself a commentary on Padmapāda's well-known work; the *Vivaraṇopanyāsa*, which seems to deal with the *Vivaraṇaprameya-saṅgraha* (edited in the Vizianagram series); Śaṅkarācārya's *Vākyasudhā* (edited, in 1833, by Windischmann, under the mistaken title of *Balabodhani*) with the ṭīkā of Brahmānanda Bhāratī; and *Maṇiprabhā*, a work on the Yoga sūtras, by Rāmānanda Yati, are its other most recent publications.

When that Series ceased, with no prospect of reappearance, a new one arose, in the same city, under the title of *Chaukhambā Sanskrit Series*; and it still holds on, but is greatly in need of support. Its best piece of work is an edition of the first part of Kumārila's vārtika, the *Ślokavārtika* (originally edited in *The Paṇḍit*, and now being translated in Bib. Ind. Series), together with Pārthasārathi's commentary; besides which, it has given us the *Nyāyaratnamālā* of the latter, and Appaya Dīkṣit's *Vidhirasāyana*, both of which treat of Mīmāṁsā, also Bhaṭṭa Śankara's *Mīmāṁsābālaprakāśa*. Amongst others, commenced but not yet completed, are the following:—*Nyāyasudhā*, a bulky commentary on Tantravārtika; *Prakaraṇapancikā*, or *Śālikā* (published in *The Paṇḍit* for 1866–7), of Śālikanātha; and *Nyāyamakaranda*, a Vedantic work by Ānandabodha Bhaṭṭārakācārya, with Citsukha Muni's comment.

Much as we admire the learning of Benares paṇḍits, yet, as editors of texts, they come far behind their brethren of Western India. The elementary fact that proof-sheets need to be read and corrected seems to be unknown in the sacred city; and the consequence is page after page of Errata (there are no less than nineteen appended to the Tantravārtika), and even then numberless mistakes remain unnoticed!

G. A. JACOB.

PART II OF THE LUBÁBU'L-ALBÁB OF MUḤAMMAD 'AWFÍ. Edited in the original Persian, with Preface, Indices, and Variants. By EDWARD G. BROWNE.

Three years ago Professor Browne began his series of Persian Historical Texts with "Dawlatsháh's Memoirs of the Poets," and "'Awfí's Lubábu'l-Albáb," the work chosen to fill the second place, is to all intents and purposes a poetical anthology. Although the editor was naturally guided in his choice by other considerations, it is at least a happy accident that the precedence due to poetry, as the finest and most original product of Persian literature, should have been observed on the present occasion.

The volume under notice contains the Second Part of the *Lubáb*: the First Part has not yet appeared. Thereby hangs an interesting tale, the moral of which may be commended to all private owners of rare manuscripts. The Elliot Codex, one of the only two copies of the *Lubáb* that are known to exist, was lent by J. B. Elliot, probably at some time in the forties, to Nathaniel Bland, who published a "classical account" of it in the ninth volume of this Journal (pp. 112–116). On Bland's death it seems to have been sold with the rest of his library, and it lay *perdu* until 1898, when Lord Crawford caused to be prepared and printed a Hand-List of the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish MSS. in the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*. Here Professor Browne discovered the missing Codex, which (to quote his own words) "with a liberality altogether beyond praise was, on March 4, 1898, not only sent to me at Cambridge, but entrusted for an indefinite period to my private keeping." So far so good, but before he had completed his transcription the whole of the Oriental portion of Lord Crawford's collection passed into less generous hands; the Elliot Codex was recalled, and the new owner could not be prevailed upon to vouchsafe a glimpse of it either in the John Rylands Library at Manchester or anywhere else. These MSS., we are glad to learn, have recently been made accessible; but until the wise and liberal policy of Lord Crawford is adopted, their transfer to the place mentioned must be regarded by Oriental students as a great calamity.

On other grounds, however, the inverted order of publication is not to be regretted, for whereas the First Part deals mainly with the poetry of kings, nobles, and savants, which is more curious than valuable, the Second Part offers copious examples of the work of the professional minor poets who flourished under the Ṭáhirids, the Ṣaffárids, the Sámánids, the Ghaznavids, and the house of Saljúq, and brings the reader into close touch with the literary development of Persia from the ninth to the end of the twelfth century of our era. As regards the bulk of the poetry in question, one must acknowledge that little æsthetic pleasure

can be derived from its perusal: it is full of subtle conceits and laboured affectations which offend European taste hardly less than they delighted, and still delight, the educated Persian; but from the literary and linguistic point of view 'Awfí's work is of high interest and importance, not only as being the oldest extant specimen of its class, but also because it has preserved a large amount of ancient poetry otherwise unknown.

Besides the Elliot Codex, on which the text of this edition is based, Professor Browne had at his disposal the Sprenger MS. of the *Lubáb* (now in the Royal Library of Berlin), and, as an occasional help, the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá* of Riḍá-quli Khán, who used the *Lubáb* as one of his sources and cites a considerable number of verses from it. The editor had no easy task: "Many passages in the text depend on the Elliot Codex only. Some of these, in spite of all I could do, remain quite obscure, and not seldom I have been obliged to pass for press sentences and verses evidently erroneous or incomplete. Where possible and necessary, I have emended the text according to the best of my knowledge; and, when this failed, I have consulted other scholars." Professor Browne is to be warmly congratulated on the success of his exertions. Although the text, as he and his coadjutors have left it, is not free from difficulties, these for the most part are unlikely to be removed, except by the discovery, which is by no means impossible, of a third manuscript, Riḍá-quli Khan's or another. Some corrections will, no doubt, occur to scholars who make a careful study of the text in conjunction with the full list of various readings given by Professor Browne. At present I can offer only a few suggestions.

P. 15, line 7. The editor reads

چو بر داشت جوزا کمر که نکر * بجست و ببست از فلاخن کمر

with the remark "I cannot understand the end of the first hemistich, and suspect that the manuscript reading needs emendation." The changes required are نگر for نکر and

آن for از. Translate: "When Orion displayed his belt, saying, 'Behold!,' he sprang up and fastened that sling-like girdle."

For فلاخن in this connection cf. Liddell & Scott, s.v. *σφενδόνη*.

In the last line of the same page the alteration of نشکیبد to نشکیبید appears to be unnecessary, as the lengthening of a short syllable before *alif* is common enough, even when the accent does not fall upon it (e.g. p. 382, l. 5). Accordingly, the words *con. metr.* should be deleted here and at p. 90, l. 3; also, for different reasons, at p. 78, l. 20, and p. 340, l. 12.

P. 209, l. 16. The MSS. have رغری and ز عری, for which the editor conjectures ز علا. But بشکست in the preceding line suggests that we should read ز عُرَی (عُرًی pl. of عُرْوَة) = 'of things upon which one lays hold.'

P. 347, l. 3. Read جُفته for خُفته.

P. 391, l. 16—

. . . . امل رای صواب تو فتاد * دریای اجل تیغ چو آب تو فتاد

This verse rests on the sole authority of the Elliot Codex, which has يد كشتن امل. It seems possible that the meaningless يد كشتن is a corruption of سر رشته (with *fakk-i izáfat*) = مقصود.

In conclusion, I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration for the fine scholarship shown on every page of this volume, by which Professor Browne has once more deserved the gratitude of all who look with a zealous eye to the honour of Persian Literature.

R. A. N.

RECENT ARABIC PUBLICATIONS.

Cl. Huart. Le Livre de la Création. (Paris, 1903.)

The third volume of the *Livre de la Création et de l'histoire*, edited and translated by M. Cl. Huart (Paris, 1903), finishes a work which has justly aroused considerable interest, and which the luxurious character of print and paper would in any case render it a pleasure to read. The real name of the author has been discovered during the course of publication; the first volume bears on the title-page the name of Abu Zaid of Balkh, a polygraph of the fourth century of Islam, of whom Yāḳūt has given a copious biography; but by the aid of various quotations, discovered partly by himself and partly by M. Zotenberg, M. Huart has been able to assign the book to a certain Muṭahhar Ibn Ṭāhir, of Jerusalem, who is otherwise unknown, but who must have lived in the middle of the fourth century from the Hijrah. The subject of the earlier volumes is Comparative Religion—a science which the Arabs have the merit of inventing. The subject of the present volume is Tales of the Prophets, legends connected with the personages mentioned in the Koran, with notices of the controversies which raged round them in the author's time, followed by a sketch of pre-Islamic history. It need scarcely be observed that the scholarship, taste, and learning of the editor are of the first class.

The Biblical stories are told with occasional references to some translation of the Hebrew Bible, but more often in accordance with the fancy of various amplifiers: some of the fictions are identical with those to be found in the Midrash, while others are plainly Moslem in origin. The comments on the more astonishing miracles are curiously modern in tone: the Euhemeristic methods ridiculed in Strauss's *Leben Jesu* were applied in all their fulness by Moslem critics of the fourth century. Thus Abraham's escape from the furnace was explained by the supposition that he had applied

to his person certain drugs which would resist the action of flame. Other schools favoured the allegorical treatment of myths: Ṣāliḥ's camel, according to them, meant a sound argument, and the slaughter of it refusal to be convinced. The author himself is a mild sort of Euhemerist, who does not reject miracles, but thinks they should not be multiplied beyond necessity. Hence with him Ṣāliḥ's camel is a real enough beast, not differing from any other; the command to let it alone was similar in character to the ordinance of the Pilgrimage—merely intended to try the docility of the people to whom it was issued.

It is of some interest to compare these Biblical stories with the same as they appear in another book of importance that has recently been published, the *Milal wa-Niḥal* of Ibn Ḥazm. Ibn Ḥazm knows his Bible exceedingly well, and refutes it paragraph by paragraph. Muṭahhar takes matters far less seriously.

The Biblical stories give Muṭahhar occasion to cite a number of poems by Umayyah, son of Abu Ṣalt, in which they are versified. Several of these have not, I fancy, been published before. There seems to me no possibility that they can be genuine. This Umayyah was a contemporary of the Prophet, some of whose verses won the Prophet's approbation. When, therefore, his poems and Koranic Surahs contain the same matter (in verse and rhymed prose respectively), the two cannot be independent. Now Umayyah does not appear to have favoured Mohammed's enterprise, whence we can scarcely believed that he versified the Koran. But if, on the other hand, Mohammed produced as revelation matter already known to the Meccans from Umayyah's verses, his claim to supernatural knowledge of it would have been too impudent. Hence these verses must be regarded as imitations of the Koran, fathered on Umayyah. And, indeed, that this is so, is quite obvious in the case of the verses dealing with the birth of Jesus (p. 123). Most of them were probably known to Ibn Ḳutaibah, who, in his work on the Poets (recently edited by De Goeje), says that Umayyah used in his verses to narrate the Stories of the

Prophets. The reason for such forgeries is obvious enough. The Prophet, in spite of his well-known philippic against poets, was known to have admired the verses of Umayyah; hence many of the pious were anxious to know what these verses were. They, having perished with the course of time, had in consequence to be supplied conjecturally; and the restorations least calculated to give offence would be such as adhered very closely to the text of the Koran.

The fabrication of old verses in this fashion not only provided nothing of value, but it has for us the extreme inconvenience of rendering all early Arabic poetry suspect; just as the fictitious genealogies have the unfortunate result of burying the very few historical names which were actually known to the makers of pedigrees. In the mass of fictitious names they are no longer distinguishable.

The bulk of the matter contained in this volume has originated in a similar manner. The persons named in the Koran excited interest; hence many persons were found ready to supply the requisite information. Some of these were 'people of the Book,' who either stated what was found in the Bible or narrated traditions current among themselves. But no less often they were persons who deliberately invented answers to the questions which cropped up. Hence among the stories collected by Muṭahhar there are some which represent genuine history; but they are mixed up with such a mass of fiction that without external aid it would be impossible to extract the matter that goes back to a respectable source.

Since M. Huart *invites* corrections of his text, perhaps a few may be suggested here.

P. 35, last line:

لخلفه من ابى رباح يسمعها الاهه الكبار

Derrière lui sont des émerillons auxquels les grands font entendre leurs soupirs.

This is an example of the great difficulty of reading and rendering an Arabic verse without commentary. A great

scholar whom Huart consulted says: "Tous mes efforts pour le comprendre ont été infructueux." Now this line is quoted by Baiḍāwī in his commentary on the Fātiḥah thus:

كحلفة من ابى رباح يسمعها لاهه الكبار

"Like an oath of Abu Rabāḥ, heard by his great God," for it is quoted to show that لاه is sometimes used in this sense. The very learned Khafājī, in his gloss (i, 57), produces a commentary:

ابو رَبَاح اسم رجل من ضبيعة وهو حصن بن عمرو بن بدر وكان قتل رجلا من بنى سعد بن ثعلبة فسالوه ان يحلف او يدى فحلف ثم قتل بعد حلفته فضربته العرب مثلا لما لا يغنى من الحلف كما قال ابن دريد فى شرح ديوان الاعشى

"Abu Rabāḥ was a man of the Banū Ḍubay'ah, named Ḥiṣn Ibn 'Amr: he had slain one of the Banū Sa'd Ibn Tha'labah, and was asked to swear or to pay blood-money. So he swore, and then afterwards was killed. The Arabs made this into a proverb for useless oaths. So says Ibn Duraid in his commentary on al-A'shā."

There are a number of various readings quoted by Khafājī, but they do not affect the sense. The verse is also quoted in Lisān al-'Arab, xvii, 362 and 436.

P. 50, l. 5:

ان اباه ازر كان ينحت الاصنام ويتبعها ويعبدها

Son père Azar sculptait des idoles, leur rendait un culte, et les adorait.

There is no difference between the last two processes. For يتبعها read يبيعها, "he sculptured idols, *sold* them, and worshipped them." That Abraham's father *sold* idols is stated in the Midrash, which represents the source of this story. Rabbah, ed. fol. Vilna, i, 156, sect. 38:

תרח עובד צלמים היהי הושיב לאברהם מוכר תחתיו

P. 50, l. 9 :

فاحتال ابراهيم فى التحلف لتحلة يمينه

Abraham se servit de ruse dans son serment pour pouvoir s'en acquitter.

The sense seems to require التخلف, "Abraham by a ruse stayed behind in order to perform his oath," viz., "By God I shall devise a plot against their idols" (Surah xxii, 58).

P. 56, l. 2, a.f. :

فبردت النيران كلها على و جه الارض حتى لم ينضج كرعًا

Tous les feux qu'il y avait sur la surface de la terre se refroidirent de sorte qu'on ne pouvait plus boire d'eau de citerne.

Why should the extinction of the fires render it impossible to drink the water of a cistern? The right reading is probably to be got from the Nihāyah, iv, 150, لم تنضج كراعًا, "all the fires on earth were extinguished till they could not cook a sheep's trotter." It will be seen from the Nihāyah that it is a proverbial phrase for a small or easy operation.

P. 59, l. 1 :

راودوه عن ضيفه ثم قالوا قد نهيناك ان يُقِيمَ قُراها

Ils lui demandèrent à abuser de son hôte; puis ils lui dirent, "Nous t'avions interdit qu'il séjournât dans ses villes."

This verse (ascribed to Umayyah Ibn Ṣalt) is a poetical paraphrase of Surah xv, 70, قالوا اولم ننهك عن العالمين, "have we not forbidden thee [to entertain] any of the world?" Perhaps تقيم قِرَاها, "we have forbidden thee to maintain the hospitality thereof."

L. 2 :

عرض الشيخ عند ذاك بنات كظباء باجرء فرعاها

The alteration of فرعاها into ترعاها seems necessary.

L. 3:

خضب القوم عند ذاك وقالوا ايها الشيخ خطبة ناباها

C'est une demande en mariage que nous ne voulons pas.

Lot's offering his daughters could scarcely be called a خطبة, or "demand of a woman's hand." The right word appears to be خُطَّة, 'a condition.' The phrase عرض عليه خطة, "he offered him a condition," is classical: Nihāyah, i, 303. So هما خُطَّتا, "there are two conditions," Ḥamāsah, 34.

P. 92, l. 3:

كتاب يعرفون فيه ما ياتون وما يدرون

Un livre par quel ils sauraient ce qu'ils deviendraient et qu'ils devaient savoir.

Read يذرون, "a book by which they might know what to do and what to leave undone."

P. 94, l. 3:

استعار الحلي غنيمة لهم نقلهموها

Read نقلهموها.

P. 95, l. 6. Pharaoh, when in the midst of the sea, lifted his forefinger and said, "I believe," etc. Then Gabriel took من حاذ البحر and introduced it into his mouth. The word حاذ is unknown: Huart renders it 'sand.' The same tradition occurs in the Musnad of Ibn Ḥanbal, i, 245:

لو رايتنى وانا آخذ من حال البحر فادسه فى فى فرعون.

It seems clear that the form حال is right, and is indeed the Hebrew and Syriac חוֹל. Ibn al-Athīr, in his Nihāyah (i, 273), wrongly explains it as 'mud' or 'clay.'

P. 103, l. 6:

لم يزل يعظ ابنه ماثان حتى قناع قلبه فمات

Lokman ne cessa de sermonner son fils Mathan jusqu'au péricarde qui entourait son cœur, et il mourut.

This does not seem to be a possible process. Apparently the word انكشف has fallen out before قناع. Compare Ibn Hisham, ed. Wüstenfeld, 449:

فانكشف قناع قلبه فمات

quoted in Nihāyah, iii, 280: "Till the envelope of his heart was uncovered, and he died."

P. 112, l. 4, a.f.:

القاءه على العراء طرف من العلم اليه

Quand il fut jeté sur le rivage, cela désigne la portion de science qui lui fut accordée.

This requires طرح طرف; the word طرح on the margin is not then a substitute for طرف, but a word wrongly omitted by the scribe.

P. 122, l. 1:

اليهود تزعم ان عيسي لم يحي بعد وانه جاء

Les Juifs prétendent que Jésus n'est pas encore résuscité, mais qu'il est venu.

Read لم يجئ بعد وانه جاء, "the Jews assert that Jesus is not yet come, but that He is to come in the future." Instead of ʿĪsā (Jesus) the author should have written Al-Masīḥ (Christ).

Ibid.:

وان الذى يذكره ابن بغية لغير رشده

Et que celui qui est mentionné est le fils d'une pécheresse par son défaut de bonne direction.

Read رشدة . . نذكره, "and that he of whom we are talking was the son of a harlot, and illegitimate."

P. 123, last line:

وما يصرم الرحمن بصرم

Et le Miséricordieux ne l'interrompit en rien.

The metre requires يُصْرَمِ, "and that which God decrees is decreed."

P. 124, l. 2:

فحق بان يلجي عليه وترجمى

Il mérite d'être chassé, et toi lapidée.

يلجي seems wrong: perhaps تُلْحَيْ, "you deserve to be disgraced and stoned on account thereof."

P. 125, l. 11:

نسبوه الى غير رشده

Read رشدة, "they declared him to be illegitimate."

P. 134, l. 4, a.f.:

اذا دفنتموني فاكتموا ثلاثا

Lorsque vous m'aurez enterré, cachez moi pendant trois jours.

Perhaps فامكثوا, "then wait three days."

'OUMÂRAH DU YÉMEN: SA VIE ET SON ŒUVRE, par HARTWIG DERENBOURG. Vol. II. (Paris, 1902.)

We look forward to the third volume of M. Derenbourg's *'Oumârah du Yémen* for an account of the contents of the two volumes that have appeared which will be both scholarly and charming; the author's long record fully justifies such a prophecy. The two volumes of Arabic text contain Oumarah's memoirs, selections from his Divan of poems, and his letters in rhymed prose. M. Derenbourg has neglected no source whence help could be derived for the correction of these difficult though highly interesting and attractive compositions. The name of Oumarah of Yemen is already familiar to readers of this Journal from the edition of his History of Yemen by the late H. C. Kay, which it appears suggested to M. Derenbourg his present work. Oumarah gives a vivid account of his experiences at the Egyptian court before the time of the great Saladdin, introducing therein many of his poems, with some record

of their occasion and of the gratuities which he received for them. His verses are favourable specimens of the encomiastic style, and often felicitous or even touching. His epistles compare in difficulty and abstruseness with the most celebrated compositions of the same sort. For the internal history of Egypt during the time of the Crusades this work is of great interest and value, and it is admirably edited.

Die Staatsleitung des Al-Farabi is the title of a posthumous work by Fr. Dieterici, containing a translation (with introduction) of an unpublished work by Al-Farabi, several of whose treatises were edited and translated by the same scholar. The editor, Dr. Brönnle, has prefixed a short account of Professor Dieterici, who scarcely counted among the foremost Orientalists, but who was well known by his edition of the poems of Mutanabbi, his Chrestomathie Ottomane, and his treatises on Arabic philosophy. His biographer complains that his merits were not adequately appreciated; and, indeed, of his chief work, the edition of Mutanabbi, Ahlwardt said (Chalef Al-Ahmar, p. 444): "If Dieterici is now editing the Divan of Mutanabbi, that is a wholly perverse undertaking, both in itself and in the manner in which he is executing it." This harsh judgment is echoed by very few; but the treatises on Arabic philosophy were not regarded as very meritorious, because the Arabic philosophers found some difficulty in convincing even their own countrymen that they knew anything about their subject, and Europeans can often convince themselves with ease that the critics were right. Hence in many cases the way to interpret Arabic philosophy is to conjecture how the Greek or Syriac originals of their works could have been corrupted or misunderstood: in some cases this is easy; in scarcely any case is the operation worth the trouble. The present treatise on politics is no better than could be expected from a man who had no experience of any form of state save an Oriental despotism, and to whom, therefore, the profound speculations of Aristotle were almost meaningless. Al-Farabi's views on various states are not merely valueless

in the sense in which we might apply that word to bad generalizations or erroneous observations; they are a sort of travesty of the opinions of some one else. It is sufficient to quote one definition: "Edelstaat und Edelgemeinde besteht bei denen welche sich einander dazu beistehn, dass sie in Wort und That geehrt werden, sei es dass die Leute anderer Staaten ihnen Ehre erweisen oder dass sie einer dem anderen Ehre anthun, und kann diese gegenseitige Ehrung gleichmässig oder bei dem einen stärker sein als bei dem Anderen." Whether this is meant for a definition of an aristocracy or a timocracy, it is evident that its author is uttering propositions to which he himself does not really assign a meaning, but which seem to him to be what Plato or Aristotle says. The same is the case with the treatises which are supposed to represent Aristotle's Poetics and Rhetoric. The Arabs who write on such political, poetical, and rhetorical questions as come within their experience are not contemptible, though often commonplace and shallow; those who profess to expound Greek philosophy may deserve sympathy, but can claim no admiration.

HILĀL AL-ṢĀBI, KITĀB AL-WUZARĀ. Edited by H. F. AMEDROZ.

Mr. Amedroz has earned the gratitude of scholars and historical students by his edition of the remains of *Hilāl al-Ṣābi*, grandson of the celebrated Secretary of State, Abu Isḥāḳ Ibrahim the Sabæan, a selection of whose letters was printed at a press in the Lebanon in 1898. Pages 1–364 are filled by a portion of the *Kitāb al-Wuzarā* or "Lives of the Viziers," which is frequently cited, and which contains a rather full account of some of the principal Viziers of the fourth century of Islam. Since Ibn al-Athīr's chronicle is decidedly meagre for this period, the additions to our historical knowledge which this work supplies are very welcome. Its chief importance, however, is for the light which it throws on the internal administration at Baghdad, on the number and variety of backstairs agencies at work,

and the curious details which it furnishes concerning the functions and stipends attached to a variety of offices. Several remarkable pages are occupied with an account of the titles in use at the time of the Vezirate of Ali Ibn al-Furāt, and form a *locus classicus* for the history of Arabic officialism. The life of this Ali Ibn al-Furāt is told at great length, and he indeed appears to have been a remarkable personage; with Ḥarīrī two centuries later the Banū Furāt are still proverbial for their generosity, and Hamadhāni a generation or two after the time of Ali thinks of the auction at which Ali's goods were sold as a time when great bargains were made. Certainly this Vizier dealt in tremendous sums: 300,000 dinars went in the construction of his house; 50,000 more over repairs for a special occasion (p. 179). Pages 366 to the end contain a fragment of Hilāl's Chronicle, covering the years 389–393. Mr. Amédroz has provided these texts with ample indices, and also with an analysis of the contents in English, which will serve as a fair substitute for a translation; he has also added a valuable glossary of obscure and rare expressions. The extreme care with which Mr. Amedroz works being well known to the readers of this Journal, praise of the manner in which he has edited these interesting and important texts is superfluous. The printing has been done at the Catholic Press of Beyrut, the beauty and accuracy of whose work are famous.

Two corrections of the text may be suggested—one of an error for which the present writer is responsible. P. 91, l. 12:

فالشقة لا يكون ساعيا لحق ودكنى عن باطل

An improbable reading of the unpointed word is suggested in the Appendix on the present writer's authority; it is, however, more likely that the passage should be read without alteration: ويُكنّى, "a trusty friend will not labour to compass what is right (right being here a euphemism for wrong)."

P. 1, l. 5:

فصار معه محجوجا فى اسباب فعله ومحجوبا عن البوّاب عذره

It seems clear that عن ابواب عذره is required.

Works of George Zaidan.

Mr. George Zaidan, editor of the fortnightly journal *Hilāl*, is one of the most fertile, but also one of the most learned and thoughtful, of the Arabic writers of our day. He enjoys considerable fame as a novelist, though his novels constitute part of his historical work; they form a series of historical scenes, of which the purpose is to illustrate Arabic history, from the Times of the Ignorance and later. Since the anecdote literature of the Arabs is very rich, he has at times been able to introduce whole scenes from the Kitāb al-Aghāni or other storehouses of antiquities into his romances; but he has in each case looked after the interests of those readers who are not on the look out for antiquarian information. The works which we shall notice here are entirely serious in character; and they differ from most of the works of Oriental scholars in that they take due account of Western, and indeed German, research — Mr. Zaidan being one of the very few native writers of Arabic who have taken the trouble to learn German; and that they are properly supplied with references justifying the statements of the text — the ordinary Oriental writer thinking it sufficient to quote the name of the book whence he takes his facts. The most important of these works is the *History of Islamic Civilization*, published as a "Supplementband" to the *Hilāl*, of which the first volume appeared in 1902, the second last year, and a third is promised for this. The amount of valuable and interesting matter contained in the volumes which have appeared is so great that one is inclined to regret that the language in which Mr. Zaidan writes renders his works inaccessible to the majority of the readers of the J.R.A.S., since there are many who are interested in the history of the Caliphate who are not Arabic scholars.

The second volume of the *History of Islamic Civilization* is an elaborate treatise on the Finance of the Caliphate. The author very properly bases his researches on the *bahnbrechendes* work of von Kremer in his Culturgeschichte

and his Einnahmebudget. The four important tables of Ibn Khaldūn, Ḳudāmah, Ibn Khordadbeh, and Aḥmad Ibn Moḥammad al-Ṭā'ī are given *in extenso* and a valuable commentary attached to them; von Kremer's opinion of the misdating of the first of these is disputed apparently on good grounds; and, indeed, von Kremer's conjectures were not always felicitous. Among points which are prominently brought forward we may notice the oppression of the cultivators under Umayyad rule, which was probably of importance in determining the downfall of the dynasty; and the fact that the revenue, as the authors of the tables understand it, was the *net* revenue, after all administrative expenses had been paid; and wonder is justly expressed at a system which enabled the monarch to put by every year something like a million sterling. With these tables before us we scarcely receive with scepticism the statements of the Kitāb al-Aghāni concerning the sums lavished by the Caliphs on their poets, their singers, and their mistresses.

Though Zaidan has based his work on von Kremer's, the amount which is clearly the fruit of his own study is very large; for many, if not most, of the authors from whom he derives his material were unpublished and practically inaccessible in von Kremer's time. And, indeed, the worker in this field does not often find material ready to hand: he has to collect stray notices, casual observations to be found in histories and miscellanies.

For the enormous surplus of the Abbasid budget in the days of prosperity Zaidan discovers three causes. One of these was the small number of government officials employed. In Egypt he calculates that the number of employés was at the most 400; in our time it is nearly 23,000! Secondly, that convenient institution, a national debt, was not yet invented: luckily for the governments, for, as von Kremer observes somewhere, money would have had to be borrowed at 30 per cent. or more. And, thirdly, it can be shown that some of the early Caliphs of the Abbasid dynasty were careful of the public money.

The second half of this volume deals with the gradual

decline in the wealth of the Caliphate, owing to a variety of causes which are acutely analysed. I fancy that the matter contained in Mr. Amedroz's volume will be of great use to Zaidan when he comes to republish this work. He has, however, made a most careful series of observations concerning the offices under the Caliphate, and the steady increase in their number and in the salaries paid the officials. To the best of my belief he is the first student who has worked this field, for which, of course, the chronicles of Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Athīr have had to be ransacked, a work requiring great patience, as anyone who has tried it knows. It seems to me that no more important work than this on the antiquities of the Caliphate has appeared for many years.

The *Philosophy of Language and the Arabic Vocabulary* is the earliest of Zaidan's works, first published in 1886, and reprinted this year. The first edition was a success, as the work was translated into Turkish, and it earned the author his membership of the Italian Oriental Society. The standpoint from which this book was written was more popular twenty years ago than it is now. The notion that the Aryan and Semitic families were originally connected, and the explanation of case-endings and verbal prefixes as relics of separate words to be identified in existing languages, were not then as unpopular as they have now become. Wright's Comparative Semitic Grammar, which is the basis of recent research on this subject, was not published till 1890; and Zaidan would have had to rewrite most of his treatise in order to make it harmonize with the doctrines that now hold the field. This, however, does not apply to the interesting chapters which deal with the origin of language, in which there is much that agrees with the newest results of philology, and which contain many ingenious and striking observations. Moreover (unless I am mistaken), Zaidan has the distinction of being the first Arabic writer who has treated Arabic as a *Semitic* language, and shown the importance of bringing the light of comparative linguistics to bear upon it.

The *History of the Arabic Language* (1904) is a republication of a series of articles which originally appeared in the *Hilāl*, in which the author collects words which have been borrowed by the Arabs from other languages, and distinguishes the epochs at which they have been borrowed and the classes to which they belong. Sixty-four pages constitute rather too brief a space for such an undertaking; and, indeed, the author describes his work as a preliminary sketch. Should he ever complete it, he would do well to base his researches on those of European scholars: Fränkel's well-known work on Syriac words in Arabic and Lagarde's *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* supply a good deal of material, and there is, of course, a whole series of treatises by Arabic writers on the same subject, notably those by Jawaliḳī and Suyūṭī. Still, though Zaidan does not attempt to treat this subject exhaustively, there is much in his sketch which is not as familiar to European scholars as perhaps it should be: thus, Grimme in his Life of Mohammed (i, 74, 1892) tells us that *munāfiḳ*, 'a hypocrite,' is properly used of the mouse that runs back into its hole; Sprenger in his Life of Mohammed (ii, 222, 1869) that the word *Ḥawārī* for Apostle in the Koran literally means 'fuller'; Zaidan rightly refers both back to the Ethiopic, for even that rare accomplishment he has taken the trouble to acquire. The true etymologies of these words have, of course, been known in Europe for some time; but his suggestion on p. 17 that the word *sūrah* (a portion of the Koran) is the Hebrew word *shīrāh*, 'a song,' borrowed, is new to the present writer, and seems more plausible than the ordinary etymology. The rules of Arabic rhyme show that the *u* must have often been pronounced like the German *ü*, whence the difference in the vowel is of little consequence. The treatise contains several useful lists of words either borrowed or invented at particular periods, and thus is a valuable addition to our libraries. Very few improbable conjectures will be found in these lists, and it will not be surprising if the book does something to render the study of scientific etymology popular in Egypt.

Famous Orientals of the Nineteenth Century, in two volumes (1902–3), is a collection of biographies excerpted from the *Hilāl*, and of great use to students of modern Oriental history. The first volume deals with members of the Khedivial family, some Sultans, princes, and statesmen, including 'Abd al-Ḳādir, 'Arābī Pasha, the Mahdi of the Sudan, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Ameer of Afghanistan. The second deals with men of letters and poets, including some Westerns who spent their lives in the East, such as Cornelius Van Dyck and Mariette Pasha. The biographies in both volumes are nearly all illustrated with photographs. In collecting these biographies and arranging them in an easy order, Zaidan has done a great service to those in Europe who are anxious to keep in touch with the "advancement of learning" in the East.

D. S. Margoliouth.

Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia. By the late Professor W. Robertson Smith. New edition, edited by Stanley W. Cook. 8vo; pp. xxii and 324. (London: Black, 1903.)

In March 1894 Professor Robertson Smith died, nine years after the appearance of the first edition of this epoch-making work, of which Nöldeke wrote[1]: "Wie mich dies Buch in ganz ungewöhnlichem Maasse angeregt und zu weiteren Untersuchungen veranlasst hat, so ist es geeignet, allen denen, die es mit selbständigem Urtheil lesen, die erspriesslichste wissenschaftliche Förderung zu verschaffen." He had contemplated a second edition, as the writer heard from him in the Spring of 1892, and had collected notes and material for it, with special reference to the criticisms which his book had evoked; but, so far as can be judged from the present issue, the work had not made much progress. Probably the revision of his *Religion of the Semites*, completed just before his most lamented death, absorbed his energies. It has been left for Mr. S. A. Cook, with the assistance of

[1] Z.D.M.G., xl (1886), p. 187.

Professor Goldziher, to prepare the present edition. A careful comparative table (p. xxi) gives the pagination of both issues; and it appears from an examination of the two that the text of the work is virtually unaltered, such additions as have been made occurring almost entirely in the illustrative notes, the majority of which have been transferred from the Appendix, where they stood in the original edition, to the pages of the text to which they refer. Here and there, but very rarely, a sentence has been dropped, a word modified; but neither in the form nor in the substance of the argument is there any material change.

This being the case, it may perhaps be permissible, so far as the present writer is concerned, to refer to the review of the original edition contributed by him to the *Academy* of March 6th, 1886, in which, on reperusal, he does not find anything essential requiring alteration; but a few words may be added as to the present position of the problems which the author set himself to investigate.

How, then, stands the case as regards the two main themes with which the book deals — the proposition that mother-kinship preceded kinship through the father in the Arabian tribal system (and that not many generations before the Prophet's time), and the claim that that system in Arabia was founded upon a basis of totemism?

The first was examined with elaborate care in the paper on *Marriage among the Arabs* contributed by Professor Wellhausen, in 1893, to the *Nachrichten v. d. Königl. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften* of Göttingen, with results which leave the solution by no means so definite or decided as is claimed by Professor Robertson Smith. The complete establishment of male kinship as the sole principle of political descent before the time of Muhammad is held by Wellhausen to be proved. The exceptional cases of marriage —or legitimate commerce of the sexes—not conforming to the general standard, recorded in historical times, though it is within the bounds of possibility that they may be connected with a former prevalence of mother-kinship, are all, as they appear in the records, consistent with kinship on

the male side, and the child is counted to the father's, not the mother's kin. The only strong argument in favour of this prevalence is the use of the words *raḥim* and *baṭn* (both meaning *womb*) for blood-relationship and sub-tribe respectively; while against it is the series of terms of family relationship, consistent only with a rule of male kinship, belonging to the common Semitic stock, and therefore going back to times before the separation of Arab, Aramæan, and Canaanite (Hebrew). These are: *ḥam* (*ḥamū*), father-in-law; *kannah* (Heb. *kallāh*), daughter-in-law; *ḍarrah*, co-wife; *mahr* (Heb. *mōhār*), payment for a wife; *'amm*, at once paternal uncle and people or kin at large; and *armalah* and *yatīm*, widow and orphan. Against *baṭn* for sub-tribe may be set the corresponding male word *fakhidh*. *Raḥim* remains (only in Arabic) as the one witness not to be set aside to an original system of mother-kinship.

The most that can be said of Arabia within historical times appears to be that in some sections of the population a system prevailed down to the institution of Islam of polyandry in a family of brothers, and sometimes in a larger kindred group (*raht*), analogous to the polyandry of Tibet, and founded, probably, on the same basis — the sterility of the soil and the pressure of famine, which made the limitation of offspring a necessity to the poor. But although vouched for by traditions traceable to contemporaries of Muḥammad, no examples of this custom are cited by name, and it probably prevailed only among the poorest and least conspicuous members of their tribe; the children born were counted to the father's stock. No clear case can be produced of a series of successions by female kinship alone. The existence of metronymous tribes and sub-tribes — a phenomenon explained by Arabian genealogists as due to polygamy, and the division of the offspring of one father according to the houses of the mothers[1] — is of itself insufficient

[1] A considerable number of these sub-tribes bearing mother-names occur in the house of Mālik b. Ḥanḍhalah b. Zaid-Manāt b. Tamīm; there seem to be no good grounds for refusing to accept the reasonable explanation given.

to prove any such rule of descent, inasmuch as the successors of the eponymous mother are counted in the male line only.

Our oldest authority for Semitic society is the lately discovered Code of Ḥammūrabi, going back, probably, to the third millennium B.C.; and the provisions as to marriage and descent contained in it appear to be based exclusively on *ba'al*-unions and male kinship.

As regards totemism, Nöldeke in 1886 entirely declined to admit that the list of animal names borne by Arab tribes proved the existence of any such system in ancient Arabia.[1] Such names are, relatively, not so numerous as they appear from the series given by Robertson Smith, and are, moreover, almost without exception names borne by individuals in historical times. To these opinions Nöldeke still adheres, if we may judge from the article on "Names" contributed by him to the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (1902).[2]

But the most complete examination of the subject in its present-day aspect is contained in an article entitled *Israel and Totemism* contributed by Mr. S. A. Cook to the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1902 (pp. 413–448), the conclusion of which appears to be that the whole theory of totemism as applied to the Semitic races rests on a very insecure foundation; and in this conclusion the present writer cannot but express his concurrence.

C. J. LYALL.

[1] Z.D.M.G., xl, pp. 156 sqq.
[2] Col. 3298, note 3.

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XXIII.

ROMAN COINS FOUND IN INDIA.

By ROBERT SEWELL.

I HAVE attempted, in the lists which accompany this paper, to collect and classify all discoveries of Roman coins made in India during the last century and a half, which have been regularly recorded in English scientific publications; adding to them some remarks on finds which, though not so published, it is impossible for me to ignore, since they came under my own observation. It is perhaps hardly necessary for me to enter on an elaborate explanation of the reasons why such tabulated information may be held to be of value, seeing that obviously, if the lists are accurate and exhaustive, a classification such as this assumes the nature of an index to a volume, or, as in the present case, to a very large number of volumes.

To draw up the lists I have searched through the following publications:—

The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
The Numismatic Chronicle.
The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
The Proceedings of the same Society.
The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the same.
The Madras Journal of Literature and Science.
The Indian Antiquary.
The Asiatic Researches.
The Annual Reports of the Madras Archæological Survey.
The Annual Reports of the Epigraphical Department of the same Survey.
The Annual Reports of the Archæological Surveys of the Panjāb, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Bengal, and Western India (some of which, however, have not reached me).
Sir A. Cunningham's Archæological Reports.
The Epigraphia Indica.
Catalogues of Coins prepared by the Superintendents of the Madras Government Central Museum.
And many other volumes.

I have done my best to ensure that no information published in any of these works should escape me, but it stands to reason that omissions may have unfortunately occurred, owing to such causes as the absence of an index in many cases, especially troublesome in the issues of "Proceedings" of Societies. If, therefore, anyone can supplement the lists with information coming from authentic sources, I shall be the first to welcome such additions.

Let me admit at the outset that deductions drawn from such lists as these must of necessity be merely tentative and provisional. In the first place, it is, in the nature of things, impossible for us ever to know anything of the coins discovered in the centuries prior to the English occupation of the various parts of British India. Secondly, there must have been innumerable discoveries of coins which have passed into private collections, and are, at least temporarily, lost to the scientific world. There must also be reports of finds published in scattered volumes, in newspaper issues, in magazines, and in reviews, many of which must elude the observation of any one man, however industrious. The information available to us, therefore, consists of only a fraction of the whole, and we could be perfectly certain of our ground only if we possessed that whole. Even so we can only theorize from discoveries made up to date, and are always liable to have our ideas upset by discoveries in the future.

An examination of the Tables compels us to observe five different periods in the connection of Rome with India, and leads us to the following conclusions :—

1. There was hardly any commerce between Rome and India during the Consulate.

2. With Augustus began an intercourse which, enabling the Romans to obtain Oriental luxuries during the early days of the empire, culminated about the time of Nero, who died A.D. 68.

3. From this time forward the trade declined till the date of Caracalla (A.D. 217).

4. From the date of Caracalla it almost entirely ceased.

5. It revived again, though slightly, under the Byzantine emperors.

And as regards the objects of the trade—

(*a*) Under the early emperors there was a great demand for pepper, spices, fine muslins, perfumes, unguents, pearls, and precious stones, especially the beryl.

(*b*) In the declining period between Nero and Caracalla there was little or no demand for mere luxuries, and the activity of merchants was directed towards cotton and industrial products.

(*c*) Under the Byzantine emperors the trade was mostly with Travancore and the south-west coast, commerce with the interior and the Dekhan country having declined.

These assertions will be now dealt with separately.

The First Period.

There seems to have been little trade between India and Rome in the years preceding the reign of Augustus. If there were any it would seem that Indian imports did not include Roman specie. The only Consular coins hitherto found[1] have been seven silver *denarii* discovered by

[1] It must be remembered always that I proceed solely on the results of my examination of the reports and information contained in the works above mentioned. Of private and unrecorded discoveries I can say nothing.

Capt. A. Court in 1830 in one of the Manikyāla stupas, and eight out of twenty-three coins recovered from the natives who, in 1898, found a hoard in the Hazāra District of the Panjāb. The rest of the hoard apparently passed into the hands of the dealers at Rāwal Pindi. Trade there may have been, and probably was, along the old routes that had existed for hundreds of years; but Rome did not spread eastwards till the later years of the Consulate; Palmyra had not then opened its doors to adventurous Roman merchants; there could have been little traffic along the desert tracks that led to Petra and the Gulf of Akabah, and still less to Yemen or the Persian Gulf; and though Alexandria was taken by Julius Cæsar in B.C. 47, the sea-borne trade must have been small in those days and very uncertain, being conveyed as it was in Arab boats along a coast infested with pirates. Whatever exports found their way to Europe from India at that period went probably to Greece rather than to Rome.

The Second Period.

The Imperial age of Rome, however, from Augustus down to Nero, saw a great change in this respect. With Augustus began a period of Asiatic conquest. Roman influence at Palmyra began to be felt in the later years of that emperor, and the occupation of Palestine opened up for Roman merchants the trade-route to Petra and the head of the Sinaitic Gulf. Alexandria, the principal emporium of trade between East and West, was now in Roman hands. Rome was a world power; its emperors were supreme, and the internal dissensions that eventually led to the overthrow of the State had not begun. Hence arose on the part of the wealthy an unrestrained indulgence in Eastern luxuries that greatly shocked the more sober-minded citizens of Rome. Pliny, for instance, writing about A.D. 70 or thereabouts (after the death of the Empress Poppœa in A.D. 66), lifts up his voice against it, lamenting the wasteful extravagance of the richer classes and their reckless expenditure on

perfumes, unguents, and personal ornaments, saying that a hundred million sesterces[1] were withdrawn from the empire annually to purchase useless Oriental products, "so dearly do we pay for our luxury and our women."

About the year A.D. 47 the regularity of the monsoons in the Indian Ocean was discovered, and ships began for the first time to sail direct to Muziris (Muyirikōḍu) in Malabar; a course which gave great impetus to Indian commerce, since it added immensely to the security of the cargoes, which no longer had to fear the attacks of Arabs on caravans crossing the deserts or of pirates on vessels hugging the coast.

The demand on India in Rome was mostly for spices, pepper, perfumes, ivory, fine muslins, precious stones, and cottons, and these were supplied mostly from the west coast ports. The most highly prized of the stones was the beryl, only found in India in one place, namely, Paḍiyūr in the Coimbatore District, or at most in two, Vāṇiyambāḍi in the Salem District being also said to possess a mine; and these beryls were believed to be the best and purest in the world. It is in the neighbourhood of these mines that the largest number of Roman coins of the period we are considering (Augustus to Nero) have been found. It will be observed that almost all the articles mentioned here were products of the south of India, though no doubt some of the perfumes came from the rose-gardens of the north, while the cottons were prepared in the Dekhan, and the muslins mostly at Masulipatam and the country about there.

It is for this reason probably that so many Roman coins have been found in and near the Coimbatore District and at Madura, the capital city of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom, while the finds in the north of India have been by no means so numerous.

Another reason for the dearth of coins in the north has, however, been given, and it deserves every consideration. It concerns the Scythian conquest of North-West India and the

[1] £1,100,000, of which £600,000 went to Arabia and £500,000 to India (cf. Mommsen's *Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii, 299–300).

ultimate supremacy of the Kuṣanas. General Cunningham, Mr. Vincent Smith, and Mr. Rapson concur in the belief[1] that the great Kuṣana kings, whose annexation of North-West India took place, according to Mr. Smith, in A.D. 95, recoined the Roman *aurei*, issuing from their mints their own coins of precisely the same weight. I understand these authorities to mean either that the Roman gold coins were melted down in a mass and new coins issued from the metal, having exactly the weight of the *aurei* for the reason that the Kuṣanas admired that coin; or else that each *aureus* was melted separately and restruck. In any case this would, of course, account for the paucity of finds of Roman coins in North India at the present day as compared with finds in the south; since in the latter country these coins appear to have circulated just as they came. That the Scythian conquest did not injuriously affect Roman trade with North India would seem to be evidenced, as pointed out by Mr. Smith, by the fact that the sculpture, painting, and other arts of that tract were as largely influenced by Rome as they had formerly been by Greece; and if such was the case we can only account for the absence of coins in North India in two ways—either the coins imported were collected, melted, and restruck, or the trade itself, though encouraged, was small. Certain it is that the exports to Rome of which we have mention in classical writers were mostly products of South India and the Dekhan.

We turn now to the Tables themselves and analyze the reported discoveries in India of coins of this period, i.e. the eighty years from Augustus to Nero.

In North India I find a satisfactory record of only one discovery, namely, some denarii of Augustus and Tiberius in the Hazāra District, Panjāb; twelve of Augustus and two of Tiberius were recovered, the rest passing into the hands of dealers.

In Southern India we have in actual numbers 612 gold

[1] *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 50; Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1889, p. 157; *Indian Coins*, pp. 4, 16.

coins and 1187 silver, besides hoards discovered which are severally described as follows:—of gold coins "a quantity amounting to five cooly-loads"; and of silver coins (1) "a great many in a pot," (2) "about 500 in an earthen pot," (3) "a find of 163," (4) "some," (5) "some thousands," enough to fill "five or six Madras measures," i.e. perhaps a dozen quart measures; also, (6) of metal not stated, "a pot-full." These coins are the product of fifty-five separate discoveries mostly in the Coimbatore and Madura Districts.

In the Bombay Presidency I have not found a trace of any discovery of coins of this period; and in Ceylon only one, viz. certain coins alluded to by De Couto as having been found in A.D. 1574. These were attributed, but apparently on very slender grounds, to Claudius. It is curious that we have no recorded finds of Roman coins in the neighbourhood of the great commercial centres of the Bombay Presidency.

It will be well to note here the list of exports and imports from and to India mentioned by the author of the *Periplūs* (A.D. 80), seeing that these refer mostly to the period we are considering. Leaving aside its mention of the commerce at ports west of the Indus, the *Periplūs* gives us the following list[1]:—

Exports from Barugazą (Bharoch).

Onyx stones.
Porcelain (probably from China).
Fine muslins and others. (The finest muslins came from the neighbourhood of Masulipatam.)
Cottons in large quantity (from the Dekhan and eastern districts).
Spikenard (probably from the north).
Perfumes (κόστος).
Bdellium (a gum).
Ivory, myrrh, silk, and pepper also seem to be included, though the expression in the text is dubious.

[1] Vincent's *Periplūs*, edit. of 1805, vol. ii, p. 369 ff.

EXPORTS FROM BARAKĒ (NELKUNDA; PROBABLY KAḌALTUṆḌI, NEAR BEYPORE).

Pepper in great quantity.	Betel.
Pearls.	Precious stones.
Ivory.	Diamonds.
Fine silks (possibly from China).	Amethysts.
Spikenard.	Tortoise-shell.

It must also be specially noticed as bearing on the question of coins found respectively in North and South India that whereas the *Periplūs* mentions "specie" in one word as imported to Bharoch, he gives as his first entry in the list of imports to the southern port "great quantities of specie" (*χρήματα πλεῖστα*).

It is curious that the author of the *Periplūs* does not mention the beryl as an article of export from South India, seeing that Pliny[1] specially alludes to it, saying that the best kind came from India. It seems to be a fact that this stone, the highly prized *aqua marina* of the Romans, was only found in one place (or possibly two[2]) in India, namely, at Paḍiyūr, in the District of Coimbatore. The only other places where this stone is found are in North and South America and Siberia, which countries were unknown to the Romans; and, in inferior quality, in parts of Europe, one being at Limoges. Ptolemy,[3] writing half a century after the *Periplūs*, speaks of *πουννάτα ἐν ᾗ βήρυλλος*, "Punnāta, whence comes the beryl." As to the name 'Punnāta,' Mr. Lewis Rice has pointed out that this was the name of an ancient division in the extreme south of the old Kongu kingdom, at a later date called 'Paḍināḍ.' The last syllable 'nāḍ' means a tract or district, and when for this is substituted the common name for a town in Dravidian tongues, 'ūr,' we have the word Paḍiyūr, which is the known locale of the beryl-mines. And though Paḍiyūr lies sixty miles from the Mysore frontier, it is quite possible

[1] Nat. Hist., bk. xxxvii, cap. v.

[2] Colonel Yule (Smith's *Ancient Atlas*) says that there was a beryl-mine at Vāṇiyambāḍi, which is 150 miles or so east of Paḍiyūr, in the modern District of Salem. In this he follows Newbold, M.J.L.S. xii (July, 1840), p. 175.

[3] Geog. vii, cap. i, 86.

that in Roman days it formed part of the Kongu or Chera kingdom. Since large numbers of Roman gold coins have been found near this place, we can have no doubt of the identity of the locality.

The Third Period.

The third period begins with the death of Nero (A.D. 68) and ends with Caracalla (A.D. 217).

Though there was a rapid increase of geographical knowledge of India in Rome during this period, it seems almost certain that the commerce itself suffered a decline. Of the emperors who flourished between Nero and Caracalla only thirty-two gold coins can be counted as having been found in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, the other finds being described as "a number" in one case and "a few" in another. And when we examine the locale of these discoveries we cannot fail to observe that whereas the coins belonging to the previous period have turned up in the tracts that provided spices and precious stones, the coins of this, third, period have mostly been found in a totally different locality. The former were unearthed principally in the country about Coimbatore, Madura, and the west coast; the latter come mostly from places further north. There have been only three finds in Madura of coins of this period, and none in Coimbatore or the west coast. The rest were discovered at Vinukonda in the Kistna District, in the Nellore and Cuddapah Districts, near Sholapur, and in Surat. These are cotton-growing countries. If, therefore, we had to judge solely from these coins, we should be compelled to assume that the trade with Rome in such luxuries as spices, perfumes, and precious stones almost entirely ceased after the death of Nero, and only a limited trade in necessaries, such as cotton fabrics, continued.

And I think we can see a reason for this in the condition of Rome itself and its upper classes. An Indian reason is not apparent, for we know very little of the political upheavals in South India at this period. It is of course

possible that wars between Pāṇḍyans and Cholas, or between Pāṇḍyans and Pallavas, resulted in an exodus from Madura of the Roman merchants who resided there, but such an argument can receive no prominence, as it can only be founded on the purest conjecture. Moreover, such political conditions in India as we do know of, viz. the supremacy in the North-West of the Śaka Kuṣanas, and the subsequent lowering of Śaka power by the great Āndhra kings, would not account for the seemingly sudden decline of commerce with South India after the death of Nero. It seems evident, therefore, that we must seek for the reason for this decline in the condition of Rome itself.

Certain it is that when at Nero's death the race of the Claudii became extinct Rome was convulsed by disputes about the succession, and that these disputes were followed by civil war. Galba reigned for six months only, and was murdered. Otho and Vitellius fought for the imperial throne, and the former put an end to himself after a nominal rule of three months. Vitellius ruled for eight months and was murdered, the capitol having been sacked by his followers.[1] When Vespasian secured the empire he proved of a totally different disposition to the Claudians. Simple and unostentatious, active and industrious, he discouraged all lavish display of luxury on the part of the nobles and devoted himself to reforms. It is probable, too, that the leaders of Roman society were themselves tired of the wanton extravagance and profligacy of the age that had passed; and that, as usual in such cases, their revolt against the excesses that had become scandalous took the form of a parsimony and self-denial that ran in the opposite extreme—a state of things that we ourselves have witnessed in England in the Puritan age. Vespasian issued several enactments to suppress the excesses of the nobles, and actually produced a great change in their mode of living.

[1] Vitellius is said to have spent seven millions sterling in "vulgar and brutal sensuality" during his few months' reign. The quotation is from Merivale, who writes:—"The degradation of Rome was complete; never yet perhaps had she sunk so low in luxury and licentiousness as in the few months which followed the death of Otho."

Merivale says: "The Romans themselves remarked the rise of a new era in social manners at this period. The simpler habits of the plebeians and the provincials prevailed over the reckless luxury and dissipation in which the highest classes . . . . had so long indulged." So that the demand in Rome for the products of the East, the spices and ivory, the silks and precious stones, the diaphanous muslins and costly adornments, ceased, and to these succeeded a commerce which was concerned principally with simple cotton fabrics.

Titus reigned for only two years. Domitian's cruelty and tyranny were such that during his reign there was no encouragement given to wealthy families to revert to the luxuries of the Claudian age. His successor, Nerva, had only a two-years' reign, remarkable for gentleness, economy, and retrenchment. Trajan, who followed, was a soldier and of simple habits. Hadrian's social example was all for good, at least for a time. Antoninus Pius led a blameless life. Marcus Aurelius was strict and self-denying in all his private relations. In fact, it seems clear that during this period the habits of Roman society had changed. And it is to this change that I venture to attribute the decline of Oriental commerce after the time of Nero, a decline still further hastened by the disorganization of the Empire which made rapid strides during and after the reign of Commodus.

In all probability Roman merchants continued to reside in Southern India either permanently or temporarily. The Peutingerian tables, which appear to have been copied from fresco paintings in Rome executed in the second century A.D., place near Muziris, or Muyirikōḍu (modern Cranganore, Kuḍaṅgalūr in the vernacular), a temple of Augustus; but no traces of this are known to exist, and it is impossible to say to which emperor it was dedicated. Dr. Caldwell considered[1] that these geographical tables or maps were prepared at a date somewhat earlier than Ptolemy.

[1] *Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, Introd., p. 14.

The coins found in India during this period, and reported on, may be thus classified.

In Northern India a coin of Domitian (A.D. 81–96) was found amongst twelve enclosed in a box, the rest belonging to my fourth period. Three *aurei* of Domitian, Trajan, and Sabina were discovered in the Ahin Posh Tope at Jelālābād. One *denarius* of Hadrian was found in the Hazāra District of the Panjāb.

In the Bombay Presidency only three finds, at Darphal, near Sholapur, Nagdhara, in the Surat District, and Waghode, in Khandeish, have been reported; in the first of which were a few coins of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–161), a few of Lucius Verus (161–169), a few of Commodus (180–192), several of Septimius Severus (193–211), and one of Geta (211–12); the second consisting of a single coin of Lucius Verus; and the third of a single coin of Septimius Severus.

In the Madras Presidency, in the Districts where such large numbers of the coins of the former period were discovered, we have for this period only four finds: one at Pudukōṭa, a native state not far from Madura, of three *aurei* of Vespasian; one at Kalliyamputtūr, in the Madura District, of five *aurei* of Domitian, and two of Cocceius Nerva (A.D. 96–98); one in the Madura District (place not specified) of a single *aureus* of Domitian; and one of Antoninus Pius recovered from the great hoard of "five cooly-loads" of gold coins found at Kōṭṭayam, near Cannanore.[1]

The remainder were found in the cotton-growing districts, where, as before stated, few of the former period have been unearthed. These are (1) an *aureus* of Vespasian, one of Domitian, five of Hadrian, three of Antoninus Pius, two of Faustina the elder, wife of Antoninus Pius, two of Marcus Aurelius, one of Commodus, and one of Caracalla, found at Vinukoṇḍa, south of the Kṛishṇā river; a number of gold coins of Trajan, one of Hadrian, and one of Faustina the elder, near Nellore; and one of Trajan in the Cuddapah District.

[1] An *aureus* of Marcus Aurelius was found at Karuvūr in the Madura District (see "Supplementary Note" at end).

The Fourth Period.

After the death of Caracalla (A.D. 217) it would appear that trade ceased almost entirely.

The Roman Empire during all this period was a prey to confusion, internal and external. There was a rapid succession of weak rulers, perpetual discord, numberless assassinations and revolts, and general disturbance; while the Goths broke into Italy and ravaged the country. This in itself is quite sufficient to account for the cessation of trade with the East.

But certain other matters should also be considered. Firstly, when seeking to discover the cause for this serious decline of commercial activity we seem unable to attribute it altogether to the condition of the countries on the route to India. I shall go further into this question presently.

Secondly, Alexandria, though always turbulent and in large measure anti-Roman, was still flourishing up to the date of Caracalla, whose brutal treatment of the youth of that city could hardly have had the effect of putting an end to all Oriental commerce. Alexandria's decay did not begin for many years later, and it is probable that diminution of trade with the East was a cause rather than an effect of the decline of the great emporium in Egypt.

Thirdly, we know of nothing in India that would have put an end to commerce with Rome. North-West and West India were at this period under the Kshatrapas and Guptas, but these rulers appear to have been favourably disposed towards the Roman Empire, from which they had nothing to fear and everything to gain. Mr. Vincent Smith, in his article on Græco-Roman influence in India published in 1889,[1] has fixed (p. 161) the year A.D. 150 as the earliest approximate date for Roman forms of architectural decoration reaching India, and he traces affinities in the Art of North-West India which would show that Roman influence lasted

[1] J.A.S. Bengal, vol. lviii.

down to so late a date as A.D. 450 (p. 172). If he is right, therefore, we may be sure that the cessation of trade with Rome after Caracalla is not to be attributed to the political conditions existing in North or West India at that period.

Nor, fourthly, would it appear that there were any such conditions in Western and Southern India as would put a stop to external trade with those countries after the year 217 A.D. The Western Kshatrapas held their own in parts of what is now the Bombay Presidency till at least the time of Samudra Gupta, A.D. 350, being finally conquered by Chandragupta Vikramāditya about A.D. 401. Their arts and coinage prove them to have looked on Rome with favour. The Pallavas would appear to have been the ruling power at this period in the country south and east of the Kshatrapas, in succession to the Āndhras, and there is nothing to show that they were antagonistic to Roman trade. That the Āndhras favoured the Romans seems to be shown from the presence of Roman influence at Amarāvati. (Mr. Vincent Smith, in the article quoted, refers to this, p. 169.) We know little as to the history of the southern nations at this period, but as it is certain that the Pāṇḍyan kings, who at that time were the paramount rulers of the south-western portion of the peninsula, had encouraged trade with the great European empire in earlier years, there is no reason to suppose that the stoppage of trade arose from any action of theirs. I shall show presently that there is good ground for the belief that their capital city, Madura, had much to do with the Romans.

We are therefore driven to find a reason elsewhere. And, differing from some writers who attribute the decay of trade solely to such causes as the strength of the Sassanid kings,[1] I am inclined to the belief that it is to the condition of Rome itself that we must look for the real cause of it. It seems clear to me that just as the demand for Oriental luxuries in Rome decreased when Roman manners underwent a change from lavish extravagance to simplicity under

[1] Whose rise dates from A.D. 226.

Vespasian, so the demand ceased altogether after Caracalla, when Rome was in too distracted a condition for its inhabitants to think of spending large sums of money on spices, perfumes, and ornaments. A certain amount of trade there no doubt was, but not a great deal. There may, of course, have been contributory influences at work, such as the disturbed condition of Alexandria and the Sassanid hatred of Rome. But my contention is that the latter were secondary, not primary. I cannot agree with Priaulx, who holds[1] that Roman intercourse with India was at its height "during the reigns of Severus, Caracalla, and the Pseudo-Antonines." It is true that Palmyrene trade flourished abundantly till its fall in A.D. 273, but that was probably due rather to the military requirements of Rome than to domestic demand for Oriental luxuries. Such trade as there was after the fall of Palmyra appears to have been carried on by the Arabs, who fixed on Adulē as their chief port.[2] Mr. Priaulx notices[3] the facilities given by the Sassanid kings of Persia to the overland route, their beneficent administration, and the protection they extended to merchants, but the principal trade thus aided appears to have been in Chinese silks.

The finds of coins belonging to this period are as follows :— Only one has been found in Southern or Western India. This is a coin of Constantius II (A.D. 337–361) discovered in the Madura District, and it very possibly found its way to India after the revival of trade under the Eastern emperors.

In the north the discoveries relating to this period have been larger. Ten copper coins were found in a box (with one of Domitian and one of Theodosius) in "Upper India," the locality not being stated, the earliest being one of Gordian (A.D. 238), the latest one of Constantine (A.D. 306–337). At Bāmanghati in Bengal there was "a great find" of gold coins, amongst which were some of Gordian. The

[1] *Apollonius of Tyana*, p. 132.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 232.
[3] *Id.*, p. 252.

other discoveries, if any, are indefinitely reported, and I can base no argument upon them.

Before quitting this fourth period it is advisable to refer to the condition of the countries lying between Syria and India during this and the third period, or between the reign of Nero and the fall of the Roman Western Empire, in order to judge of the probable effect of such condition on Roman Oriental trade. Previous writers have seen in the Parthian and Neo-Sassanid domination in Persia the true cause for the decline of that trade, and since to some extent I differ from them, and contend that this cause was only contributory, it is necessary shortly to summarize the situation. At about the time of Nero's death all Asia Minor had become Roman. Thirty years later Trajan was at war with the Parthians, his desire being to obtain command of the lines of international traffic beyond the Tigris. But his successors, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, abandoned this policy, and there was peace between the two nations. From A.D. 161 to 227, however, when the Parthian Empire fell under the dominion of the Persian Sassanids, war was almost incessant, and there can be little doubt that caravan traffic from Northern India to the West must at this period have severely suffered. But this caravan traffic was at no time of paramount importance to Rome; for Roman influence was supreme in Syria, and the trade-routes from Palmyra to the southern ports lay open to merchants. It was by the sea, and after Claudius by the open sea, that the bulk of the merchandize from Indian south-coast ports was carried to the Arabian marts and Alexandria; and the Parthian wars must have increased rather than diminished the popularity of these routes. This also was the most flourishing period in the history of Palmyra, which was friendly to Rome and did not come into conflict with it till A.D. 267. So that, had the internal condition of Rome itself at this period led to a continued demand for Oriental luxuries, trade with India would have been abundant. The fall of Palmyra in 273 A.D. would have still further facilitated this commerce had the Romans of that date seen any necessity for extending

it; and the very fact that they destroyed the city and abandoned it serves as an additional proof that the trade itself had by that time seriously declined.

Señor Lopes[1] considers that the decay of Roman trade with India was largely due to Sassanid encouragement of Persian maritime commerce, which practically swept the Roman vessels off the Indian seas; but it must be remembered that this influence could not have been felt till, at earliest, about A.D. 250, Sassanid supremacy only dating from A.D. 227, whereas, judging from the discoveries of Indian numismatology, the decay of Roman trade with India set in as early as A.D. 69. Persian domination may have given this trade its deathblow, but its decline is manifestly due to other causes.

The Fifth Period.

Trade with Rome revived somewhat under the Byzantine emperors.

The final division of the Roman empire into east and west took place in A.D. 364, and the next hundred years of Rome were terrible ones for her. A succession of powerless emperors held a show of authority. She was attacked by the Goths and seized by Alaric in A.D. 410. Attila the Hun ravaged the fair lands of Italy in 451. Three years later Genseric, the Vandal, seized and pillaged Rome. It was sacked again in 472, and in 476 it ceased to exist as an empire. This was evidently not a period when we could expect the citizens of Rome to encourage Oriental trade.

The eastern empire at Constantinople, first occupied as a seat of government by Constantine the Great in A.D. 330 and established as the capital of an empire in 376, lasted much longer and enjoyed far greater success. Almost in contact with Asia, and its upper classes having leisure as well as wealth, it was natural for the Asiatic trade to improve.

That products of South India found their way even to Rome at this period is clear from the fact that when Alaric

[1] *Os Portugueses no Malabar*, Intr. xxi.

spared Rome in A.D. 408, he demanded and obtained as part of the ransom three thousand pounds of pepper; and the discovery, which will presently be more fully considered, of quantities of Roman copper coins, many of them of this period, in Madura, as well as on the eastern coast, seems to show that Roman agents were at that time resident in those parts. But it must be observed that we no longer hear of the precious stones of South India as being exported to Rome, and there have been no reported discoveries of coins of this period near the Paḍiyūr beryl-mines.

The coins found in India belonging to this period are as follows:—In the north a coin of Theodosius, included amongst the twelve found together "in a box"; and five gold coins of Theodosius, Marcian, and Leo found in a stupa at Hidda, near Jelālābād. The coins of this period lying in the Calcutta Museum in 1832, and reported on by James Prinsep, cannot be depended on, as it is possible that they were not unearthed in India.

Some coins of Theodosius, Arcadius, and "later Roman emperors" (names not specified) have been found in Ceylon, but the information at my disposal regarding them is not very exact; the only exception being that two of them, of Arcadius, were "brass."

In Southern India we observe that no coins of this period have been found (or at least reported) in the cotton countries, where the most recent coin is one of the reign of Caracalla. At Madura we have a large quantity of copper coins found in the river bed and in waste places about the town, some of them being of Arcadius, emperor of the East (A.D. 395–408), and Honorius, emperor of the West (A.D. 395–423); one gold coin of Theodosius II, the successor of Arcadius; one of Zeno; and one of Anastatius. There have been finds, on the other hand, in Travancore, whence only one previous discovery is reported. A coin of Theodosius II was found at Kōṭṭayam, and at another place at least one each[1] of

[1] It would appear that no full examination has yet taken place of this hoard, which came to light last year.

Theodosius II, Marcian, Leo, Zeno, Anastatius (491–518), and Justinus I (518). A coin of Theodosius I (371–395) was found at the Seven Pagodas, or Māmallapuram. Mr. Tracey has also coins of the same emperor found in the Madura District. And finally, Sir Walter Elliot noted finds of *oboli* "along the Coromandel coast," including some of Valentinian, Theodosius, and Eudoxia.

It would thus appear that, generally speaking, precious stones, cottons, and muslins were not much exported to Rome at this time, but that the trade was more or less confined to pepper and spices shipped from the southern ports both on the east and west.

Roman Coins at Madura.

I have mentioned more than once the fact of the discovery at Madura of a number of Roman copper coins. These I saw myself in 1881 in the possession of the late Mr. Scott, a Pleader of that place, who had collected them during a residence of many years there. Unfortunately Mr. Scott could not bring himself to take the trouble to catalogue or arrange them, and I am not aware what has become of them, so that no classification of them is possible at present. All I can say is that I saw a large number, probably some hundreds, lying loose in a drawer in Mr. Scott's house, some that I noted being of Arcadius and Honorius.[1] He gave me the following account of their discovery. He had for many years collected all sorts of South Indian coins, and had been in the habit of regularly paying people in Madura the full value of the metal brought to him; in

[1] I have been attempting to trace these coins, but up to the present have not succeeded. Mr. Thurston, Superintendent of the Government Central Museum, Madras, tells me that after Mr. Scott's death his collection was, by his will, offered to that institution for examination and selection; and Dr. Hultzsch informs me that it was he who looked through it and made the selection. He found no Roman coins amongst them. I infer, therefore, that the Roman coins from Madura, or at least some of them, had been sent to the Museum at an earlier date, since Mr. Thurston writes (April 22nd last): "There is no complete list of Roman coppers found at Madura issued. There are some in the Museum collection." My statement in the text may therefore be accepted as substantially correct, though I am not in a position to give any details.

consequence of which many of the poorer classes used to search the waste places about the town and the sandy bed of the river in the dry months. The result was the collection of a very large number of copper coins, almost all of which had been found at Madura itself. While ignoring, as I have been compelled to do in these classified lists, finds of coins which have not been reported or noticed in authentic publications, it is impossible for me to pass over this Madura collection, since I myself was shown the coins.

The discovery here and there of isolated coins of more valuable metal teaches us very little, as they may have been acquired purely for ornament or as curiosities. The discovery of a number of coins together in a vessel might be considered merely as evidence that some person had collected them because he was interested in them, or because he desired to trade in them either as ornaments or for the value of the metal. Gold and silver coins might be melted for jewellery, copper for making pots and other useful articles. Coins thus found together might also have been the possession of some Hindu who traded with Rome and hoarded them as treasure. But there seems to be a difference when we have to deal with discoveries such as those of Mr. Scott at Madura. The presence in many different places in the same town of Roman *copper* coins, found lying in the ground and in the sandy bed of the river, seems to imply that these coins were in daily circulation and were dropped carelessly or otherwise lost by the inhabitants of the place. The question is whether or not Romans, or at least persons using Roman coins in daily life, were actually resident at Madura for a time.

That there is no inherent improbability of this being the case seems manifest. The trading ports of South India were well known to the Roman geographers. Madura was the capital city of the Pāṇḍyans. We have a tradition of the immigration into Malabar, about the year A.D. 68, of a body of refugee Jews from Jerusalem. The beryl-mines of Paḍiyūr, which were evidently exploited by Roman merchants, lie only eighty miles or so from Madura, the

country between these places being admirably adapted for travelling. The tradition of St. Thomas having visited Malabar proves that such a visit was looked upon as quite feasible; and the *Acta Thomæ* probably date from a time not later than the fourth century, perhaps as early as the second century A.D. It is certain that the Syrian churches on this coast belong to a very early date, and the Byzantine monk, Kosmas, writing about A.D. 522, mentions the existence of Christian churches "at Male where the pepper grows; and in the town of Kalliena," the latter place being probably Kalliyān, near Bombay. The author of the *Periplūs* (about A.D. 80) speaks of Muziris, the nearest port to Madura on the west coast, as "a city at the height of prosperity"; while the Pāṇḍyan and Chera kings were spoken of by Pliny, the latter by name, Madura being mentioned as the Pāṇḍyan capital. Ptolemy, who states that he obtained part of his knowledge from persons who had "resided" in India "a long time,"[1] gives the names of a number of places in the neighbourhood of Madura and the interior of Southern India. The Peutingerian tables, as already mentioned, mark a temple of Augustus as existing at Muziris. And these arguments might be multiplied. It would, indeed, be surprising to the last degree if Roman agents were not resident at the capital city of the territory from which so much merchandize was exported to Rome. These agents may, of course, not have been actually Roman citizens. They may have been Alexandrians, or Syrians using Roman coinage, or even Arabs, and they may perhaps not have resided in the country for a long period—possibly only for a year or two between their voyages. But there is no reason apparent why they should not have been Roman citizens, and why they should not have actually lived at Madura for many years. It was a flourishing city. Life was doubtless

[1] Proleg. i, xvii: παρὰ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν εἰσπλεύσαντων καὶ χρόνον πλεῖστον ἐπέλθοντων τοὺς τόπους καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἀφικόμενων πρὸς ἡμᾶς, "From those that sailed thither and frequented those places for a long time, and from those who came from thence to us." The latter phrase seems intended to include natives of India visiting Rome.

pleasant. Trade evidently received encouragement from the Hindu rulers. And there were strong reasons why after the first years of the empire many people should have preferred to live anywhere rather than in Rome. Christians, for instance, would surely have welcomed exile to South India during the terrible days of the persecutions. On the analogy of life, too, as we see it, it is difficult to understand what argument could be raised against the suggestion that Roman commercial agents lived in the principal capitals and marts of South India for trade purposes, just as English commercial agents live to-day for trade purposes in the principal cities and marts of China.

But it may be argued that the presence of copper coins could hardly prove the presence of people using them, since the coins may have been imported only for the metal of which they were composed, with the intention that they should be melted and converted into pots and domestic utensils. But, first, there was no need to import copper into India, as it was easily procurable in the country. Balfour's *Cyclopædia* mentions thirty places where copper is found in India, many of these being in the Madras Presidency.[1] Secondly, if coins were collected solely for the metal they would generally be found in one place—the working-place of the copper merchant or artizan—not scattered about the soil of a large town, as at Madura. Thirdly, copper coins would never have been exported in bulk all the way from Rome or Alexandria to India merely for the metal, even if the metal itself had been scarce, accommodation on the vessels being limited. So that it would seem as if the Roman copper coins found at Madura must have been brought to India for daily use in small purchases by residents, whether Europeans or Syrians or Egyptians, using Roman coinage.

[1] Kosmas, writing in the sixth century A.D., states that copper was produced at Kalliane, or Kalyāna (book xi), but this does not appear to be confirmed by Balfour. The South Indian places mentioned in the *Cyclopædia* are Nellore, Ongole, Kālastrī, Venkatagiri, and Kurnool. Mr. Bruce Foote adds two places in the Bellary District, and I have been told of copper workings at Guṇṭupāliyam, near Vinukoṇḍai n the Kistna District.

And I must here draw attention to another point connected with this subject. Captain (now Colonel) Tufnell, in his *Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India*,[1] mentions another class of coins as found at Madura, none of which I have myself seen, and which, so far as I know, have not been as yet reported on by any other writer. It will be best for me to quote his own words:—

"These little copper pieces are found in and around Madura, and some years' hunting has proved to me beyond a doubt that they were at one period in pretty general use in that part. . . . For the following reasons I incline to the opinion that they were struck on the spot and were not importations from Rome.

"In the first place, during a recent visit to Madura and the surrounding villages in quest of specimens, I came across no less than seven of these coins, Roman beyond any doubt, but of a type which appears to me to be totally distinct from that found in Europe. These specimens were scattered over several parcels that I examined, and were not all together in one or two, as is usually the case when a number of issues have been dug up together. Nor was this by any means a solitary instance, for I have rarely paid a coin-hunting visit to these parts without meeting with more or less specimens, and other collectors tell me that their experience has been the same. Moreover, they are not the kind of money that one would expect the rich Roman merchant to bring in payment for the luxuries of the East, but small, insignificant copper coins, scarce the size of a quarter of a farthing and closely resembling the early issues of the native mints . . . . The stamp of coin I now refer to occurs, as far as I can learn, in and around Madura *alone*,[2] and this surely points to the probability of the existence at one time of a Roman settlement at or near that place."

Later on Captain Tufnell speaks of these little coins as perhaps "struck specially for the purposes of trade with a pauper population." By daily trade I presume he means daily household purchases, the larger Roman coins being of too high value to be suitable. He continues: "All the coins of this series are well worn, as though they had been

[1] *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1887–8, p. 161.

[2] I have never heard of them elsewhere.—R. S.

in regular circulation. They are of so small a value as to be what one would expect to find in use when dealing with a people so poor as the early Hindus. They are *constantly* being found, and not occurring as a glut at intermittent periods."

We then have a description of them:—

"On the obverse of all that I have met with appears an emperor's head, but so worn that with one or two exceptions the features are well-nigh obliterated. In one or two specimens a faint trace of an inscription appears running round the obverse, but hitherto I have not come across a single specimen in which more than one or two letters are distinguishable. The reverses vary considerably, but the commonest type seems to bear the figures of three Roman soldiers standing and holding spears in their hands.[1] Another bears a rectangular figure somewhat resembling a complete form of the design on the reverse of the Buddhist square coins found in the same locality . . . . On one specimen the few decipherable letters appear to form part of the name Theodosius, and the style of coin points to the probability of its having been issued during the decline of the Roman Empire, possibly after the capital had been transferred to Constantinople. Another specimen in gold that I have seen, now in the collection of the Rev. James E. Tracey, of Tirumangalam, closely resembles on the reverse an issue in the British Museum of Leo III, who ruled the Eastern Empire at the commencement of the eighth century."

In a footnote he adds—"Finds of similar coins have also been made at Anurādhapura and Colombo recently."

Thus we have two classes of Roman coins of little value found at Madura, scattered and not collected together, viz., the copper issues of the regular Roman coinage, and small copper coins apparently locally minted for daily domestic use; and though as a general rule it may be held that the presence of Roman coins does not necessarily imply the presence of Roman traders, it seems with regard to Madura almost impossible to account for this state of things except

[1] I think that Captain Tufnell was too well-informed to have confused these with the little coins found in South India, probably Chera or of Chera origin, which have devices of Indian figures standing and holding long spears, or bows, in their hands.—R. S.

on the supposition that Roman subjects had taken up their residence here and made the city their home, temporary if not permanent.

On the other hand, I must not omit to notice and give due weight to the suggestion of Mommsen (*Provinces of the Roman Empire*, ii, 300) that the Roman money "had already under Vespasian so naturalized itself [in India] that the people there preferred to use it." But he is referring here to gold and silver money, and it seems hardly likely that at the Pāṇḍyan capital copper money would have been minted in imitation of Roman coins when the Pāṇḍyan kings had their own copper money in full circulation — the said imitations bearing, moreover, a design representing the features of a far-away western monarch.

Concluding Remarks.

This is not the occasion for attempting a discussion as to the exact nature and extent of Roman influence in India, but a few points may be noticed.

Mr. Vincent Smith[1] points out that the coins of Kadphises II, the date of whose annexation of North India he places at about A.D. 95, agree exactly in weight with the aurei of the early Roman emperors, i.e. 124 grains, as against the 132 grains of the Attic stater.

Mr. Smith has also treated at length the question of the influence of Rome on the Arts of India. This was of course mostly felt in the north, but it is traceable at Amarāvati.[2] Mr. Rapson[3] confirms Mr. Vincent Smith, and writes: "The head on the Kuṣana copper coins bearing the name of Kozola Kadaphes is directly imitated from the head of Augustus."

The fact that the Gupta coins are also of the same weight as the Roman aurei may be due either to the direct influence

[1] J.R.A.S., January, 1903, p. 34.
[2] J.A.S.B., 1889, p. 169.
[3] *Indian Coins*, §§ 15, 70.

of Rome, or more probably to their merely following the Kuṣana standard already in use.

The use of the Roman word *denarius*, in its form *dinar*, in early inscriptions is well known. It is found in several Sanskrit inscriptions, e.g. at Sāñchi (A.D. 450–1), and in the Kashmirian *Rāja Taraṅgini* in connection with the Huna king Toramāna (*c.* A.D. 495); also in several Gupta inscriptions of Chandragupta II, Kumāragupta, and perhaps Skandagupta (A.D. 401 – *c.* 480).[1] So that we may assume that, introduced into India as early as the first century A.D., it remained as a word in common use for several hundred years.

In the Kōṭṭayam plate of Vīra-Rāghava in the possession of the Syrian Christians there, the date of which appears very doubtful (Dr. Burnell attributing it to the year A.D. 774, while the present editor assigns it to the fourteenth century A.D.), occurs the following passage, as translated by Mr. V. Venkayya and published in the *Epigraphia Indica* under Dr. Hultzsch's authority[2]:—"We gave . . . . . the brokerage on (*articles*) that may be measured with the *para*, weighed by the balance, or measured with the tape, etc. . . . ." In commenting on this passage Mr. W. Logan writes[3]: "This is almost an exact reproduction of the phrase so familiar to Roman jurists: *Quæ pondere, numero mensurâve constant*," and he thinks that perhaps the currency of the phrase at Kuḍangalūr[4] (the Muziris of the Roman geographers) is traceable back to the time of Roman trade with that city. If so, it would go far to show that Roman law was in use in that tract, and the later the date of the grant the more remarkable would be the survival of the phrase.

To sum up my views on the subject of Roman trade with

[1] J.A.S.B. vi, 456. Fleet's *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings: Corpus Ins. Ind.*, iii, pp. 33, 38, 39, 40, 41, 262, 265.

[2] *Epig. Ind.*, iv, 290 ff.

[3] *Malabar*, i, 269.

[4] The grant in question, though named after Kōṭṭayam, the place where it is kept, refers to Kuḍangalūr, or Cranganore.

India. I have entered on the question because I found myself taking up a standpoint different in some degree from that of previous writers. The difference between us is shortly this: that whereas they have sought in the political condition of India and the adjacent countries, or in the conditions governing the facilities for transport of goods by sea and land between the two countries, for the causes of commercial prosperity and decay during the several periods, I incline to the belief that it is rather to the social condition of Rome itself that we should primarily look for an explanation, the other causes being merely contributory. When the upper classes in Rome gave themselves up to inordinate self-indulgence the demand for Oriental luxuries was great, and the merchants and ship-owners were consequently spurred to the maximum of activity. When life in Rome became simpler and more manly the Oriental trade naturally declined. When life in Rome became almost unbearable owing to internal dissensions and the attacks of the Goths and Vandals its Oriental trade ceased. When the emperors of the east had firmly established themselves at Constantinople, and the social life of that city had passed into a condition of comparative tranquillity, the Oriental trade revived. These reasons, I think, are sufficient in themselves to account for the prevalence of Roman coins in certain parts of India, and their scarcity or absence in others, as well as for the frequency of finds in India of coins of one period as compared with those of another.

Supplementary Note to penultimate paragraph of p. 602.

Mr. J. R. Henderson, Acting Superintendent of the Madras Museum, informs me that, apart from the Museum Collection of Roman Coins, he himself possesses an *aureus* of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (A.D. 161–180) found at Karuvūr.

ABBREVIATIONS.

T.C. = Thurston's "Catalogue of Coins" in the Government Central Museum, Madras, No. 1, 1874; No. 2, 1888. 2nd ed., 1894.

B.My. = Buchanan's "Mysore, Canara, and Malabar." 2nd ed. of 1870. Madras.

M.J.L.S. = Madras Journal of Literature and Science.

As. Res. = Asiatic Researches.

J.A.S.B. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

B.C. = Dr. Bidie's "Catalogue of Coins in the Madras Museum."

M.C.C.M. = Madras Christian College Magazine.

Ind. Ant. = The Indian Antiquary.

S.L.M. = Sewell's "Lists of Antiquities, Madras."

Proc. A.S.B. = Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

G.O. = Government Order.

C.A.S.R. = Cunningham's Archæological Survey Reports.

W.A.A. = Wilson's "Ariana Antiqua."

T.R.D. = Thurston's "On a Recent Discovery of Roman Coins in Southern India."

Rice, Ind. Mag. = Rice on "Roman Coins near Bangalore," in the Indian Magazine.

J.B.B.R.A.S. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Num. Chron. = Numismatic Chronicle.

Prin. Ess. = Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities.

LISTS OF ROMAN COINS FOUND IN INDIA.

LISTS OF ROMAN COINS FOUND IN INDIA.

ROMAN COINS FOUND IN NORTHERN INDIA.

Description.	Where Found.	Date.	Reference.
Twelve Roman copper coins were found in a box "in Upper India," no further details being given. They were coins of Domitian, Gordian, Gallienus, Salonica his wife, Posthumus, Victorinus, Claudius Gothicus, Tacitus, Probus, Maximian, Constantine, and Theodosius, the latest belonging to the fourth century A.D.	Locality not specified.	?	J.A.S.B. ii (1833), 368.
Seven silver coins were found by Captain A. Court, an officer under General Ventura's command, in one of the Manikyāla Topes, in 1830. They were of the period of the Consulate, none being later than the epoch of the Christian era.	The Manikyāla Tope.	1830.	J.A.S.B. iii (1834), 559, 564, 635. J.R.A.S. xii (N.S.), 264. C.A.S.R. ii, 162. W.A.A., pp. 15, 36. Prin. Ess., i, 148.
Three gold coins of Domitian, Trajan, and Hadrian's wife, Sabina, were found by Mr. William Simpson in February, 1879, in the Ahin Posh Tope at Jelālābād, along with seventeen Kuṣana coins of Kaphises, Kanishka, and Huvishka. They had been placed in the relic-chamber.	The Ahin Posh Tope at Jelālābād.	1879.	Proc. A.S.B. 1879, pp. 78, 134, 208.
"Some years ago a great find of gold coins, containing among others several of the Roman emperors, Constantine, Gordian, etc., in most beautiful preservation, were found near Bāmanghati." No hint is given as to how many Roman coins were found in the hoard, but there were	Bāmanghati, S.E. Bengal.	?	C.A.S.R. xiii, 72 (Beglar).

many, and they were gold. Bāmanghati is in the Singbhūm District, South-East Bengal, between Chaibasa and Balasore. It lies on the main road that runs almost due west from the port of Tamluk on the Hūghli.			
About 1860 many Roman coins were offered for sale at Rāwal Pindi, but no one except the natives knew where they came from, and the information appears to have been concealed.	?	*c.* 1860.	C.A.S.R. ii, 148.
In 1898 or 1899 there was a find of silver denarii in the Hazāra District of the Panjāb. Only 23 appear to have been recovered, the rest having "got into the hands of the Pindi dealers" (C. J. Rodgers): 5 were family or *gens* coins of the Consulate period, 1 each of Julius Cæsar, Mark Antony, and Brutus, 12 of Augustus, 2 of Tiberius, 1 of Hadrian.	Hazāra District, Panjāb.	1898 or 1899.	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xix, 263.
The Calcutta Museum contained in 1832 2 gold coins of Arcadius, 5 silver coins of Germanicus (which, is not stated), Augustus, Tiberius, Vespasian, and Maximus son of Maximinus (A.D. 236-8); and a number of copper coins, of which 53 are figured in the volume quoted opposite. A number of others were subsequently bought. Unfortunately, though James Prinsep, the author of the article, asserts that the former series were all "of Indian origin," no further details are given, so that the statement cannot well be accepted as basis for argument, and the only safe course is to leave them out of account altogether. It is true that Dr. R. Tytler stated that some of the coins were "collected" and "procured" by him at Allahabad, Mirzapur, Bindāchal, Kanauj, and Chunar, and I duly record the names; but there is nothing to show that these were found anywhere in the soil of India.	Not known. Lying in Calcutta Museum in 1832.		J.A.S.B. i (1832), 392, 476.

Description.	Where Found.	Date.	Reference.
[Mr. Rapson refers to the passage quoted opposite, which deals with 2 Roman coins found in the Maharajah's Treasury at Rewa, but I note that Dr. Hoernle believes them to be forgeries.]	... ...	... ...	Proc. A.S.B. 1880, p. 118.
Five Roman gold coins were found in a field at Manikyāla in 1885. They had been strung on a bracelet or necklet, and Dr. Hoernle thinks that the ornament was made about A.D. 200.	Manikyāla.	1885.	Proc. A.S.B. 1886, p. 86.
Mr. Vincent Smith states that 5 gold coins of the Byzantine emperors Theodosius, Marcian, and Leo (A.D. 407–474) were found in a *stupa*.	Hidda, near Jelālābād.	?	J.A.S.B. lviii (1889), 155.
Dr. Vogel reports his purchase at Peshawur of some ancient seals, two of which, according to Mr. Marshall, were Roman. They are said to have come from Naugrām.	Naugrām, near Peshawur.	Acquired in 1901.	Progress Report of Archæological Survey, Panjāb Circle, for 1901–2.

ROMAN COINS FOUND IN SOUTHERN AND WESTERN INDIA.

Rulers of Rome.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Place where Found.	Date of Finding.	Reference.
B.C. 29—A.D. 14. Augustus.	... ...	"A great many" in a pot.	... ...	Pollāchi, Coimbatore District.	1800	T.C. ii, p. 7. B.My. ii, 31. M.J.L.S. xiii, 214.
	1	... ...	... ...	Karuvūr, Coimbatore District.	1806	T.C. i, 1; ii, 8. M.J.L.S. xiii, 214.
	"A pot full of coins (metal not stated) of Augustus and Tiberius."			Pollāchi, Coimbatore District.	1810	T.C. i, 8 (authority not mentioned).
	... ...	1	... ...	In a dolmen in Coimbatore District.	1817	T.C. i, 1; ii, 8. M.J.L.S. xiii, 214. J.B.B.R.A.S. i (1843), p. 294.
	... ...	135	... ...	In a pot at Vellalūr, Coimbatore District.	1842	T.C. i, 2; ii, 10. M.J.L.S. xiii, 212. J.B.B.R.A.S. i (1843), p. 294.
	Several, amongst a quantity amounting to "five cooly-loads."	... ...	... ...	Kōṭṭayam, ten miles E. of Cannanore.	1850	T.C. i, 2; ii, 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1852), 371–387.

Rulers of Rome.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Place where Found.	Date of Finding.	Reference.
Augustus (*cont.*) ...	... ...	27 recovered out of about 500 found in an earthen pot.	... ...	Karuvūr, Coimbatore District.	1878	T.C. ii, 21. M.C.C.M., October, 1883, p. 219 ff.
	... ...	Many, amongst a find of 163.	... ...	Yeshovantpur, near Bangalore, Maisūr.	1891	Rice, Ind. Mag.
	... ...	180	... ...	In a pot at Vellalūr, Coimbatore District.	1891	T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 24. Num. Chron., 1891, p. 199.
	40	... ...	... ...	Pudukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304, etc.
B.C. 38—A.D. 9. Drusus the elder.	... ...	1	... ...	Vellalūr, Coimbatore District.	1842	T.C. i, 2; ii, 10. M.J.L.S. xiii, 212.
	Several; in the Kōṭṭayam hoard of "five cooly-loads."	... ...	... ...	Kōṭṭayam, 10 miles E. of Cannanore.	1850	T.C. i, 2; ii, 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1851), 371 ff.
	2	... ...	... ...	Kalliyamputtūr, Madura District.[1]	1856	T.C. i, 2; ii, 20. B.C. 2. M.J.L.S., N.S., i (1856–7), 114; iii (1857), 158.
	11	... ...	... ...	Pudukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.

	... ...	3	... ...	Veḷḷalūr, Coimbatore District.	1891	Num. Chron., 1891, p. 199.
B.C. 13—A.D. 23. Drusus the younger.	5	... ...	... ...	Kalliyamputtūr, Madura District.	1856	T.C. i, 2; ii, 20. B.C. 2. M.J.L.S., N.S., i (1856-7), 114; iii (1857), 158.
Antonia, wife of Drusus.	1	... ...	... ...	Karuvūr, Coimbatore District.	1806	T.C. i, 1; ii, 8. M.J.L.S. xiii, 214.
	3 at least, in the Kōṭṭayam hoard.	... ...	... ...	Kōṭṭayam, 10 miles E. of Cannanore.	1850	T.C. i, 1; ii, 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1851), 371 ff.
	... ...	1, amongst a find of 163.	... ...	Yeshovantpur, near Bangalore, Maisūr.	1891	Rice, Ind. Mag.
	... ...	2	... ...	Veḷḷalūr, Coimbatore District.	1891	T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 25. Num. Chron., 1891, p. 199.
	15	... ...	... ...	Pudukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.
Germanicus	... ...	1	... ...	Veḷḷalūr, Coimbatore District.	1842	T.C. i, 2; ii, 10. M.J.L.S. xiii, 212.
	8	... ...	... ...	Pudukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.
Agrippina, wife of Germanicus.	... ...	1	... ...	Veḷḷalūr, Coimbatore District.	1842	T.C. i, 2; ii, 10. M.J.L.S. xiii, 212.

[1] Kalliyamputtūr is close to the Coimbatore District boundary. Sixty-three coins were found in 1856, in a pot in the ground. Forty-nine have been catalogued, and are included in this list. It is not known what became of the remainder.

Rulers of Rome.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Place where Found.	Date of Finding.	Reference.
Agrippina (*cont.*) ...	1	... ...	... ...	Pudukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.
A.D. 14–37. Tiberius	.. ..	"A great many" in a pot.	... ...	Pollāchi, Coimbatore District.	1800	T.C. i, 1; ii, 7. B.My. ii, 31. M.J.L.S. xiii, 214.
	1	... ...	... ...	Karuvūr, Coimbatore District.	1806	T.C. i, 1; ii, 8. M.J.L.S. xiii, 214.
	"A pot full of Augustus and	coins (metal not Tiberius."	stated) of	Pollāchi, Coimbatore District.	1810	T.C. ii, 8 (authority not stated).
	... ...	378	... ...	Veḷḷalūr, Coimbatore District.	1842	T.C. i, 2; ii, 10. M.J.L.S. xiii, 212.
	28 at least, in the Kōṭṭayam hoard.	... ...	... ...	Kōṭṭayam, 10 miles E. of Coimbatore.	1850	T.C. i, 2; ii, 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1852), 371 ff.
	... ...	90, recovered out of about 500 found in an earthen pot.	... ...	Karuvūr, Coimbatore District.	1878	T.C. ii, 21. M.C.C.M., October, 1883, p. 219 ff.
	6	... ...	... ...	Kalliyamputtūr, Madura District.	1856	T.C. i, 2; ii, 20. B.C. 2. M.J.L.S., N.S., i (1856), 114; iii (1857), 158.

	2	... ...	... ...	In Fort, Vinukoṇḍa, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D. 2. T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
	... ...	Many, amongst a find of 163.	... ...	Yeshovantpur, near Bangalore, Maisūr.	1891	Rice, Ind. Mag.
	... ...	329	... ...	Veḷḷalūr, Coimbatore District.	1891	T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 24.
	... ...	Some (number not stated).	... ...	Sulibandam, Chicacole Taluq, Ganjam District.	1898-99	Private letter from Mr. Thurston.
	169	... ...	... ...	Pudukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304, etc.
37-41. Caligula ...	... ...	1	... ...	Veḷḷalūr, Coimbatore District.	1842	T.C. i, 2; ii, 10. M.J.L.S. xiii, 212.
	2 at least, in the Kōṭṭayam hoard.	... ...	... ...	Kōṭṭayam, 10 miles E. of Coimbatore.	1850	T.C. i, 2; ii, 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1851), 371 ff.
	1	... ...	... ...	Kalliyamputtūr, Madura District.	1856	T.C. i, 2; ii, 20. B.C. 2. M.J.L.S., N.S., i (1856-7), 114; iii (1857), 158.
	... ...	Many, amongst a find of 163.	... ...	Yeshovantpur, near Bangalore, Maisūr.	1891	Rice, Ind. Mag.
	... ...	8	... ...	Veḷḷalūr, Coimbatore District.	1891	T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 25.

Rulers of Rome.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Place where Found.	Date of Finding.	Reference.
Caligula (*cont.*) ...	5	... ...	... ...	Pudukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.
41–54. T. Claudius (Drus. German.).	2	... ...	... ...	Karuvūr, Coimbatore District.	1806	T.C. i, 1; ii, 8. M.J.L.S. xiii, 214.
	... ...	5	... ...	Veḷḷalūr, Coimbatore District.	1842	T.C. i, 2; ii, 10. M.J.L.S. xiii, 212.
	16 at least, in the Kōṭṭayam hoard.	... .	... ..	Kōṭṭayam, 10 miles E. of Cannanore.	1850	T.C. i, 2; ii, 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1851), 371 ff.
	8	... ...	... ...	Kalliyamputtūr, Madura District.	1856	T.C. i, 2; ii, 20. B.C. 2. M.J.L.S., N.S., i (1856–7), 114; iii (1857), 158.
	... ...	Many, amongst a find of 163.	... ...	Yeshovantpur, near Bangalore, Maisūr.	1891	Rice, Ind. Mag.
	... ...	12	... ...	Veḷḷalūr, Coimbatore District.	1891	T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 24. Num. Chron., 1891, p. 199.
	94	... ...	... ...	Pudukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.
Agrippina, wife of Claudius.	Some, in the Kōṭṭayam hoard.	... ...	... ...	Kōṭṭayam, 10 miles E. of Cannanore.	1850	T.C. i, 2; ii, 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1851), 371 ff.

	3	... .	... ...	Kalliyamputtūr, Madura District.	1856	T.C. i, 2; ii, 20. B.C. 2. M.J.L.S., N.S., i (1856-7), 114; iii (1857), 158.
	... .	2	... ...	Veḷḷalūr, Coimbatore District.	1891	T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 26. Num. Chron., 1891, p. 199.
	32	... ...	... ...	Pudukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.
54–68. Nero ...	16 at least, in the Kōṭṭayam hoard.	... ...	... ...	Kōṭṭayam, 10 miles E. of Cannanore.	1850	T.C. i, 2; ii, 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1851), 371 ff.
	17	... ...	... ...	Kalliyamputtūr, Madura District.	1856	T.C. i, 2; ii, 20. B.C. 2. M.J.L.S., N.S., ii (1856-7), 114; iii (1857), 158.
	... ...	2	... ...	Veḷḷalūr, Coimbatore District.	1891	T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 26. Num. Chron., 1891, p. 199.
	123	... ...	... ...	Pudukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.
A.D. 69–79. Vespasian.	1	... ...	... ...	In Fort, Vinukoṇḍa, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D., p. 2. T.C. ii, 2nd ed., p. 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
	3	... ...	... ...	Pudukōṭa, Trichinopoly District.	1898	Num. Chron., 3rd series, xviii, 304.

Rulers of Rome.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Place where Found.	Date of Finding.	Reference.
81–96. Domitian...	1	... ...	... ...	Madura District	?	T.C. ii, 23.
	5	... ...	... ...	Kalliyamputtūr, Madura District.	1856	T.C. i, 2; ii, 20. B.C. 2. M.J.L.S., N.S., i (1856–7), 114; iii (1857), 158.
	1	... ...	... ...	In Fort, Vinukoṇḍa, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D., p. 2. T.C. ii., 2nd ed., p. 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
96–98. (Cocceius) Nerva.	2	... .	... ...	Kalliyamputtūr, Madura District.	1856	T.C. i, 2; ii, 20. B.C. 2. M.J.L.S., N.S., i (1856–7), 114; iii (1857), 158.
98–117. Trajan...	A number, in a pot.	... ...	... ...	Near Nellore	1786	As. Res., ii (1790), 332. T.C. i, 1; ii, 7. J.B.B.R.A.S.i(1843), 294.
	1	... .	... ...	Athirāl, Cuddapah District.	1838	T.C. i, 1; ii, 9. Ind. Ant., ii, 242. J.B.B.R.A.S.i(1843), 294.
117–138. Hadrian	1 in the Nellore hoard.	... ...	... ...	Near Nellore	1786	As. Res., ii (1790), 332. T.C. i, 1; ii, 7. J.B.B.R.A.S. (1843), 294.

	5	...	...	...	...	...	In Fort, Vinukoṇḍa, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D., p. 2. T.C., 2nd ed., ii, 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
138–161. Antoninus Pius.	A few	...	...	...	...	...	Darphal, near Sholapur...	1840	T.C. ii, 9. M.J.L.S. xiii, 215. J.B.B.R.A.S. (1843), 294. Num. Chron., 1st series, v (1842), 202.
	1 at least in the Kōṭṭayam hoard.	...	...	...	...	...	Kōṭṭayam, 10 miles E. of Cannanore.	1850	T.C. i, 2; ii, 11. J.A.S.B. xx (1851), 371 ff.
	3	...	...	...	...	...	In Fort, Vinukoṇḍa, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D., p. 2. T.C., 2nd ed., ii, 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
Faustina the elder...	1 in the Nellore hoard.	...	...	...	...	...	Near Nellore	1786	As. Res., ii (1790), 332. T.C. i, 1; ii, 7. J.B.B.R.A.S. (1843), 294.
	2	...	...	...	...	...	In Fort, Vinukoṇḍa, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D., p. 2. T.C., ii, 2nd ed., 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
161–169. Lucius Verus.	A few	...	...	...	...	...	Darphal, near Sholapur...	1840	T.C. ii, 9. M.J.L.S. xiii, 215. J.B.B.R.A.S. i(1843), 294. Num. Chron., 1st series, v (1842), 202.

Rulers of Rome.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Place where Found.	Date of Finding.	Reference.
Lucius Verus (*cont.*) ...	1	... ...	... ...	Nagdhara, Jabalpur Taluq, Surat.	?	J.B.B.R.A.S. xviii, 38.
161–180. Marcus Aurelius	2	... ...	... ...	In Fort, Vinukoṇḍa, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D., p. 2. T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
180–192. Commodus ...	A few	... ...	... ...	Darphal, near Sholapur ...	1840	T.C. ii, 9. M.J.L.S. xiii, 215. J.B.B.R.A.S. i (1843), 294. Num. Chron., 1st series, v (1842), 202.
	1	... ...	... ...	In Fort, Vinukoṇḍa, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D., p. 2. T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
193–211. Septimius Severus.	Several	... ...	... ...	Darphal, near Sholapur ...	1840	T.C. ii, 9. M.J.L.S. xiii, 215. J.B.B.R.A.S. i (1843), 294. Num. Chron., 1st series, v (1842), 202.
	1	... ...	... ...	Waghode, Sawda Taluq, Khandeish	?	J.B.B.R.A.S. xviii, 38.
211–212. Geta	A few	.. ...	... ...	Darphal, near Sholapur ...	1840	T.C. ii, 9. M.J.L.S. xiii, 215. J.B.B.R.A.S. i (1843), 294. Num. Chron., 1st series, v (1842), 202.

211–217. Caracalla ...	1	... ...	... ...	In Fort, Vinukoṇḍa, Kistna District.	1889	T.R.D., p. 2. T.C. ii, 2nd ed., 22. Num. Chron., 3rd series, ix, 325.
. . . . .						
337–361. Constantius II	1	... ...	... ...	In Madura District ...	?	T.C. ii, 23. (Mr. Tracey's collection.)
. . . . .						
364. *Division of Eastern and Western Empires.*						
. . . . .						
395–408. Arcadius (Emperor of the East). 395–423. Honorius (Emperor of the West).	... ...	... ...	A number, in possession of Mr. Scott, Pleader, of Madura.	Madura town	... ...	T.C. ii, 23. S.L.M. i, 285, 291.
408–450. Theodosius II (Emperor of the East).	1	... ...	... ...	Madura District	?	T.C. ii, 23.
	1	... ...	... ...	Kōṭṭayam, Travancore ...	1896–7	Private letter from Mr. Thurston.[1]
	1 at least.	... ...	... ...	Pudankāvu, Travancore...	1903	Private letter from Mr. Thurston.[2]

[1] Mr. Thurston calls it simply an "aureus (solidus) of Theodosius." I class it under Theodosius II, solely because another coin of that emperor has been found. It may be one of Theodosius I.

[2] See note 1. As the other aurei found with it are all of later date, I apprehend that this coin was one of Theodosius II.

Rulers of Rome.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Place where Found.	Date of Finding.	Reference.
450–457. Marcian (Emperor of the East).	1 at least.	... ...	... ...	Pudankāvu, Travancore...	1903	Private letter from Mr. Thurston.
457–474. Leo (Emperor of the East).	1 at least.	... ...	... ...	Pudankāvu, Travancore...	1903	Private letter from Mr. Thurston.
474–491. Zeno (Emperor of the East).	One (coin pierced to be worn as an ornament).	... ...	... ...	Madura District	1839	T.C. i, 1; ii, 9. M.J.L.S. xiii, 215. Ind. Ant., ii, 242. J.B.B.R.A.S.i (1843), 294.
476. *Western Empire extinguished by Odoacer.*	1 at least.	... ...	... ...	Pudankāvu, Travancore...	1903	Private letter from Mr. Thurston.
491–518.. Anastasius (Emperor of the East).	1	... ...	... ...	Tirumangalam Taluq, Madura District.	?	T.C. ii, 46.
	1 at least.	... ...	... ...	Pudankāvu, Travancore...	1903	Private letter from Mr. Thurston.
518. Justinus I	1 at least.	... ...	... ...	Pudankāvu, Travancore...	1903	Private letter from Mr. Thurston.

COINS FOUND IN CEYLON.

Rulers of Rome.	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.	Place where Found.	Date of Finding.	Reference.
A.D. 41–54. Claudius (?) [The coins were believed to be of Claudius, owing to parts of the legend which were decipherable showing the letter C on obverse, and on reverse R.M.N.R. But Mr. Grueber informs me that he knows of no coin of Claudius with such an inscription.]	(Metal and number	of coins not	stated.)	At or near Manaar, on the N.W. coast.	1574 (?)	De Couto, Dec. v, liv. 1, ch. vii. Vol. ii, pt. i, p. 71. Emerson Tennant's "Ceylon," ii, 539 *n*.
A.D. 408–450. Theodosius	(One, metal not	stated.)	... ...	Found by Mr. Burrows at the Galgē rock, Anuradhapura.		Ceylon Arch. Survey, 3rd Progress Report, 1894, p. 5.
395–428. Arcadius... ...	... ...	... ...	2, brass	Abhayagiri	1891	Ceylon Arch. Survey, 4th Progress Report, pp. 4, 13, pl. vii.
"Later emperors"	"In 1884–5 several small coins of the later Roman emperors were unearthed at Mihintalē, and a few by Mr. Burrows in Anuradhapura. Larger finds of these 'thin brass oboli' have been made at Colombo, and at more than one place in the Southern Province." Mr. Bell (the writer) mentions among these last a find of 300 Roman coins.				1884–5	Ceylon Arch. Survey, 4th Progress Report, p. 13. Ceylon Literary Register, vi, 188, pp. 133–5.

OTHER FINDS IN SOUTHERN INDIA WHICH DO NOT ADMIT OF ACCURATE CLASSIFICATION.

Description.	Where Found.	Date.	Reference.
Some thousands of silver denarii found in a large pot—"five or six Madras measures." All are believed to have been melted down. (*Rev. Henry Little.*) A "measure" holds about three pints. Thought to be of Augustus.	Karuvūr, Coimbatore District.	About 1856.	T.C. ii, 20. M.C.C.M., Dec. 1883, p. 338.
A coin (metal not stated) of Theodosius I (A.D. 371-395) found at Māmallapuram, or "The Seven Pagodas," south of Madras, in a year not mentioned, but earlier than 1832. (*Prinsep.*)	Māmallapuram, south of Madras.	?	T.C. ii, 22. J.A.S.B. 1832, No. 45, i, 406, pl. x.
"Great numbers" found along the Coromandel coast, chiefly *oboli* (*Sir W. Elliot*), who mentions amongst them coins of "Valentinian, Theodosius, and Eudocia."	Along Coromandel coast.	... ...	T.C. ii, 22. Ind. Ant., ii (1873), 242.
The Rev. J. E. Tracy has coins of Theodosius, and others not satisfactorily identified, found in Madura District.	Madura District.	?	T.C. ii, 23.
Two copper coins, Roman but not yet identified, found at Kīlakarai, on the Madura coast, by Mr. J. P. James, Port-officer.	Madura District.	?	T.C. ii, 23.
A Roman gold coin (not described) is said to have been found by Mr. John Sullivan about the year 1827, when digging the foundations of a house at Ootacamund. It passed to Sir Walter Elliot's collection.	Ootacamund.	*c.* 1827.	S.L.M. i, 226.

Two Roman coins, one a forgery of Gallienus, the other not described, are mentioned by Dr. Hoernle, but there is no certainty as to where they were originally found.	... ...	... ...	J.A.S.B. lix (1890), pt. 1, 169.
Large numbers of Roman copper coins have been found in scattered places in the town of Madura, and the late Mr. Scott, Pleader, of that place, collected them. They appear to have not yet been classified or catalogued.	Madura town.		
A Roman silver coin was found by Mr. Rea, Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, on the site of a Buddhist chaitya discovered by him.	Bezwada, Kistna District.	1887–8.	Madras G.O. Public. No. 457 of April 30, 1888, p. 17.
And a copper one of late date on the sea-coast of Madura.	Kīlakarai, Madura District.	1890.	Madras G.O. Public. No. 744 of Nov. 6, 1890, p. 1.
In his Report for 1891–2 Mr. Rea mentions "a find of Roman coins lately made," apparently in the south of the Kistna District, but no further clue is afforded as to the locality.	South of the River Kṛishṇā (?).	? 1891.	Madras G.O. Public. No. 423 of June 18, 1892, p. 5.

XXIV.

SOME PROBLEMS OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY.

No. II: The Gurjara Empire.[1]

By A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, Ph.D., C.I.E.

THE object of this essay is not so much to propound a new theory of my own, as to draw more prominent attention to one put forth by Mr. Devadatta Ramkrishna Bhandarkar in two papers contributed by him to the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1903. They are entitled *Gūrjaras* and *Epigraphic Notes and Questions, No. III.* Stated quite briefly, the theory is that the well-known 'Kings of Mahodaya' were Gūrjaras. Mr. Bhandarkar does not claim the whole credit of it for himself. Much of his material, as he himself admits, has been drawn by him from the *Bombay Gazetteer*. But he has added to it new material and fresh points of view, and worked up the whole into a consistent theory. To me it appears that, in the main, the theory is sound, and throws unexpected light on a period of Indian history until now very dark. I will first briefly explain the main positions of the theory, as I gather them from the two papers above referred to: the evidence, in detail, must be read in the papers themselves. Next, I shall set out, in detail, such further particulars as a closer examination of the contemporary records of that period appears to me to yield, partly in corroboration, partly in modification of Mr. Bhandarkar's theory.

I.

Up to the middle of the tenth century the country now known as Gujarat was called by the name of Lata.

[1] For No. I see *ante*, vol. for 1903, p. 545.

About that time the northern portion of the Laṭa country came under the domination of a people called Gūrjara.[1] From them it derived its new name Gurjaratrā, whence comes the modern form of the name Gujarat. At a much later date the name Gurjaratrā was extended to that portion of Laṭa which lay south of the Mahī river; and thus arose the modern acceptation of the name Gujarat as applicable to all the country lying to the north and the south of the Mahī.

The earliest date at which we hear anything about the Gūrjara people is about 585 A.D., when Prabhākara Vardhana, the father of Harsha Vardhana, is said to have defeated them. About fifty years later, 640 A.D., their country is described by Hiuen Tsiang under the name of Kiu-che-lo, and corresponds to Central and Northern Rajputana. About this time, 634 A.D., they submitted voluntarily (*E.I.* vi, 2) to the rising Chalukya power under Pulikeśin II.[2]

These circumstances point to a new arrival. The Gūrjaras were new immigrants, probably a Turki tribe, who in the middle of the sixth century took possession of what is now called Rajputana, and were attempting to expand eastward and southward. In the south they were, for a long time, restrained by the powerful empire of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. But at last, towards the end of the tenth century, they succeeded, under the name of Chaulukyas, to force themselves into Northern Laṭa, to which they gave the name of Gujarat.

In the east they were checked by the equally powerful empire of Prabhākara and his son Harsha Vardhana. That empire collapsed in 646 A.D. For nearly a century and a half we hear nothing more about the eastward advance of the Gūrjaras. At the end of that quiescent period, about 783 A.D., a fresh effort was made by them under their chief Vatsarāja. He penetrated victoriously as far as Gauḍa and Vaṅga (Bihar and Bengal). But in the course of his

[1] In the records this name is spelt varyingly with *ū* or with *u*.

[2] The Aihole inscription here refers to the three adjoining countries, Laṭa, Rajputana, and Malwa, as submitting to Pulikeśin II.

conquests he came into collision with the southern emperor, the Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva, who defeated him and drove him back into his ancestral kingdom in Rajputana (Marwar). After this failure we hear again nothing more about the movements of the Gūrjaras; but they must have renewed the eastward advance, and must have been successful in it; for from 843 A.D. onwards we find their chiefs ruling a great northern empire from their capital at Mahodaya (Kanauj), and carrying on an intermittent warfare with the Rāshṭrakūṭa rulers of the southern empire. The existence of these two great empires is testified to in Muhammadan records (about 916 A.D. by Abu Zaid, and 943 A.D. by Al Masūdī) as those of the *Jusr* (Gūrjara) and *Balhāra* (Vallabharāja, i.e. Rāshṭrakūṭa). Of the Gūrjara emperors of Mahodaya, reigning during that period, Bhoja I, Mahendrapāla, and Vināyakapāla (or Mahīpāla) are known from their dated land-grants and stone inscriptions.

These are the main outlines of Mr. Bhandarkar's theory. The crucial point of it is the correct reading of the dates occurring in the land-grants. Hitherto these dates have been read as 100, 155, and 188, referable to the Harsha era, and therefore equivalent to 706, 761, and 794 A.D.[1] Mr. Bhandarkar proposes to read them 900, 955, and 988, referable to the Vikrama era, and hence equivalent to 843, 899, and 931 A.D. I am convinced that Mr. Bhandarkar's readings are correct. Inspecting the facsimiles given in Bühler's Table IX, in his *Indian Palæography*, it will be seen that the multiples of 100 are formed by placing the unit figure on the right side of the hundred figure, either on the same level or a little below it. Now in the facsimile of the date of the Daulatpurā grant (*E.I.* v, 209), it will be noticed that the figure which has been read as 100 stands very considerably below the level of the rest of the writing. This proves that the figure cannot be read as a numeral standing by itself, but that it is intended to be a multiplicative figure qualifying some other numeral, which should

[1] For the sake of simplicity I give here, and throughout, only *single* equivalent years of the Christian era, which for the purpose in hand is quite sufficient.

stand on its left. Moreover, the figure itself has not much resemblance to any hitherto known figure for 100, while it exactly resembles some of the forms of the figure for 9, as shown in Bühler's table (see his Nos. 6, 11, 13 in in his row for 9). It is evident, therefore, that the figure in question is that for 9, used as a multiplicator of another numeral figure; and this other figure, in fact, is clearly seen in the formula standing on the left of the figure for 9. It has been read as *srā* or *sro*. It is, however, really the figure for 100.[1] The two figures together, therefore, express the numeral 900 (i.e. 100 × 9).

In the facsimiles of the other two grants (*Ind. Ant.*, xv, 112 and 140) we can now clearly recognize the same figure 900, made up of the figure for 9 standing on the right side of, and on a level with, the figure for 100. The latter has been read as *tsrā* (Dr. Fleet) or *tsro* (Professor Kielhorn); but the element *t* of the conjunct does not belong to the numeral. The dates must be read

Samvat 900 (or 955, or 988).

The scribe who, in his fanciful way, treated the numeral figure for 900 as a 'numeral letter,' and thus had in his mind the group of aksharas *samvat srā o*, naturally wrote the whole in ligatures *samvatsrāo*. There is, therefore, no need of explaining the supposed word *samvatsrā* as an abbreviation of the genitive plural *samvatsarāṇām* (*Ind. Ant.*, xv, p. 13, note 57, and p. 141, note 27)—an explanation

[1] It has become usual to call such figures 'numeral letters,' because of their curious resemblance to letter-forms. I believe the practice of calling them so originated with the late Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī (*Ind. Ant.*, vi, 42 ff.). But the resemblance does not really become noticeable before the eighth and following centuries (especially in Jain, Nepalese, and Buddhist manuscripts), and the farther back one traces the symbols the more the resemblance disappears. Whatever the origin of the numeral figures may be, I do not believe that they have any connection with the letters (simple or compound) of the Brāhmī alphabet, in the sense in which this connection has been ordinarily understood. I hold, therefore, that it is misleading to distinguish between numeral figures and numeral letters. There really exists only one set of symbols—numeral figures; and their growing resemblance to letters is due merely to the growing whimsicality of scribes who exaggerated a fancied resemblance.

which assumes both an anomalous spelling and an anomalous construction.[1]

There is one point in Mr. Bhandarkar's Gūrjara theory which appears to me of questionable correctness. It does not form, however, any necessary link in his argument, and, if proved incorrect, does not invalidate his general theory.

At the end of his first paragraph (p. 2 of his article on the Gūrjaras) Mr. Bhandarkar says, "before the middle of the tenth century . . . . Gujarāt was known as Laṭa, and hence was not ruled over by Gūrjara princes." As a fact, however, there was a dynasty of Bharoch, which, as we know from their (genuine) Kaira grants, dated 629 and 634 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, xiii, 81, 88; see also the Saṅkheḍa charter of 595 A.D. in *E.I.* ii, 19), had established itself in the Laṭa country, certainly in the middle of the seventh, and probably as early as the end of the sixth century, and which, as they state themselves, belonged to the Gūrjara ruling race (*Gurjara-nṛipa-vaṁśa*). But the members of this dynasty did not hold the position of sovereigns, but only of ruling Prime-ministers. They call themselves only *Sāmanta*, and claim to combine in their person the *pañca-mahāśabda* or five great offices of state. Their nominal sovereigns appear to have belonged to the Nāga tribe (*nāga-kula*), whom they claim to have subjected. It seems clear from all this that the Gūrjaras can have come into the Laṭa country only in small numbers, and, though *de facto* governors of the country, were not important enough to impose on it a new name (Gurjaratrā) derived from their own. This change of name, as Mr. Bhandarkar shows, happened only in the latter part of the tenth century, when the country must have been occupied by the Gūrjaras in

[1] The same anomalous form *saṁvatsro* is supposed to occur in a Khajurāho inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, xxvi, 30, 31). But the word really reads correctly *saṁvatsare*. The akshara *re* is somewhat indistinct, but the down-stroke shows, in the middle, a slight indentation (cf. *ri* at the end of line 3 in Sir A. Cunningham's *Survey Reports*, vol. xxi, pl. xvi A; the mark is very obvious in vol. x, pl. ix, i), and it is therefore not the down-stroke of the vowel *o*, but the indented body-stroke of the consonant *r*. In any case, even if it were *o*, the akshara would have to be read *tso*, not *tsro*; there is no underwritten *r* in it.

much larger numbers, and when their chiefs (Mūlarāja, etc.) acquired the actual as well as the nominal sovereignty of it.

II.

I now proceed to the examination of the contemporary records that bear on the history of the Gūrjaras.

In the Introduction to Jinasena's Harivaṁśa Purāṇa (Peterson's 4th *Report*, pp. xli and 176; also *Ind. Ant.*, xv, 142), which was written in 783 A.D., it is stated that in that year there lived the following rulers:—(1) Vatsarāja, the lord of Avantī, in the east; (2) Śrī-Vallabha, the son of Krishna, in the south; (3) a king called Indrāyudha, in the north. A fourth ruler is also mentioned, but he does not concern us in the present enquiry. Dr. Fleet has shown (*E.I.* vi, 197) that Śrī-Vallabha refers to Dhruva, who reigned from about 783 to 793 A.D., over the great southern empire of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Vatsarāja, too, must have ruled a very wide empire. Malwa can have been only its chief province, with Avantī, or Ujjain, as its capital. That it also included all the country lying directly east of Malwa may be concluded from a statement in the Baroda grant of 812 A.D., which implies (*Ind. Ant.*, xii, 160, 164, line 39) that his conquests eastwards extended over Gauḍa and Vaṅga, that is, Bihar and Bengal. Further north lay the kingdom of Indrāyudha. This can only have been the country which, in the main, corresponds to the present United Provinces, and must have had Kanauj for its capital.

Regarding Vatsarāja, we read in the Rādhanpur grant of 808 A.D. (*E.I.* vi, 248, verse 8) that he suffered a great defeat at the hands of Dhruva, who deprived him not only of the two state-umbrellas (i.e. of the sovereignty) of Gauḍa [and of Vaṅga, as shown by the Baroda grant just referred to], but drove him away into the desert (*maru* = Marwar) of Rajputana. Nor did Vatsarāja recover from this crushing defeat; for in the Baroda grant of 812 A.D. we are told that he, who had once conquered Gauḍa and Vaṅga, was now kept out even of his chief province of Malwa by Karka, at the command of the latter's suzerain,

Govinda III, the son and successor of Dhruva. The same events, it is clear, are alluded to in the Nīlgund inscription of 866 A.D., which relates (*E.I.* vi, pp. 105, 106, verse 5) of Govinda III that he "fettered," or held in subjection, the people of Malwa and Gauḍa as well as the Gūrjaras of the hill-fort of Chitor.

The course of events which these detached statements suggest is that Vatsarāja, advancing from Rajputana eastward, first conquered Malwa, making Ujjain (Avantī) his capital. Then, continuing his advance eastward, he subjected Gauḍa and Vaṅga (Bihar and Bengal). The empire thus acquired he ruled indisputably in 783 A.D. Later on he came into collision with his southern neighbour, the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Dhruva, in consequence of which—let us say in 790 A.D.—he lost his empire, and was forced back into his home-province in the wilds of Rajputana. There he was for some time—let us say up to 810 A.D.—compelled to stop by Karka under Govinda III, who held against him the frontier hill-fort of Chitor (Nīlgund, *E.I.* vi, 106; Sirūr, *E.I.* vii, 207; *Ind. Ant.*, xii, 25), once a Gūrjara stronghold.

According to the genealogies (Daulatpurā grant of 862 A.D. in *E.I.* v, 208; Dighwa-Dabauli grant of 898 A.D. in *Ind. Ant.*, xv, 110; As. Soc. Beng. grant of 931 A.D. in *Ind. Ant.*, xv, 140), Vatsarāja's successor was his son Nāgabhaṭa. Mr. Bhandarkar informs us that there exists an (unpublished) grant of Amoghavarsha I, according to which Nāgabhaṭa was vanquished by Govinda III. This must have happened after 810 A.D. and before 814 A.D., when Govinda III ceased to reign. The notice of Nāgabhaṭa's defeat suggests that, after the death of his father Vatsarāja, he made an attempt to recover the paternal empire, but failed to do so, and that, therefore, he continued to be limited to his ancestral principality in Rajputana. This circumstance is quite sufficient to account for the fact that there is next to nothing known about him.

The next in the genealogical list is Nāgabhaṭa's son Rāmabhadra. Of him, so far, no records have come to

light; but there is one significant fact known about him: he is the first, in the records of his successors, who bears the imperial titles (*parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, etc., *E.I.* i, 186, line 1). Further, in the Gwaliyor inscription of 876 A.D. (*E.I.* i, 154 ff.) mention is made of two persons, Vāillabhaṭṭa and his son Alla, contemporaries of Rāmabhadra and his son Bhoja I (here called Rāmadeva and Ādivarāha) respectively. The former had been appointed to the office of 'chief of the boundaries,' or margrave, by Rāmabhadra; and his son Alla was confirmed in that office, and, in addition, made commandant of the fort of Gwaliyor, by Rāmabhadra's successor Bhoja I, when the latter determined to set out to "conquer the three worlds" (*ibid.*, p. 158, verse 22). Moreover, the inscription also states that Vāillabhaṭṭa's father, Nāgarabhaṭṭa, had emigrated from Ānandapura in the Laṭa country, i.e. from Vaḍnagar in what is now called Gujarāt.

The course of events suggested by these statements may be described as follows. Rāmabhadra set out—say, about 815 or 820 A.D.—from Rajputana to recover the empire of his grandfather Vatsarāja. In his train migrated Nāgarabhaṭṭa, together with his son Vāillabhaṭṭa. The latter was, by his tribal chief, Rāmabhadra, put in charge of the eastern frontier of his empire, which at this time must have been pushed forward as far as Gwaliyor. As the Gwaliyor inscription only says that Vāillabhaṭṭa was in the service of Rāmabhadra (Rāmadeva, *ibid.*, p. 157, verse 7), but does not mention Bhoja I as his master, it would follow that he must have died before Bhoja I's accession. On his death his son Alla succeeded to the vacant office; and later on, when Rāmabhadra's successor, Bhoja I, resolved to resume his father's ambition, and (as the inscription expresses it in verse 22) to "conquer the three worlds," Alla was put in command of the fortress of Gwaliyor. Seeing that the earliest (known) grant of Bhoja I is already dated from Kanauj in 843 A.D., it is clear that he cannot have succeeded to the throne very much earlier. We can hardly put his accession earlier than 840 A.D. At that date, it is evident, the Gūrjara empire extended no further east than Gwaliyor,

and while it included Rajputana and Malwa, it did not yet include the northern kingdom of Kanauj. The conquest of that kingdom happened only under Bhoja I. It was the first achievement in his "conquest of the three worlds." That, of course, is a poetical and proverbial expression; nevertheless, it fairly represents the facts of the case. For the Gūrjaras came from the west, and their line of advance was in three directions, north, east, and south. Bhoja I, in the first instance, turned his arms northwards, and conquered the whole of the neighbouring kingdom of the north, which in the time of his great-grandfather Vatsarāja, 783 A.D., had been ruled by Indrāyudha. As early as 843 A.D. he had possessed himself of the northern capital Mahodaya, or Kanauj; for his Daulatpurā grant is dated in that year (Saṁvat 900, *E.I.* v, 208) and from that town. How many years it took him to complete the conquest of the whole northern kingdom is not known; but it was certainly completed by the year 882 A.D. For an inscription, extant in Pehewa, in the Karnal District of the Panjab, names him as the ruler of the country (*E.I.* i, 184). That Bhoja I's empire still included the kingdom of Malwa is shown by his Gwaliyor inscriptions of 875 and 876 A.D. (*E.I.* i, 155), and by the inscription of Deogaṛh in Central India of the year 862 A.D. (*E.I.* iv, 310). That it also included the Gūrjara ancestral province of Rajputana is proved by the Daulatpurā charter (above referred to), which records Bhoja I's grant of the village of Sivā (Sewa) in the Dindwan District (*E.I.* v, 210). This inscription, moreover, has an interest of its own, as it professes to be the renewal of a grant which was originally made by Vatsarāja and afterwards confirmed by Nāgabhaṭa, both of whom, as we have seen, had once been reigning in Rajputana. The Deogaṛh inscription suggests that in 862 A.D. Bhoja I was still in peaceful possession of Central India, and had not yet come into collision with the southern empire of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. This conclusion is confirmed by the records of the latter empire. Amoghavarsha I reigned from 814 to 877 A.D.; but none of the Rāshṭrakūṭa records ascribes

to him any conflict with the Gūrjaras. As late as 866 A.D. Amoghavarsha's own Nīlgund and Sirūr inscriptions (*E.I.* vi, 98, and *Ind. Ant.*, xii, 215) know of no such conflict. It would seem that, at least, up to that date Bhoja I was fully occupied with the complete reduction of the northern kingdom, and was not able to turn his attention to the conquest of the south.

As to the east, the uniform tradition of Bandelkhand tells us that before the domination of the Chandels, that country, with the capital Mahoba and the stronghold Kalanjar, was in the possession of the Parihars (*Journal* A.S.B., L, 3, 6; lxxi, 102). The Parihars (Pratīhāras), as Mr. Bhandarkar rightly points out, were one of the divisions of the Gūrjara tribe. The Chandels took possession of Bandelkhand, about 950 A.D., under their king Yaśovarman, who, in a Khajurāho inscription of the year 954 A.D., is said to have been "a scorching fire to the Gūrjaras," and to have "easily conquered the Kālañjara mountain" (*E.I.* i, 132, 133, verses 23 and 31, see below, p. 653). The traditional date of the Chandel occupation is 677 (*Journal* A.S.B., L, 3), which, taken in terms of the Chedi era, is equivalent to 946 A.D. As the Parihars are said to have occupied Bandelkhand for many generations before the Chandels, there is no difficulty in assuming its conquest by the Gūrjara-Parihars to have taken place during the reign of Bhoja I.[1] The latter's farther advance eastward appears to have been barred by the powerful Pāla kingdom of Bihar and Bengal (Gauḍa) under Dharmapāla (about 840–875 A.D.).

Bhoja I's reign must have been very long. It includes the two dates 843 and 882 A.D. It may have lasted, let us say, from 840 to 885 A.D., when Bhoja I was succeeded by his son Mahendrapāla (*alias* Mahiṣapala, *Ind. Ant.*, xvi, 174). Under him the Gūrjara empire attained its widest extent. He was the first who rightly claimed to exercise imperial rule (*adhirājya*), and who, in his grants, assumed the full

[1] The *beginning* of the Parihar-Gūrjara occupation might be traced back even to the earliest conquest by Vatsarāja.

imperial titles, though by courtesy he allowed them already to his father, Rāmabhadra. But under the latter the Gūrjara rule extended only as far as Gwaliyor; and under Bhoja I's successors, as we shall see, the imperial power of the Gūrjaras already began to decline, and the empire was in full process of disintegration under Bhoja I's great-grandson Vijayapāla. To the fact that Bhoja I was the first real claimant of imperial rule there is a curious testimony in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in a passage (Book v, 151) which in the original runs as follows :—

Hṛtaṁ Bhojādhirājena sa sāmrājyam adāpayat |
pratīhāratayā bhṛtyī-bhūte Thakkiyak-ānvaye ||

That is—"The sovereign power which the emperor Bhoja had seized, he caused to be given in the Thakkiya family which had taken service as Pratīhāra." This is said with reference to the Kashmirian king Śankara Varman, who reigned from 883 to 902 A.D. The passage, no doubt, as already observed by previous translators, is obscure, but two facts come out clearly enough : first, that Bhoja I had seized the imperial power, which seizure had occurred in the time preceding Śankara Varman ; secondly, that the latter was instrumental in the transfer of that power into the Thakkiya family of Parihars, for the term *pratīhāratā* seems obviously to refer to the clan name of the Parihars. What exactly the circumstances of the transfer were it is impossible to say with our present knowledge, but the transaction must have occurred during the time of Bhoja I's successor Mahendrapāla (885–910 A.D.).

Of this sovereign we know that he ruled the Gūrjara empire as it was left to him by his father Bhoja I. The capital of the empire was now Mahodaya, or Kanauj. From here was issued Mahendrapāla's charter of 899 A.D. (the so-called Dighwa-Dubaulī plate, of Saṁvat 955, *Ind. Ant.*, xv, 105). It granted a village which lay so far north as the district of Śrāvasti in the present Nepalese Terai. The inscription of Siyadoni, in the Lalitpur District of the Central Provinces, mentions Mahendrapāla as the reigning

emperor in 903 and 907 A.D. (*E.I.* i, 170); and the inscription at Pehoa (Pehewa) of his time shows his empire as still including the Karnal District in the Panjab (*E.I.* i, 242). It would seem that he took up his father's ambitious schemes of conquest, and attempted to extend his empire in the east and south. In both directions, however, he met with an effective check. At this time there were three monarchs reigning, all three claiming the well-known imperial titles. These were the Gauḍa emperor Devapāla in the east, the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Krishna II in the south, and the Kalachuri emperor Kokkalla I, whose Chedi dominions bordered on those of the Gūrjara emperor, in the south-east. All three were allied by marriage. Devapāla was a son of Raṇṇādevī, the daughter of the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor, (probably) Amoghavarsha I (Mungir grant, *Ind. Ant.*, xxi, 254, here called Śrī-Paravala), and sister of Krishna II, whose nephew, therefore, he was. This relationship to Krishna II is referred to in the Deolī (940 A.D.) and Karhāḍ (959 A.D.) grants of Krishna III, in which it is said that Krishna II was "the preceptor entrusted with the duty of the education of the Gauḍas" (*Gauḍānāṁ vinaya-vrat-ārppaṇa-guruḥ, E.I.* iv, 283, verse 15, and v, 193, v. 13), i.e., apparently the children of his brother-in-law, the Gauḍa emperor Dharmapāla.[1] Krishna II, therefore, appears to have been not only the uncle but also the tutor of his nephew Devapāla. Moreover, he was himself the son-in-law of Kokkalla I (*E.I.* i, 253; ii, 300, 304; iv, 280; vii, 29).

The three sovereigns, Kokkalla I, Krishna II, and Devapāla, would seem to have combined to oppose Mahendrapāla's schemes of conquest; or Krishna II and Devapāla may have done so, each in his own turn. In any case, regarding the latter it is recorded in the Badal pillar inscription, of about 925 A.D., that "he brought low the

[1] Professor R. G. Bhandarkar translates (*E.I.* iv, 287) "the preceptor charging the Gauḍas with the vow of humility," which conveys no very intelligible meaning. The notice seems to indicate either that Krishna, before his accession, lived at Dharmapāla's court and superintended the education of Devapāla, or that the latter, before his own accession, lived at Krishna II's court, where he received his education.

arrogance of the lord of the Gūrjaras" (*kurvīkṛta-Gūrjara-nātha-darpam*, *E.I.* ii, 160, v. 13) in attempting the conquest of the Pāla empire. As to Krishna II, the Bagumrā (Nausārī) grant of his grandson and successor, Indra III, dated 914 A.D., compares "his battles with the Gūrjara ruler to a storm of the rainy season" (Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar's paper, p. 4, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* xviii, p. 258), and the Deolī grant of Krishna III, dated 940 A.D., says of him that "he terrified the Gūrjaras" (*E.I.* v, 193, verse 13; also the Karhāḍ grant of 959 A.D., *E.I.* iv, 283, verse 13). As to the exact share which Kokkalla I had in the war, we have no clear information. But in the Bilharī inscription, the earlier portion of which falls in the reign of Kokkalla I's grandson Keyūravarsha, about 925 A.D. (*E.I.* i, 252), we are told that "having conquered the whole earth, Kokkalla I set up two unprecedented pillars of fame, namely, Krishna II in the south and Bhoja II in the north"[1] (*E.I.* i, 264, verse 17). Similarly, the Benares grant of Karṇadeva, dated 1042 A.D., informs us that Kokkalla I held "a protecting hand" (*abhaya-daḥ pāṇiḥ*) over Krishna II, as well as over Harsha the Chandel and Bhoja II. These statements certainly suggest that Kokkalla I took an important as well as an active part in the repression of Mahendrapāla.

At this time the Chandels had only recently come to settle in Bandelkhand. Their chief, Harsha, had married a Chohan (Chāhamāna) princess, Kañcukā—so we are informed in a Khajurāho inscription set up in 954 A.D., apparently the closing year of the reign of Harsha's son Yaśovarman (*E.I.* i, 126, verse 21; see also *ibid.*, 143, v. 29). By that marriage Harsha had contracted an alliance with the dominant race of the Gūrjaras, of whom the Chohans were a prominent clan. But he was not contented therewith, but aspired to independence of the Gūrjara power. From the Benares grant of Karṇadeva, of 1042 A.D., we learn that Kokkalla I had married a Chandel royal princess,

[1] The reference cannot be to Bhoja I (as suggested in *E.I.* i, 253), for under that monarch the Gūrjara power was at its zenith, and it is out of the question that he could have been a *protégé* of Kokkalla I.

Naṭṭādevī (*E.I.* ii, 301, 306, verse 8). That lady can only have been a daughter of Harsha; and it suggests itself that, in furtherance of his scheme of independence, the latter not only married his daughter to Kokkalla I, but gave him active assistance in the prosecution of his war with Mahendrapāla. In return for this assistance, after Mahendrapāla's defeat (or, as the grandiloquent Bilharī inscription has it, "after having conquered the whole earth," *E.I.* i, 264, verse 17), Harsha was made an independent ruler under the protection, or suzerainty, of Kokkalla I. Further, Mahīpāla, in his grant (the so-called Bengal Asiatic Society's plate, *Ind. Ant.*, xv, 138) of the year 931 A.D., tells us that his father Mahendrapāla had two wives, of whom one, called Dehanāgā, was the mother of his half-brother Bhoja II, while the other, Mahīdevī, was his own mother. We also learn from the same grant that the two half-brothers succeeded their father, one after the other. Bhoja II came first, and it was he who held his throne under the protection of Kokkalla I. As we shall see presently, he reigned but a short time, being turned out apparently by his half-brother Mahīpāla, who had the support of the powerful Chandel chief, Yaśovarman. All this suggests that the cause, or at least one of the causes, of the war between Kokkalla I and Mahendrapāla may have been a family quarrel. Dehanāgā, I would suggest, was a daughter of Kokkalla I, or at least a Kalachuri princess, while Mahīdevī was probably a Chandel princess. Their sons, the half-brothers, were rival claimants to the succession. Kokkalla I naturally took the side of Bhoja II, and after his victory over Mahendrapāla seated his protégé on the throne, under his own protection or suzerainty. It appears, indeed, probable that the war ended not only with Mahendrapāla's overthrow, but his death. As, according to the Siyadoni inscription (*E.I.* i, 170), he was still alive in 907 A.D., we may perhaps place his death shortly afterwards, say in 910 A.D., in which year accordingly Bhoja II would have succeeded.

Bhoja II reigned as the protégé of his suzerain, the

Chedi emperor Kokkalla I. Besides the statements already quoted referring to this relation of his to Kokkalla I, there is very little known about him. In the charter, dated 931 A.D., of his half-brother and successor, Vināyakapāla (*alias* Mahīpāla, *Ind. Ant.*, xv, 138), he is duly recorded in his proper place in the dynastic succession. On the other hand, in the earlier Asni inscription, dated in the year 917 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, xvi, 173), of the same half-brother Mahīpāla, all mention of him is omitted. The conclusion suggested by the difference is that early in his reign, when Mahīpāla had just turned out Bhoja II, he disdained to mention his half-brother as ever having reigned at all, while, at a much later date, when the memory of Bhoja II's reign had lost its sting, it was no longer ignored. In any case, all the surrounding circumstances point to the conclusion that Bhoja II's reign can have been but a very short one, so that it might easily be ignored in a dynastic list. As a fact, his successor is found reigning already in 914 A.D.

Mahīpāla, who succeeded his brother Bhoja II, is also known under a variety of other names, Vināyakapāla, Kshitipāla, and Herambapāla (see *E.I.* i, 124; iii, 265). His fortunes are closely connected with those of the Chandel prince Yaśovarman. With regard to the latter a Khajurāho inscription, which was engraved in 954 A.D. under his son Dhānga, informs us that he was "a scorching fire" to the Gūrjaras (*E.I.* i, 132, verse 23), and especially that he captured their stronghold Kalanjar (*ibid.*, verse 31). The result of these operations was that Yaśovarman conquered for himself a large dominion which extended from Kalanjar in the east to Gwaliyor in the west, and from the borders of Chedi in the south to the Jamna in the north (*ibid.*, verse 45). This was, in fact, the whole of the eastern province of the Gūrjara empire, which thus was reduced to its old limits under Rāmabhadra, when it reached no farther east than the frontier fort of Gwaliyor. Of this territory Yaśovarman made himself the independent sovereign with imperial titles. He was, in fact, the real founder of the Chandel power, though a beginning had already been

made under his father, Harsha. Yaśovarman's opportunity for aggrandisement was the war which at this time was being waged by Mahendrapāla with the Chedi ruler Kokkalla I and his Rāshṭrakūṭa ally. It is not clear whether he was involved in it while it was in actual progress. He was certainly not in league with Kokkalla I, for the Khajurāho inscription above referred to says that "he brought distress on the shameful Chedis" (*E.I.* i, 132, verse 23). But when the war ended with the defeat of Mahendrapāla and the enthronement of Bhoja II under the protection of Kokkalla I, Yaśovarman espoused the cause of Bhoja II's half-brother Mahīpāla. For in another contemporary Khajurāho inscription we are told that "Kshitipāla (i.e. Mahīpāla) was placed on the throne" by him (*E.I.* i, 122, line 10).[1] We may conclude, therefore, that Yaśovarman disputed the settlement made by Kokkalla I, and, after a successful war with Bhoja II and his suzerain Kokkalla I, enthroned Mahīpāla. The reward which he secured for himself was, of course, the acknowledgment of his independent sovereignty over Bandelkhand with the frontiers above stated. Kokkalla I's defeat by Yaśovarman seems to me clearly enough stated in the Khajurāho inscription of 954 A.D. In verse 28 (*E.I.* i, 127) it records the defeat of a Chedi king who, it is true, is not named; but his identity is disclosed by the statement that "he made himself notorious by putting down his lotus-foot on (i.e. preventing) the coronation of Kshitipāla." The original passage runs as follows :—

vikhyāta-Kṣitipāla-mauli-racanā-vinyasta-pādāmbujam.

This has been translated (*ibid.*, p. 132) "who had put down his lotus-foot on rows of diadems of famous princes." But I submit that *kṣitipāla* should not be taken as a common noun ('prince'), but refers to the well-known king

[1] The attribution of this inscription to Harsha is clearly wrong. Unfortunately it is badly mutilated, but its general purport is unmistakeable. The reference to Harsha is finished in line 7, and the sovereign referred to in line 10 must be his successor, Yaśovarman.

Kshitipāla, otherwise known as Mahīpāla or Vināyakapāla; that *vikhyāta* does not qualify *kṣitipāla*, but *pādāmbuja*, and that *racanā* has its ordinary meaning of arranging or putting on (of the *mauli* or crown). The passage, it appears to me, is not intended to make a vague general statement, but to record a definite fact.

The year of Mahīpāla's accession is approximately fixed by the date, 914 A.D., of the Haḍḍāla grant (*Ind. Ant.*, xii, 195; xviii, 91), which mentions him as the then reigning emperor. His grant, issued from Mahodaya (Kanauj) in 931 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, xv, 138), shows him still reigning in that year. According to the Siyadoni inscription (*E.I.* i, 170), his son Devapāla was reigning in 948 A.D. At some time, therefore, between these two dates, 931 and 948 A.D., Mahīpāla must have ceased to reign. As there are grounds (to be mentioned further on) for believing that Devapāla had but a very short reign, we may take it that Mahīpāla probably reigned until about 945 A.D. At the beginning of his reign his empire, with one exception, appears to have included all its old provinces. The Haḍḍāla grant of 914 A.D. above mentioned, having been issued in Kathiawaḍ, indicates its south-western extent. The Asni inscription of 917 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, xvi, 174) shows Mahīpāla reigning in the large northern province of Kanauj. The Siyadoni inscription of 948 A.D., near Lalitpur in Central India, includes that province in Mahīpāla's empire. The Rajor inscription of 960 A.D. (*E.I.* iii, 265), not far from Alwar in Rajputana, indicates its north-western extent. The two last-mentioned records refer to a somewhat later time, but there is no probability (rather the reverse) that Mahīpāla's empire included in later times more territory than it did at the beginning. The only exception, above referred to, is the province of Bandelkhand, of which, as we have seen, Yaśovarman made himself the independent sovereign, probably as the price of assistance in securing to Mahīpāla the succession to the Gūrjara crown. But it was only for a few years that Mahīpāla was permitted to rule his extensive empire in peace. He soon became

involved in a disastrous war with the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Indra III. The cause is not exactly known, but it was probably connected with the fact that Mahīpāla owed his enthronement to the revolution, effected with the help of Yaśovarman, against the political settlement made by the Kalachuri Kokkalla I and his Rāshṭrakūṭa ally, Krishna II. Indra III was Krishna II's successor, and had married Vijambā, a great-granddaughter of Kokkalla I (*E.I.* iv, 280; vii, 43, 44). As shown by his Bagumrā (or Nausārī) grant (*J.B.B.R.A.S.* xviii, 257), he came to the throne in 915 A.D., and he can have reigned for only about three years, for the Daṇḍāpur inscription of his successor, Govinda IV (*Ind. Ant.*, xii, 223), is already dated in 918 A.D. (see Dr. Fleet in *E.I.* vi, 176, 177). Within this short period falls his punitive expedition against Mahīpāla. The Cambay grant of his successor, Govinda IV, dated 930 A.D. (*E.I.* vii, 26), permits us to trace the course of Indra's campaign. He first marched to Ujjain in Malwa, then crossed the Jamna, and, marching across the Doab to the banks of the Ganges, captured and "completely devastated" Mahīpāla's capital, Mahodaya, or Kanauj (*ibid.*, verse 19). Having done so, he appears to have retired to his own country. Whether Mahīpāla fought any battles and was defeated, or whether he simply retired as his enemy advanced, is not quite clear from the statements of the Cambay charter, but they rather seem to support the second alternative. In any case, no sooner had Indra III withdrawn than Mahīpāla resumed the government of his dominions. This is shown by his issuing a charter from Mahodaya in 931 A.D., granting a village near Allahabad (or Benares, *Ind. Ant.*, xv, 138). The Asni inscription, which mentions him as reigning in 917 A.D., must have been set up either immediately before or, more probably, immediately after Indra III's great northern raid. At the same time, Mahīpāla did not, after that raid, return to the rule of an undiminished empire. The great province of Malwa no longer formed any part of it. The chief of the Parmar (Paramāra) clan of Gūrjaras, who held it as a fief,

appears to have profited by the disturbance attendant on Indra III's raid to assume independence. The earliest (known) Parmar charters are the grants of Vākpati of 974 and 979 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, vi, 52, and xix, 161). They name three immediate predecessors of his, Sīyaka, Vairisiṁha, and Kriṣṇarāja, and describe them by the usual imperial titles which signify independent sovereignty.[1] Allowing the usual average term of twenty years for a reign, or a period of sixty years for the three reigns, we obtain the year 915 A.D. as the approximate date when the Parmars of Malwa secured their independence from the Gūrjara empire. The conclusion, therefore, seems justified that it was the Parmar Krishnarāja who at the time of Indra III's raid, between 915 and 918 A.D., made himself independent of Mahīpāla. It also becomes probable that the actual date of Indra's raid was the year 915 A.D.

In the Deolī grant of Krishna III, dated 940 A.D., there is a remark which throws another curious light on the insecurity felt by Mahīpāla with respect to his imperial rule. The grant says (*E.I.* v, 194, v. 25) that, "hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds in the southern region simply by means of his (Krishna III's) angry glance, the hope (for security, set by them) on (the strongholds of) Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa (Chitor) vanished from the heart of the Gūrjaras."[2] The reference is to Krishna III's victorious

[1] The Udepur *praśasti* of about 1080 A.D. (*E.I.* i, 223) gives a much longer but, on the face of it, mythical ancestry.

[2] The original text runs as follows: *galitā Gūrjara-hṛdayāt Kālaṁjara-Citrakūṭ-āśā.* Mr. Bhandarkar translates this, "the hope *of conquering* Kālanjara and Citrakūṭa dropped away from the heart of the Gūrjara prince" (see p. 5 of his paper on the *Gūrjaras*). This apparently reflects an earlier translation, even more strongly expressed, in Professor R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Dekkan* (2nd ed., p. 75): "The Gūrjara prince *who was preparing to take the fortresses of Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa in the north had to give up the enterprise.*" The compound is translated much more soberly and correctly by the same Professor in *E.I.* iv, 289: "the hope *about* Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa." (The italics throughout are mine.) The idea of "conquering" or "preparing to take" is not suggested by anything in the compound, and it is wrongly imported into it. For Kalanjar and Chitor did not require conquering; they had already belonged to the Gūrjara empire for a very long time. At this time, it is true, one of them, Kalanjar, had passed into the power of the Chandel Yaśovarman, but that prince had placed Mahīpāla on the throne and was on his side. Naturally Mahīpāla trusted for security to

campaigns in Southern India which he prosecuted while he held the position of *Kumāra* or crown prince. Now it appears that the year 940 A.D. of the Deolī grant was the first of Krishna III's reign, and that his father, Amoghavarsha III (Baddiga), reigned from about 934 to 940 A.D. Accordingly, the southern campaigns must have taken place in that period, 934–940 A.D., and the Gūrjara apprehension of insecurity must refer to Mahīpāla's reign in that period. Mahīpāla feared that Krishna III, after his successful campaigns in the south, would now turn his attention to his (Mahīpāla's) dominions in the north.

There is still another remark which is worth noticing. It occurs in the Cambay grant of Govinda IV, dated 930 A.D., and represents the rivers Ganges and Jamna as doing service at Govinda IV's palace (*E.I.* vii, 44, verse 28). Mr. Bhandarkar rightly explains this remark to indicate "either that, after an expedition of conquest against northern India, he (Govinda IV) added the signs of these rivers to his *insignia*, or that he inherited these signs from some one of his predecessors, perhaps his own father, Indra III, who had overrun northern India" (*ibid.*, p. 35). Considering that Govinda IV, as we know from contemporary charters (*ibid.*, p. 33), led a life entirely given up to sensuality, it is not probable that he would have undertaken an arduous campaign; nor, indeed, is there the smallest evidence of his ever having done so. Therefore, there remains only the second of Mr. Bhandarkar's alternatives, that Govinda IV had inherited the signs of the Ganges and Jamna from his father, Indra III, who, as a fact, had crossed the Jamna and marched to the Ganges in his victorious expedition against Kanauj.

Mahīpāla may be taken to have reigned from about 913 to 945 A.D. About the latter year he was succeeded by his son Devapāla. As the Siyadoni inscription shows, Devapāla was certainly on the throne in 948 A.D. (*E.I.* i, 170, 177).

the stronghold of the Chandel. In any case, considering the relation in which these two monarchs stood to each other, one cannot suppose that Mahīpāla could have contemplated "conquering" from him the stronghold of Kalanjar.

But his reign must have been a very short one; for in the Rajor inscription of the year 960 A.D. (*E.I.* iii, 263, 265) Vijayapāla is described as the immediate successor of Kshitipāla (i.e. Mahīpāla). The case is very similar to that of the two half-brothers Mahīpāla and Bhoja II, who are both described as immediate successors of Mahendrapāla, and of whom the earlier, Bhoja II, reigned only for a very short term. It suggests, not only that Vijayapāla was a half-brother of Devapāla, whom he supplanted, for some reason at present unknown, but also that Devapāla can have reigned only for a very few years, say down to 950 A.D.

Devapāla was succeeded by Vijayapāla, who probably was his half-brother, and who, according to the Rajor inscription (*E.I.* iii, 263), was reigning in 960 A.D. At this time the Gūrjara empire had already become greatly reduced through the secession of Bandelkhand and Malwa. But over a great portion of even this reduced dominion, the Gūrjara emperor's rule was only nominal. For Mathanadeva, the issuer of the Rajor edict, who belonged to the Parihar clan of Gūrjaras, though acknowledging the suzerainty of Vijayapāla, adopts almost imperial titles,[1] indicating that he was practically the independent ruler of his Rajputana fief.

Vijayapāla may have reigned down to about 975 A.D. After him there is a gap in the history, on which we have as yet no information whatever. In 1027 A.D., as we know from his grant of that date (*Ind. Ant.*, xviii, 33), Trilochanapāla was reigning. His father and predecessor, Rājyapāla, had been slain by his feudatory, the Kachhwāha chief Arjuna (*E.I.* ii, 234), who acted in alliance with the Chandel emperor Vidyādhara (*E.I.* i, 219; ii, 235). This Rājyapāla must be the king of Kanauj, whom Mahmūd of Ghazni, on his arrival at that town in 1022 A.D., is said to have found already attacked and killed by an alliance of Hindu princes (Sir A. Cunningham, *A.S. Reports*, i, 147).

[1] Vijayapāla receives the full imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara.* For himself Mathanadeva only claims *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*, while to his father Sāvaṭa he gives only the title *Mahārājādhirāja.*

As we have the two dates 1088 and 1048 A.D. for the two Kachhwāha chiefs, Vikramasiṁha and his father Vijayapāla (*E.I.* ii, 234, 235; *J.A.S.B.* xxxi, 393), the latter's grandfather Arjuna, who killed Rājyapāla, must have reigned about 1020 A.D. According to Trilochanapāla's grant, above referred to, Rājyapāla's predecessor was his father, Vijayapāla. The chronological calculation above given would fix his reign as falling about 1000–1020 A.D. It seems to me, therefore, impossible to identify him with the Vijayapāla of the Rajor grant of 960 A.D. (Professor Kielhorn's proposal, *E.I.* iii, 265). He might, however, very well have been the grandson of that Vijayapāla. There remains, then, only a gap of about twenty-five years, 975–1000 A.D., to be filled up by the reign of one king between the two Vijayapālas. He would be the son of Vijayapāla I, and father of Vijayapāla II. This latter sovereign I would suggest to be identical with the Jayapāla of the traditional list of the (Tomara) kings of Kanauj (Sir A. Cunningham's *A.S. Reports*, i, 149), who is said to have been defeated by Maḥmūd of Ghazni in 1018 A.D.

The history of the Gūrjara empire after Trilochanapāla is still very obscure. For myself, I am disposed to adopt Sir A. Cunningham's theory that the Kanauj imperial family retired to Delhi (*A.S. Reports*, i, 132 ff.). Kanauj, as we know from the Gahaṛwāṛ charters (*Ind. Ant.*, xviii, 13), was captured about 1050 A.D. by Chandradeva, the founder of the Gahaṛwāṛ dynasty. As a result of the Gahaṛwāṛ conquest, the reigning emperor appears to have retired to his north-western frontier province, to which henceforth the rule of his family, now known as the Tomara, was limited. This emperor was Anangapāla, apparently a son of Trilochanapāla. He may have reigned from 1040 to 1060 A.D. He seems to have retired to his stronghold on the Jamna, called Lālkoṭ or the Red Fort. This happened, as recorded on the Iron Pillar (*ibid.*, pp. 151, 174; *Journ. R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 13) in 1052 A.D. Around Lālkoṭ there sprang up the new royal residence of Delhi, about 1060 A.D. In their greatly reduced dominions the royal family continued to

reign for about a century longer, till at last in 1170 A.D. the succession passed to the Chohan chief Prithirāj, the son-in-law of the last Tomara king, Anangapāla II, who had no male issue. Prithirāj, of course, considered himself as succeeding to the old imperial claims of his wife's family, claims which apparently had never been formally renounced. This fact explains Prithirāj's violent feuds with the Chandels of Bandelkhand (Paramardideva or Parmāl) and the Gaharwārs of Kanauj. It also explains how it came to pass that when in 1191-2 A.D. Muhammad Ghorī attacked India he met with no united resistance on the part of the Indian princes.

The subjoined synchronistic table may illustrate the history of the Gūrjara power, as traced out in the preceding remarks:—

Approximate Dates.	Gūrjara.	Rāshṭrakūṭa.	Pāla.	Chedi.	Chandel.	Parmar.	Chohan.	Parihar.
(1) 770–780 ...	Devaśakti.							
(2) 780–810 ...	Vatsarāja.	Dhruva, 783–794.						
(3) 810–815 ...	Nāgabhaṭa.	Govinda III, 794–814.						
(4) 815–840 ...	Rāmabhadra.							
(5) 840–885 ...	Bhoja I.	Amoghavarsha I, 814–877.	Dharmapāla, 840–875.					
(6) 885–910 ...	Mahendrapāla.	Krishna II, 877–915.	Devapāla, 875–910.	Kokkalla I, 875–910.	Harsha, 890–910.			
(7) 910–913 ...	Bhoja II				Yaśovarman, 910–950.			
(8) 913–945 ...	Mahīpāla	Indra III, 914–918, & Govinda IV, 918–934.	...	...	...	Krishnarāja, 915–935.	Chandana & Vākpati.	
(9) 945–950 ...	Devapāla	...	...	...	...	Vairisiṁha, 935–955.	Siṁharāja.	Lakshmaṇa.
(10) 950–975 ...	Vijayapāla I	Krishna III, 940–971.	...	..	Dhānga, 950–975.	Siyaka, 955–970.	Vigraharāja, 973.	Vajradāman, 977.
(11) 975–1000 ...	(Unknown.)	...	...	...	Ganda, 975–1000.	Vākpati, 970–990.		
(12) 1000–1020 ...	Vijayapāla II.							
(13) 1020–1022 ...	Rājyapāla.	...	...	..	Vidhyādhara, 1000–1025.			
(14) 1022–1040 ...	Trilochanapāla.							
(15) 1040–1060 ...	Anangapāla.							

(*To be continued.*)

XXV.

COINS AND SEALS COLLECTED IN SEISTAN, 1903-4.

By G. P. TATE.

THE sources whence have come all the coins and seals obtained in Seistan are the extensive ruins situated to the east of the Helmand, in Afghan Seistan, which it has not been possible to explore thoroughly.

The trade is in the hands of a small section of the people numbering about 150 families, who live on the edge of the deserted tract, on the eastern verge of the flood area of the Helmand. There they cultivate small holdings, raising wheat and barley and patches of water-melons; and their flocks of goats, sheep, and the few cattle they possess graze upon the fodder that springs up so luxuriantly wherever water touches the soil. When the Winter has set in, and after rain has fallen, and water stands in the hollows in the clay soil, these people set out for the deserted sites of towns or forts and ply their trade as treasure-seekers. They are known as 'Dagāl Gardis.' The word Dagār or Dagāl is Baluchi for 'land, soil, ground,' etc., and Gardi (as will be obvious) is in the same dialect 'the act of wandering about.' These persons are Baluchis, who for generations have eked out a livelihood by the pursuit of this calling,[1] until at last they have developed a preternatural keenness of vision. One of these persons, as he goes on at a rapid trot, will suddenly swoop down and pick up a tiny bead, or a minute turquoise, discoloured and covered with earth-stains to such an extent as to be unrecognisable by an ordinary individual.

Their ancestors wandered into Seistan when the prosperity of the country had already very considerably declined. Large

[1] They form regularly organised communities, dwelling under their *kad-khudas*, and pay revenue on their lands, flocks, and the value of their finds.

tracts had been abandoned by water and become desert, to all of which the newcomers entered into possession. The latter found extensive ruins, the names of which no one knew; and these localities were at once renamed (for convenience of reference) by names based on some local peculiarity of shape, design, or even the colour of the decaying materials. These names are handed about from one to another, and often in a corrupt form are preserved in travellers' narratives. Those few ancient places whose names are preserved in the writings of past generations of chroniclers are located by writers of the present day by means of these modern names, and often by some fancied resemblance between the two.

The district most thickly covered with these remains of a byegone condition of prosperity is called by the Baluch treasure-seekers 'Ghulghula,' because the ruins are as numerous as the stars in the sky, to which the same word also is applied.

The ruins are partially concealed by drifts of loose sand; and it is due to this that the traces of an ancient civilization are so well preserved from the action of the elements and the ravages of human beings. Every year under the impulse of the wind of 120 days these drifts continue their march towards the east; their ultimate destination being the *Wadis* that score the sun-baked under-features of the Dasht-i-Mārgo and break its terminal edge into deep re-entrants and bastions of gravel-capped clay. As these *Barkhans* move they hide portions of the ruins which have been exposed, and lay bare other parts which may have been hidden for years. In this way the area available for exploration continually changes.

It is not the larger ruins that yield the finds. The larger tumuli and masses of crumbling bricks could only be dealt with by means of systematic excavation. This the 'Dagāl Gardis' cannot undertake. They search the patches of lighter débris of crumbling bricks and potsherds that mark the sites of individual homesteads. These are called *kacholi*, as this is the general term used for broken pottery and

fragments of brick. The alternate effect of the Summer and Winter temperatures breaks up these débris heaps into coarse dust, and when this has been washed away by heavy rain or melting snow all sorts of quaint and artistic things are picked up. Coins and seals, fragments of copper vessels, and strange shapes of birds and beasts, which were evidently fixed as handles to caskets or utensils; turquoises, very much discoloured by being buried in the earth; garnets, pale sapphires, and amethysts; agate and cornelian beads; occasionally tourmaline and rock crystals, shaped and cut or in the rough. These are not by any means plentiful. Many a time do these people return with nothing of the least value. Sometimes small hoards of coin and some really good seals are found. These are infrequent, and such occurrences are preserved and handed down in the traditions and tales with which these people occupy their leisure. In this way the reputed discovery of 700 gold pieces in the ruins of Kurdo, in the days of Ibrahim Khan, Sinjarāni of Chakānsur, is talked about, though probably sixty years and more have elapsed since then. Such finds rarely benefit the discoverers. News of it gets to others stronger than they, through some disappointed member of the party, and the weaker are compelled to disgorge more than they have actually found, as the value of the find increases at each repetition of the tale.

In addition to the articles already mentioned, fragments of fine porcelain and beads made out of composition are the most numerous. The former is a fine vitreous and white biscuit covered with a very pale olive-green glaze, the latter being sometimes $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch thick—a white porcelain, with the pattern in a blue colour not unlike what is made in China at the present day—Canton, say—after the pattern of the blue and white porcelain of the time of the Emperor Kang-hi. The porcelain found in Seistan has, however, only a floral pattern, the decoration being confined to sprays of foliage or to a mere scrolled decorative pattern; there is, however, a 'fuzziness' of outline that takes away from the effect of the design and good colour that is seen

in some of the fragments. Glazed earthenware strews the slope of every mound, and is not worthy of mention, as, though the pieces were well baked, the glaze is very thin.

None of the beads show any attempt to pourtray animal forms. A solitary exception was found in the case of an agate-bead, which was shaped like a squatting frog; a finely bored hole running through it lengthways showed exactly for what it was originally used. The representation was perfect, not a touch too much, and no over-elaboration of detail. Another fine piece of work is the head of a ram, in baked clay. It is hollow, and evidently formed the spout of an ewer or jug, the head being some 2½ inches long. The facial markings and the detail of the horns were most perfectly done with a few bold touches of some blunt tool when the paste was damp. The effect is lifelike, and shows that a very high standard of artistic skill must have been reached, to be employed in decorating what was probably an utensil in every-day use. The agate frog was discovered at an ancient site called Khana-i-Gaur, to the east of Chakānsur, at the point where the Khāsh Rud enters the plain of Seistan. The ram's head was found in one of the ruined sites of Ghulghula. Another representation of a frog was found in this district: it is cut out of a piece of that thick shell of which mention has been made; through the nose (it is a back view of a frog sitting up) a fine hole has been bored, and this bead or pendant was one of a number forming a necklace. Down the back, on either side of the spine, there are three cup-like markings of small circles enclosing dots which had been picked out with black colouring matter.

The seals are cut on cornelians, garnets, some on very pale amethysts, and milky translucent agates. Some are cut on dark green and grey stones, but the latter do not show the same skill or finish, and probably the stones are softer and do not lend themselves to very great elaboration of detail. The forms represented are for the most part those of animals; some few have representations of the human form, or of human heads, but these are rare. Cabalistic

diagrams or signs are very common. So are inscriptions of varying length and style, many of the more elaborate being marked by a star. I gave two seals to the British Commissioner which were brought in, one from Kadah and the other from Chihilburj, localities not very far from Chakānsur. One was a beautiful intaglio of a human head facing to the left. A chaplet of leaves bound the hair, which fell down the neck in three heavy curls. There was a collar or necklace, below which the representation did not go. The intaglio was about $\frac{1}{10}$ of an inch along the greater axis of a regular ellipse; the head having been carved in this direction, the small vacant spaces containing two sentences in some ancient script. The intaglio was on the flat surface of the stone, the other being convex. The detail of the face, hair, and chaplet is very beautiful, and the inscription is also very distinct. The beauty of the workmanship can only be judged by examination through a magnifying-glass.

The other was of similar size and shape as to the stone. But the design, in this case a cabalistic sign, was cut on the curved side. It was enclosed on either side by an inscription in the same character as that on the seal previously described. This also I gave to the British Commissioner, who in the midst of a busy career finds recreation in a variety of pursuits. These seals have been sent by him to the Director of the Archæological Survey of India. There is also a third specimen in my possession. It is a head facing left, wearing a heavily crested helmet. It is also very beautifully cut and finished, but bears no inscription. It came from the Chihilburj ruins. The face is distinctly of an European type, whereas the former shows the features of an Eastern type of countenance. A class by itself is the more simple form of engraving, generally cut on a milky and translucent agate, the bird, fish, or other object being delineated by a few touches of the graver's tool. Some of the objects which it was intended to represent are not at all easy to make out, but I have a seal of this class with a very spirited representation of a man, with

a pigtail evidently, and other details of dress and figure very Chinese in their general effect. Some of the small intaglio seals are very beautiful, the detail of the horns and body of the animals being most carefully carried out. The animals are probably intended to represent the signs of the Zodiac.

The coins that are discovered bear the face and head of ancient monarchs, and the features and details of dress vary. These coins are now with the Society, and their exact significance can be clearly distinguished. Suffice it to say that the coins with effigies come from the ruins which extend from Sār-o-Tār, in the south, past Chakānsur and up to the ruins known as Post-i-Gau[1] and Chāpu, embracing the ancient sites at Kadah and Khana-i-Gaur, and Erindās, these localities being situated to the east of Chakānsur.

With these ancient mintages are found the coins of the Caliphs and the earlier Muhammadan coins. I have seen a very much defaced copper coin (apparently of Mahmud of Ghazni) which was found in the ruins of Sār-o-Tār itself. Copper coins, as a rule, are ruined by bad usage at the hands of the 'Dagāl Gardis' themselves. They place the coins they collect into a fire, and the oxydised crust is burnt off, leaving only a thin wad or ingot of metal behind. The latter comes out quite plain; the inscriptions, effigy, or whatever the coin had originally stamped on it are either altogether removed, in the case of a much corroded piece, or too far obliterated to be of any interest or value. Sometimes silver coins are also subjected to this treatment; but generally the greater value of the metal secures it better treatment.

As a rule, the more modern coins are found nearer the Helmand and across it inside Persian Seistan. But I have seen a coin of Kutb-ud-din, the Kaiani Malik of Seistan,[2] a contemporary of the celebrated Tamerlane, which was

[1] Both these are perhaps modern and Baluchi names. But this is not beyond doubt, as associated with them and close by is a ruin which still bears a name preserved in the writings of Istakhri, and the place so mentioned is probably the existing ruined site now visible.

[2] Taken prisoner by Timur in the month of Shawal, 785 A.H., and liberated after his death in 803 A.H.

brought in from Post-i-Gau. Coins of the Maliks of Seistan are not very numerous. Copper coins bearing the title of several princes of this family have been found, with the words "struck in Nimroz" or "the country of Nimroz." These are useful for verifying the names of those princes which appear in the Shijrat-ul-Muluk, a manuscript genealogy of the family, which, however, preserves little but a list of names of the ruling chiefs who have held authority in Seistan.

One very handsome gold piece bore on the obverse the legend "*Al Malik al A'zam 'Iz-ud-dunya wa ud-din Kai(āni)*." It formed part of an ornament belonging evidently to a lady of some position, whose husband was able to afford to buy gold coins for such a purpose. Another of these (on the same article) was a gold coin struck by the same, or another, Malik. This was a much more elaborate piece. The inscription was very full and cramped, and it could not be deciphered in the very short time the coin was in my hands. The word Al Malik stood at the head by itself, and in many of the copper coins the same arrangement is found to exist. So that, although the mint town is not named, there can be but little doubt that they were struck in Seistan, at the capital. Both coins were of the same weight. Each weighed equal to a rupee of Indian currency,[1] including the brass loop welded on so as to allow of their being strung on a necklace or other article of personal adornment.

The author of the Rauzat-ul-Jannat fi Ausaf-i-Madinati-l-Herat, Mulla Muin Zamji Isfirari, mentions a Malik, Muiz-ud-din Husen, who made himself very unpopular for many reasons, one of which was an alteration in the currency. Flying to the "island of the Zirreh" (Koh Khwaja) for refuge from the troops of Babar Mirza, Prince of Herat, he was put to death by the leading men of Seistan. This was in 859 A.H. Silver coins with the name "Iz-ul-Haq" and *wa ul-din* are fairly numerous, and on a copper coin are the words "Iz-ul-Haq" and "struck in Nimroz." So perhaps these coins may belong to the period of that Malik. In

[1] The rupee = 180 grs. troy.

the Shijrat ul Muluk he is called Malik Husen, is said to have had a glorious reign, and at last to have suffered from the caprices of fortune.

Some of the copper coins have very clear but abbreviated inscriptions. It was necessary to curtail these as the coins are very small, being mere wads of copper stamped on either face.

Copper was the metal universally used. Cattle brands are brought in, and seals of this metal are very common; a lamp was brought to me from Sār-o-Tār. Several fragments of censers or incense-burners, pitchers and ewers, ladles, mortars, and fragments that look like portions of body armour, or which may have been parts of copper caskets, are also very common. I have an arrow-head made of copper; and iron seems to have been either not used or kept solely for implements of agriculture and warlike weapons. It was probably difficult to get. The trade of a coppersmith must have been a lucrative one owing to the demand for his wares. And thus grew up the tale preserved in the Shijrat ul Muluk that Lais the coppersmith by his daily toil supplied his vagrant sons Yakub and Amru with the means of entertaining their fellows, who spent the father's daily earnings every night. And the sons of the coppersmith of Karyetein in Seistan spread the name and craft of their father throughout the world of Islam. The coins with effigies of an European type come from the tract of country about the embouchure of the Khāsh Rud and the ruins around the fort of Chihilburj.

To the west of the Helmand but few coins are found. During the year 1903–4 only some half-dozen coins were found in the ruins of Zāhidān. One of these had a loop attached to it, and was evidently used for decorative purposes long ago. It is an ancient coin, possibly struck during the Caliphate.

The name also of the town and country has altered, on coins of the Maliks, from the reigns of Malik Kutb-ud-din and his successors. Struck in Nimroz (or the town or country فی بلاد نیمروز) of Nimroz takes the place of Zaranj.

In order to induce the Dagāl Gardis to bring in their finds to the Mission Camp, it was necessary to offer them some inducement in the shape of higher prices than those they command in the vicinity of their abodes, especially as the journey included a swim across the Helmand in flood. There is a steady demand for ancient coins and seals, which find a ready market. For one thing, they are regarded with a certain amount of awe, as being endowed with certain properties that render them operative against ailments. The pendants cut out of the thick sea-shells are called 'Gwāti.' 'Gwāt' in Baluchi means wind; and the ornaments are believed to be a specific for pains and aches due to rheumatism or neuralgia, and they are worn in order to ward off these attacks. The old coins of the Caliphate or early Muhammadan mintage are distinctly held in reverence. In those days, before Islam was rent by the two great schisms, men say their ancestors' religious zeal burnt clear and steadily, and the profession of faith stamped on the ancient coins was more sincerely believed in than is the case in these degenerate days, and a greater potency is ascribed to it, which render these old coins objects of a sentimental regard. Then, again, coins and intaglios have a value as ornaments. They are bought largely by the richer classes of the people. Sardars and Kalāntars and wealthy traders generally have some.

The late Kalāntar, or Mir as he was called, of Iskil had a collection of seals and coins large enough to fill two or three small trunks. This collection is said to be very remarkable. I believe no European has ever been able, or allowed, to see the whole of it,[1] so it is not possible to form any idea of its extent or value. His sons have inherited the collection and property generally. The late Mir Abbas was in many ways a very remarkable man. His family and two others had the title of Mir handed down from their ancestors. The Mirs of Chakānsur, sometimes also called Mir-i-Arab, and the Mirs of Daulatabad have, however, fallen into evil days, and sunk in the social scale. The

[1] It is hoped the British Commissioner will be able to examine this collection before the work of the Mission closes.

late Kalāntar of Iskil displayed great enthusiasm in forming this collection; and, as he was always willing to give a fair return for what he took, and as his residence was on the high road to the city as soon as the river had been crossed, he commanded the supply of these articles. He took great pride in his collection, and used to occasionally present a few coins or seals to officers who visited him.

In the company of ancient coins, tokens of brass are often brought for sale as gold coins. Among these I have observed a brass imitation of the Venetian sequin, on which there was still legible a portion of the inscription, "Sit tibi, Christe, datus, quem Tu regis iste ducatus," and the well-known brass card-counters — (1) imitation of the spade-guinea of George III, with inscr. "In memory of the good old days"; (2) *obv.* head of Queen Victoria; *rev.* the Duke of Cumberland on horseback galloping, with inscr. "To Hanover."

Lastly, I have had brought to me the following gold coins (ducats) of the Netherlands: two of the province of Holland (eighteenth century), and one of King William I, 1837.

No detailed account of the ancient coins has been attempted, because they are in the hands of those more qualified to speak with authority on such a subject. And this note has been put together in the intervals of official work, from observations recorded at various times, in the hope that the matter may perhaps be not uninteresting.

CAMP KUHAK:
April 9, 1904.

XXVI.

NOTE ON ANCIENT COINS

COLLECTED IN SEISTAN BY MR. G. P. TATE, OF THE SEISTAN BOUNDARY COMMISSION.

By E. J. RAPSON, M.A., M.R.A.S.

THE following is a description of the coins referred to in Mr. Tate's article which appears in the present number of the Journal, pp. 663–672.

Mr. Tate has given an admirably clear account of the *provenance* of these coins, and it is much to be wished that all collectors of Oriental coins would keep a similar accurate record of the precise localities from which their specimens are obtained. It is only by the accumulation of such important evidence that we can hope to make any real progress in the study of Indian numismatics.

I. COINS DERIVED FROM GREEK SOURCES.

1. *Obv.* Helmeted head of Athene to r.
   Rev. Eagle.

   Pl. 1. Æ ·55; Wt. 50 grs.

[*v.* Head, *B.M. Cat.: Attica*, p. 26, Pl. vii, 9, 10; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 9, Pl. i, 7.]

Coins of this class are imitated from the Athenian coinage, which was carried by commerce to the most distant parts of the world. Some of the imitations which are found in Northern India are simply slavish copies of the head of Athene on the obverse and the owl on the reverse; but the class to which this specimen belongs has acquired a certain degree of independence of the original from which it is derived: the head of Athene is retained, but an eagle has taken the place of the owl of Athene on the reverse.

For the possible connection between these coins and those of Sophytes, who at the time of Alexander's invasion of India (326 B.C.) was ruling over a district on the banks of the Acesines, *v.* Rapson, *Indian Coins*, §§ 9, 11.

2. *Obv.* Head of Herakles in lion's skin to r.
   Rev. Globular surface without type.
   Pl. 2. Æ ·5; Wt. 64·5 grs.

This is an ancient native imitation of the coinage of Alexander the Great. In the original, the reverse-type is 'Zeus enthroned.' In this particular imitation, the obverse 'Head of Herakles' only has been copied, and the reverse has been left without a type—a peculiarity which is also to be observed in some of the ancient Gaulish and British imitations of Greek and Roman coins. *Cf.*, for instance, Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, Pl. B, 8.

II. SELEUCID KINGS OF SYRIA.

SELEUCUS I, B.C. 306–281.

3. *Obv.* Head of Herakles in lion's skin to r.
   Rev. Zeus seated to l. on throne; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ | ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ in two vertical lines in r. field; in l. field, mon. [illegible] (?); beneath throne, mon. [illegible] (?).
   Tetradrachm. **Pl. 3.** Æ 1; Wt. 225 grs.

This is a specimen of the earliest coinage of Seleucus, on which he retains the types of Alexander the Great. It is interesting as showing an arrangement of the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ which has not been hitherto noticed. For the other methods of arrangement, fourteen in number, *v.* Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. x. In 306 B.C., when Seleucus took the title of king, he was in possession of all that portion of the empire of Alexander the Great which lies between the Oxus and the Indus. His coins may, therefore, be expected to be found in Seistan.

The reverse of this specimen is in such a poor state of preservation that it is impossible to decipher the monograms with certainty. The drawings given above cannot claim to be strictly accurate.

III. GREEK KINGS OF BACTRIA.

Diodotus, b.c. 250.

4. *Obv.* Head of king to r.
   Rev. Zeus striding to l., hurling thunderbolt. (Inscription illegible.)
   Hemidrachm. **Pl. 4.** Æ ·5; Wt. 25·5 grs.

This piece is probably an original; but it has been so defaced by cleaning that it is not possible to be certain that it may not be an early imitation. As the inscription is lost, it is impossible, also, to say whether both portrait and inscription were those of Diodotus, or whether the coin belongs to that transitional class in which the portrait of Diodotus occurs in conjunction with the name of Antiochus.[1]

Diodotus, originally satrap of the province of Bactria, revolted against his Seleucid over-lord, Antiochus II, and founded the Greek kingdom of Bactria, *c.* b.c. 250.

Euthydemus, *c.* b.c. 206.

5. *Obv.* Head of king to r.
   Rev. Herakles seated to l. on rock; r. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ; l. [-]ΥΘ[ΥΔ]ΗΜΟΥ.
   Hemidrachm. **Pl. 5.** Æ ·5; Wt. 24·5 grs.

The art and the poorly executed letters of the Greek inscription convict this specimen of being a native imitation; but it is an early imitation, and not far removed from the prototype. Coins of the class to which it belongs are usually

[1] Gardner, *B.M. Cat.: Seleucid Kings of Syria*, pp. xv, 15, pl. v, 7. This appears to be the correct view. Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, p. lx, denies that the portrait is that of Diodotus, but without any sufficient reason.

known as 'Śaka imitations of Bactrian coins,' for which *v.* the references given in *Indian Coins*, § 28. This class belongs to a period beginning *c.* 120 B.C., when the Greek kingdom of Bactria had been overwhelmed by the Scythian invaders, who imitated for their own use the coins which they found circulating in the country.

6. Demetrius, *c.* B.C. 190.

Obol. [*v.* Gardner, *B.M. Cat.: Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, p. 6, Pl. ii, 11, 12.]

To Euthydemus and his son Demetrius are attributed the earliest conquests made in India by the Greek princes of Bactria: *v.* reff. in *Indian Coins*, § 18.

IV. INDO-PARTHIAN DYNASTY.

The history of this dynasty is at present very obscure. A summary of what is known will be found in *Indian Coins*, § 61. It seems to have held Kandahar and Seistan in the first century A.D., and probably for some time before and after. At the time of its best-known monarch, Gondophares, its power extended to the W. Punjab and Sind. Its precise connection with the contemporary Parthian dynasty is uncertain; but, from this point of view, certain Parthian coins (*v. inf.*, p. 677) found in Seistan and bearing as a countermark the symbol which is characteristic of the coins of Gondophares are most interesting.

In October, 1903, I received from Mr. R. Hughes-Buller, the Superintendent of the Imperial Gazetteer of Baluchistan, a great number of coins of this Indo-Parthian dynasty (Gondophares and Pacorus). As these came also from Seistan, we have abundant numismatic evidence of the rule of the Indo-Parthian dynasty in this region.

All the coins of this dynasty which I have noted in Mr. Tate's collection are of bronze, and are uniformly in such a poor state of preservation, or have been so badly 'cleaned' according to the very vigorous method described

by Mr. Tate, that only small fragments of the inscriptions can be read.

7–10. PACORUS. ? 1st or 2nd cent. A.D.

[*v.* Gardner, *B.M. Cat.: Gk. and Scythic Kings*, p. 110, Pl. xxiii, 8.]

11, 12. ORTHAGNES. ? 1st or 2nd cent. A.D.

[*Ibid.*, p. 109, Pl. xxiii, 9.]

Pl. 8 (*Obverse*). Æ ·9; Wt. 109 grs.

V. PARTHIAN DYNASTY.

Small silver coins (drachms) of the following kings of Parthia have been noticed in Mr. Tate's collection. A full description of all the varieties, except the countermarked coins of Orodes, will be found in Gardner's *Parthian Coinage* (International Numismata Orientalia, Pt. v) and Wroth's *B.M. Cat.: Parthia.*

13. MITHRADATES II, B.C. 123–88.
14, 15. PHRAATES III, B.C. 70–57.
16, 17. ORODES I, B.C. 57–37.
18, 19. ORODES I, countermarked with the symbol ☿ of the Indo-Parthian dynasty (*v. inf.*).
20. PHRAATES IV, B.C. 37–2.
21. GOTARZES, A.D. 40–51.
22. ? VOLAGASES II, A.D. 77–146.
23–28. MITHRADATES IV, A.D. ? 130–147.
29. VOLAGASES IV, A.D. 191–207.

The countermarked specimens of Orodes I are most interesting and important[1] (**Pls. 6** and **7**). They show that Parthian coins struck between B.C. 57 and 37 were stamped

[1] Cunningham, *Num. Chron.*, 1890, p. 119, noted the fact that coins of 'Artabanus' were found countermarked with the 'symbol of Gondophares,' but no specimen seems to have been published, and it is impossible to verify the statement. He probably meant Artabanus III (A.D. 10–40); but it is, of course, possible that he may have used the name 'Artabanus' by mistake for 'Orodes.'

for reissue by some member of the Indo-Parthian dynasty. This dynasty seems to have ruled first in Kandahar and Seistan. It is possible that the Indo-Parthian power may have arisen during, or shortly after, the reign of Orodes, and that the money then current in this region was countermarked by the new rulers with their distinctive symbol.

VI. VASSAL OF THE EARLY SASSANIAN DYNASTY.

ARDAMITRA, VASSAL OF HORMUZD I, A.D. 271–273.

30. *Obv.* Head of king to l.; inscription in Sassanian Pahlavi.

[*Rev.* Sassanian Fire-altar; on either side, an inscr. in Sassanian Pahlavi.[1]]

Pl. 9. Æ ·9; Wt. 101·5 grs.

This obscure class of coins has been described by the late M. Edmond Drouin in the *Revue Numismatique*, 1895, p. 52, Pl. ii, 1–8. According to Drouin, the long inscription in Sassanian Pahlavi on the obv. is the regular coin-legend of Hormuzd I. One of the inscriptions on the rev. is read by him as 'Ardamitra,' and he supposes this to be the name of some vassal of Hormuzd I.

The specimens published by Drouin came from Turkestan; but, as there is no reason to believe that the Sassanian power extended beyond the Oxus, it is most probable that they were carried thither in the course of trade, and that their real home was somewhere farther south. From the occurrence of a solitary specimen in this collection of coins made in Seistan, it would, of course, be rash to infer that this home was Seistan. Some such conclusion is, however, indicated by a piece of numismatic evidence which has not been hitherto noticed. There can be no doubt that there is a very striking resemblance between these coins attributed to a vassal of the Sassanian dynasty and the Indo-Parthian coins of Pacorus

[1] The reverse of this particular specimen is quite defaced. The description is borrowed from the coins published by Drouin.

and Orthagnes referred to above (p. 677). Not only are the coins of the two classes themselves similar in size and fabric, but the peculiar arrangement of the hair in the king's portrait, which forms the obverse type of each, is almost identical. The changes which distinguish the coins attributed to a Sassanian feudatory are such as would naturally have been expected if a transference of power had taken place. Inscriptions in Sassanian Pahlavi have taken the place of the Greek and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions of the Indo-Parthian coins; and the Sassanian reverse-type, a Fire-altar, has supplanted the Greek figure of Victory. The numismatic evidence might well indicate some connection between the Indo-Parthian dynasty in Seistan and this feudatory dynasty of the early Sassanian empire.

VII. SASSANIAN DYNASTY.

The Sassanian coins,[1] with two exceptions, call for no special notice. The kings represented are:—

31–33. Shāhpur I, A.D. 240–271 (one silver, two bronze).
34–38. Shāhpur II, A.D. 310–380 (four silver, one bronze).
39. Ardashir II, A.D. 380–384.
40. Varahrān IV, A.D. 389–399.
41. Fīrūz, A.D. 458–488.
42. Kobād, A.D. 491–498.
43. Jamasp, A.D. 498–531.
44. Hormuzd IV, A.D. 578–589.
45, 46. Khusru II, A.D. 591–628.
47. Ardashir III, A.D. 628–629.

The coins of Jamasp and Ardashir III merit special description on account of their rarity.

43. *Obv.* Head of king to r.; indistinct traces of inscr. in Sassanian Pahlavi.
Rev. Fire-altar and attendants; r. *Dā*; l. = (year) thirty-four.
Pl. 10. Æ 1·05; Pierced.

[1] It is to be understood that these are of silver, unless otherwise described.

[*v.* Longpérier, *Médailles des Rois Perses*, p. 70, Pl. x, 3; Mordtmann, *Münzen mit Pehlvi-Legenden* (reprint from Z.D.M.G., 1854), p. 77, Pl. viii, 23.]

Mordtmann (*op. cit.*, p. 13) accepts the view of Thomas that *Dā* may represent the mint *Dārabgird*. The Pahlavi date is the former of the two given as equivalent to 'thirty-four' on his Pl. iii, *cf.* p. 192. There seems to be great uncertainty as to the chronology of the reign of Jamasp. If Longpérier is right in giving to this reign the period from A.D. 498 to 531, as would appear from the chronological table (*op. cit.*, p. 87), this coin must have been struck in the last-mentioned year, 531 A.D.

47. *Obv.* Head of king to r.; inscr. r., *Autahshat*; l., *Afzut*.
Rev. Fire-altar and attendants; r. *Mar*; l. = (year) two.
(The margin as far as the circle of dots has been clipped off.).
[*v.* Thomas, *Num. Chron.*, 1873, p. 251, Pl. ix, 2–4.]

VIII. MUHAMMADAN GOVERNOR OF PERSIA.

48. ? ABDALLAH BIN ZOBEIR, *c.* A.D. 683–692.

[*v.* Mordtmann, *op. cit.*, p. 160.]

The identification of this piece is not quite certain.

IX. THE CALIPHS.

49. Struck at Wāsit: Hejira year [9]6 = A.D. 714.
50. „ „ „ 109 = A.D. 727.
51. „ Balkh: „ 192 = A.D. 807.
52. „ „ „ 1[9]3 = A.D. 808.
53. „ Samarkand „ 194 = A.D. 809.
54. An Abbāsid coin of about the Hejira year 200 = A.D. 815; date and mint illegible.

X. GHAZNAVID.

55, 56. MAHMŪD. A.D. 998–1030.

XXVII.

NOTE ON MUSALMAN COINS COLLECTED BY MR. G. P. TATE IN SEISTAN.

By O. CODRINGTON, M.D., F.S.A.

THE following coins were sent by Mr. Tate, together with those described by Professor Rapson in the preceding article :—

UMAYYAD KHALIFS.	Dimashk.	A.H. 80.	Æ.
	al-Taimarah.	,, 94.	,,
	Wāsit.	,, 94.	,,
'ABBĀSID KHALIF.	Madinat Balkh.	,, 194.	,,

Khalif coins of Taimarah mint are rare, but one of the year 94 is given in Tiesenhausen, No. 402.

GHAZNAWID. **Sabaktigin,** as B.M. Cat., vol. ii, No. 453. Æ.
Maḥmūd. Four coins of ordinary types. ,,

SIJISTĀN MĀLIK (?). Quṭb al Dīn. No mint. Year 74–.

Obv. In square لا اله الا الله || محمد رسول الله

Circle surrounding the square with floral ornament in the four spaces.

Margin : In four divisions made by loops from the corners of the square اربعين – وسبع مائة – . . . – . . .

Rev. In plain circle السلطان || العادل قطب الدنيا و الدين

Two outer circles ; one of dots and one plain.

Pl. 11. Æ ; Size 1·1 ; Wt. 80.

This is no doubt the coin referred to in Mr. Tate's article as one of "Kutb-ud-din, the Kaiani Malik of Seistan." There is some doubt whether he was reigning as early

as 74–, but there seems to be no other Quṭb al Dīn, of the date, to whom to attribute the coin. The top word on *Rev.* is certainly سلطان, not ملک.

CHAGATAI. **Buyān Quli** (A.H. 749–760). Herāt, year 75–.

Obv. In square لا اله الا الله || محمد || رسول الله

Around: names of four Khalifs.

Rev. In circle خلد الله || بويان قلى خان || السلطان العادل

Characteristic symbol between the two words of last line.

Margin, within a plain and a dotted circle

ضرب هراة . . . . خمسين و سبعماية

Pl. 14. Æ; Size 1·1; Wt. 125.

KARTS OF HERĀT. **Ḥusain** (A.H. 732–771). Herāt, year 752.

1. As B.M. Cat., vol. vi, No. 592. Æ.
2. Two others of similar type, except that سنة ٧٥٢ فى is omitted from the *Rev.* legend. Æ.

HERĀT. (Doubtful.)

1. *Obv.* In square of double lines, لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله in square Cufic characters arranged as in B.M. Cat., vol. vi, No. 592*a*.

   Margin in four compartments within circle, names of four Khalifs.

   Rev. In square of double lines, with loops in the middle of each side, arranged in the same manner as the *Obv.*, محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه ضرب هراة

   Margin in eight divisions, in poor lettering, nothing legible but ضرب.

   Pl. 12. Æ; Size 1·25; Wt. 124.

The word above هراة is somewhat doubtful, owing to the bad lettering, but is, I think, ضرب.

2. Three others of the same pattern, but of more corrupt lettering; traces of date can be seen in the marginal legend of one of them. *Æ*.

3. One of the same pattern, except that the *rev.* area is in eight-foil. *Æ*.

4. Herāt, year 775.

Obv. As preceding coins.

Rev. In sixfoil, in three lines محمد || صلى الله || عليه ornament above and below.

Margin: ضرب هراة . . فى شهور سنة خمس سبعين وسبعمايه

Pl. 13. *Æ*; Size 1·2; Wt. 148.

In "Catalogue of Coins collected by C. J. Rodgers and purchased by the Government of the Panjab," pt. iv, p. 27, two coins are described which are, it would seem, similar to these, but as they are not figured one cannot be certain. The *Rev.* central legend on them is read as ending in وسلم instead of ضرب هراة, and the marginal legend is given on

No. 1 ضرب || بلدة || هراة || فى سنة || اثنى || ثمانين || وسبع || مايه

and on No. 2 . . . فى سنة ٧٥٢ فى بلدة هراة ضا

The identity of the latter to the marginal legend on coins of Ḥusain, B.M. Cat., vol. vi, No. 592*a*, mentioned above, leaves no doubt of the coin being also one of that ruler, and from the general likeness in pattern of No. 1, dated ten years after Ḥusain's time, to that of No. 2, it may fairly be attributed to Ghiyath al Dīn Pīr 'Ali, successor of Ḥusain, who was in power at Herāt from A.H. 772 until the capture of that place by Tīmur in 783. In all probability these now described were also coins of the same ruler.

TĪMURID. 1. **Abu Sa'īd** (A.H. 855–872).

Sāri. No date.

Obv. In plain circle, with outer circle of dots in three lines

ابو سعيد || . . || . .

Counter-struck in cartouches به بود and به بلخ بود

Rev. ضرب سارے || سلطانه || خلد الله || .. || ..

Pl. 15. Æ; Size ·85; Wt. 66.

2. Samarḳand. No date; as B.M. Cat., vol. vii, No. 112.

Counter-struck on *Rev.* به بلخ بود Æ.

3. **Baisanghar** (A.H. 900–902).

[Samarqand.] Year 901.

Obv. In looped square لا اله الا || الله محمد || رسول الله

Margin in four looped cartouches

ابوبكر الصديق ـ عمر الفاروق ـ عثمان عفان ـ على المرتضى

Counter-struck ... لالعز (?).

Rev. In circle سلطان || بايسنغر || غازى || ٩٠١

Margin, within plain circle and another dotted one,

السلطان الاعظم خلد الله تعالى .....

Æ; Size ·95; Wt. 70.

This coin is similar to one described and figured by Tiesenhausen, in "Nouveautés Numismatiques," published in the Proceedings of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society, tome vi, pp. 229–264, on which is the whole of the *Rev.* marginal legend ending

تعالى ملكه وسلطانه ضرب سمرقند

Ḥusain Baikara (A.H. 873–913).

1. Astarābād, as B.M. Cat., vol. vii, No. 126. Four coins without date. Æ.

2. Herāt, year 895, as B.M. Cat., vol. vii, No. 123, and six Æ of the same pattern without date, one of which is counter-struck بایسنغر. Æ.

3. Balkh. No date. Similar to the above Herāt coins, but in the centre بلخ به بود instead of هراة.

Æ; Size ·9; Wt. 70.

This is a rarity, no Timurid coin struck at Balkh having been, as far as I know, published hitherto.

SHĪRWĀNID. **'Izz al-Ḥaqq Kirmān b. Maḥmūd.** Mint and date not legible.

Similar to B.M. Cat., vol. x, No. 248*l*, p. 180. Four coins. Æ.

These coins are those referred to in Mr. Tate's article as silver ones, with the inscription "Iz-ul-Haq wa-ul-din." The specimens in the British Museum are also all without legible dates and mint places, but Marv has been read doubtfully on one and Barda' on another. C. J. Rodgers read the mint Nimroz on some he described in J.A.S.B., 1896, vol. lxv, p. 226.

SHĀHS OF PERSIA. **Isma'īl I** (A.D. 907–930).

1. Herāt, year 916. As Brit. Mus. Cat., Shah of Persia, No. 1.
2. Herāt, year 916.

Obv. Area in circle رسو || ل الله على الله || محمد || لا اله الا الله

Margin in six-looped cartouches within plain circle—

محمد على على محمد على على
حسن حسن حسين جعفر موسى محمد

Rev. Full legend, as in B.M. Cat., No. 1, but without dividing lines, and ending هراة ضرب ٩١٦

Æ; Size 1·1; Wt. 141.

Ṭahmāsp I (A.H. 930–984).

Herāt. No date. As B.M. Cat., No. 26. Æ.

Sultān Ḥusain (A.H. 1105–1135).

1. Iṣfahān. Year 1131. As B.M. Cat., No. 117. A.H. *Æ*.
2. Meshhed. Year 1132.

Obv. As B.M. Cat., No. 88.

Rev. ١١٣٢ مشهد علی استان کلب حسین

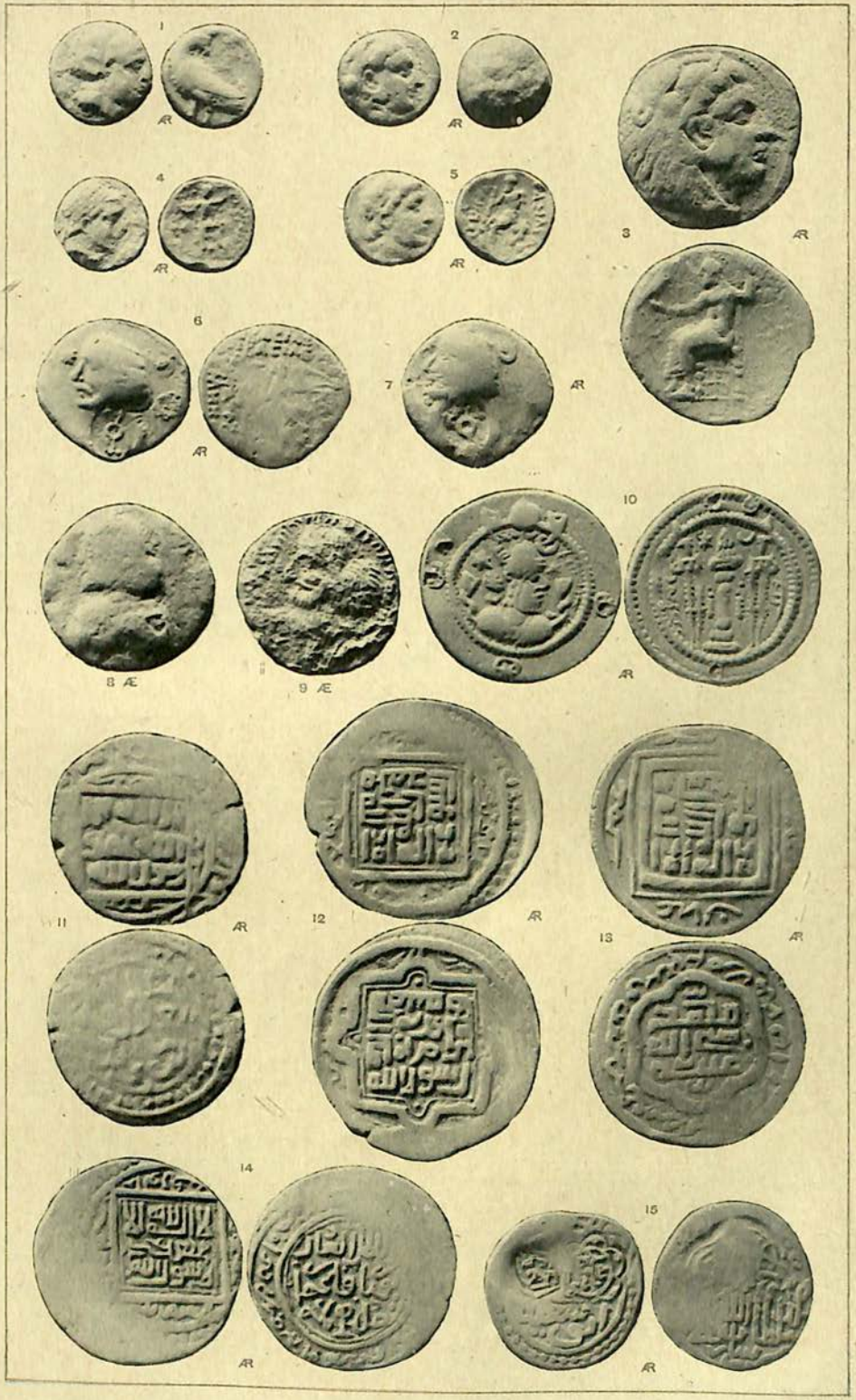
Æ; Size ·95; Wt. 78.

'Abbās III (A.H. 1144–1148).

Without mint or date. As B.M. Cat., No. 213*a*. *Æ*.

'Ādil Shāh (A.H. 1160–1161).

Meshhed. Year 1160. As B.M. Cat., No. 282. *Æ*.



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XXVIII.

THE PAHLAVI TEXT OF YASNA I,

FOR THE FIRST TIME CRITICALLY TRANSLATED.[1]

By PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS.

The Prelude to the Sacrifice.

The Divinities addressed, with the Inviting Announcements.

The Creator.

WHILE I celebrate[2] (my sacrifice) I invite (in this announcement) the Creator, Aūharmazd: [I invite Him to this Yasna sacrifice; and I will invite Him continuously on. That is to say, I would now make the beginning of it, and I (will) complete it, that is, I will perform its conclusion].

[1] The texts from which these translations were made appeared in the *Zeitschrift* of the German Oriental Society in January, 1904, as edited with all the MSS. collated. Translations into Parsi-Persian, Sanskrit, and Gujrati, without collated texts, and otherwise of an uncritical character, have alone preceded this. In addition to the above, the Pahlavi texts of Y. X–XVI, XIX, XX, XXI, and XXII have appeared in the *Zeitschrift* D.M.G., edited as above indicated, and the text of Y. IX, 1–48, appeared in this Journal with all the variants given, and Y. IX, 49–104, appeared in J.A.O.S., also with all the variants given. Translations of these last-mentioned, with their sequence, Y. X, XI, XII, XIX, have appeared in this Journal and in the J.A.O.S., etc. The Yasna Haptaŋghāiti, Y. XXXV–XLII, is expected to appear in the *Zeitschrift* D.M.G., iii Heft, 1904. The remaining texts are in an advanced state of preparation with their translations.

[2] Spiegel critically notices that a later meaning of angārdan, cf. hankartēnian, is 'opinari,' angārah 'narratio,' so that we should here have synonyms. May not such a later meaning, 'invite,' have been derived from documents like the present? As to this place, I agree with Nēr. and the Parsi-Pers. MS., which do not render 'invite.' The idea is 'I make known' (give notice), as the invitation, i.e. 'I invite,' at the beginning, while I complete, i.e. 'celebrate,' meaning 'I am going on regularly,' as much as to say 'I now make the formal sacrifice.'

I invite the Creator Aūharmazd, the radiant, the glorious,[1] the greatest [in body[2]], the most excellent [in worth] and the best [in appearance], (2) the most firm, [that is to say, the most severe (literally 'hard') as regards duty and the Holy Lore], the One most (of all) the very wise [the most intelligent (practically meaning 'the Omniscient')], the best in body; [that is to say, His limbs[3] the best fit in the one to the other], the most exalted because of Arša (so better than 'Aša') [from His being well-fashioned (note that Aršā (not ašā) may mean 'exactly'). Some say this, that from among the Yazats, whose body[3] is Arša (Aša?), He (Aūharmazd[4]) is the Great One],

(3) the most understanding One, [i.e., He, Aūharmazd, is correctly informed], the gladdener of desire,[5] [that is to say, He comes to people for their need and for rejoicing (for the gratification of their hopes and desires)],

(4) Who created us and fashioned[6] us as to bodily uniformity[7] (or 'as to physical habitudes'?)];

We are also nourished by Him, who is the most August[8] of Spirits, Aūharmazd.

[1] These expressions may have been induced by the fact that a very brilliant star, Jupiter (?), was also termed 'Aūharmazd.'

[2] Notice that this is a gloss, yet see hūpertūm below.

[3] The allusion to bodily attributes must not be misunderstood. 'Whose body is Arša (Aša)' is intended to modify the foregoing terms. 'Whose body is the Mānthra' is applied to Mithra, and to Sraoša as well as to Vištāšpā. Compare analogous biblical expressions, 'One body with Christ,' etc.

[4] There can be little doubt that it is Ahura who is meant as 'the Great One,' or as 'the great One of the Yazats'; this was to explain avartūm. Notice the inclusion of Aūharmazd within the class of the Yazats, which should, however, be regarded as quite natural. But we must also notice that Arša (Aša) is in this important place spoken of in connection with Ahura to the momentary exclusion of Vohumanah, otherwise in later estimates generally considered to be the 'first.'

[5] If vouru means 'desire,' then epenthesis is present, and we have va(u)ru = vōuru from 'var.' Nēr. saw the root 'var.' He adds the idea of spontaneity sveč̌'ānandī.

[6] In the passive, but transposed by Nēr.

[7] Nēr. -bimbam = (globular?) figure. Was 'tan' suggested by the syllable 'ta' of tataša, the nasal as so often to be supplied?

[8] So perhaps better than 'Bountiful.'

The August Immortals are invited.

(5) As I celebrate, I invite. Vah'man (i.e. Vohu Manah; Nēr. adds 'the Lord of herds of cattle'), and Arša (Aša ?) Vahišta (Nēr. 'the Chief of Fires'), and Xša*θ*raver (Nēr. 'the Lord over the seven Metals'), and Spendarmat (Nēr. 'the Chief over the Earth'), and Xordat (Nēr. 'the Chief over Water'), and Amer'dat (Nēr. 'the Chief over Trees').[1]

The Herds and the Fire.

(6) And as I completely[2] celebrate (my office), I invite the Herd's Soul and its Body,[3] and the Fire of Aūharmazd, the One the closest approaching us of the other Immortals.[4] [And the sign[5] of this is this; for (that is, 'namely') both the two (are this sign), the fuel (lit. 'coal') and the kindling sparks of the spirits and of the world.]

The Asnya are invoked.[6]

(7) Celebrating, I invite the Asnya, chiefs of Arša (Aša ?), Hāvan (i.e. Hāvani[7] (8) . . . and Savang[8] [a spirit

[1] These notes of Nēr. indicate an advanced deterioration from the Gā*θ*ic sense. Yet the real meaning of the Six was not altogether lost upon him (N.); see below at 22, where Sraoša (not, however, one of the Amešas (properly Ameršas)) is defined. Nēr.'s treatment of Sraoša shows that he had not lost the appreciation of the interior significance of the other terms.

[2] The Herd and the Fire are here introduced as being the most important objects within the possession of man.

[3] Tan' is a curious error, as I hold, for 𐬞𐬀𐬥𐬀𐬙𐬀𐬌𐬥 ; it is followed by Nēr. and the Parsi-Pers. MS.

[4] The Fire seems here for the moment to be carelessly included within the class of the Amešas (properly 'Ameršas'), possibly on account of the foregoing item expressed by Nēr. which identifies the Fire with Arša (Aša ?), an idea familiar to all his contemporaries. Nēr. may have here meant 'most approaching *from* the immortal chiefs,' so, most naturally; but see his original, the Pahlavi.

[5] Nēr. carries the dual forms throughout. 'The two signs (are there), for in this (place) they have come, the coal and the light of the world beyond and of that here'; referring to the fuel burning in ashes upon the altar.

[6] The Holy 'Times' of the appointed daily sacrifice naturally come in here.

[7] From sunrise till 10 o'clock. Nēr. prātaḥ saṅd'yāyām. He adds 'therefore (do I invite him), because only by his help (by means of this time appointment), this time of their time, is it possible to approach.'

[8] Nēr. 'who increases the herds of cattle.'

co-operative with Hāvan]), and also Vīs (Vīsya), holy chiefs of Arša (Aša), [(and I invite) the Person[1] occupied within the (official) function of the Magōpat (the Mobed)].

(9) And completing the celebration, I invite Miθra[2] of the wide meadows,[3] of the thousand ears, of the myriad eyes.[4] [His having a thousand ears is this, that five hundred spirits sit upon his head and do a thousand of the work of his ear, that is, they would do this hearing and that hearing (hearing on every side).

And his having a myriad eyes is this, that five thousand spirits sit upon his head, and in accordance with this they would effect the work of his eyesight; that is to say, they would effect this seeing and that seeing (that is, a seeing in every direction), while Miθra is (still in reality but) two-eyed and two-eared], or the Yazat of the spoken name (that is, his name has been emphatically) mentioned in this Dēn (see the Mihir Yašt[5]). And, celebrating, I invite Rāmešn[6] χvārūm (Rāman χvāstra) [the spirit in whose way one must do it, if they understand the taste of food (that is to say, it is through his influence that the organs do their work[7])].

(10) Celebrating, I invite Rapiθvin,[8] the holy Chief of Arša (Aša?, as the ritual Law)

(11) and Fradatfšu, the promoter of flocks, a spirit co-operating with Rapiθvin, who increases the herds of cattle, the holy ritual Chief, and I invite Zantu . . . [and

[1] Nēr. understood yā manušyešu moibadešu (so) mad'ye satkāryiņī (so), uttamapatišu, as if it were Vīs (Vīsyā) alone who was thus effectively active amidst the good rulers the moibads. The gloss ought to have referred to the priest in regard to the Asnya, as sanctifying the times of sacrifices. Nēr., however, has his 'yā' at the other places; see 11, 14, etc.

[2] Why Miθra was here introduced, apparently interrupting the course of the Yasna, was possibly on account of the Hāvan, beginning at Sunrise, Miθra in other religions often representing the Sun and the Light.

[3] Nēr. nivāsitāraŋyam (so), 'the one of the settled pastures,' apparently only at variance with the Pahlavi.

[4] Recall Ezekiel's beast 'full of eyes before and behind,' etc.

[5] Nēr.'s gloss is greatly reduced from this.

[6] Nēr. understood 'joy' as 'repose from fear,' ānandaṁ nirb'ayatvam.

[7] Rāmešn χvārūm may have been mentioned just here on account of the morning meal which represented the others.

[8] Nēr. rapīt'vinaŋāmnīṁ mad'yāhnaḥ saṁd'yāṁ, the Rapiθvina. It was from midday to twilight.

the person now present, within the active duty of the (officiating) Ratu[1]].

(12) And, celebrating, I invite Aršavahišta and also the Fire,[2] Aūharmazd's son.

(13) And celebrating, I invite Aūzāyeirīn[3]

(14) and Frādat-vīra (the Spirit co-operative with Aūzāyeiṛīn (Uzayeṛina), who will increase the mass of men (the population)).

And celebrating, I invite (the Guardian Spirit of) the Province also (i.e. Daḫyuma) as well; [and I invite the person now in activity as the master[4] of testamentary (?) Law of, i.e. in regard to, the spirits (i.e. representing religious interests as regards property[4])].

(15) And, celebrating, I invite . . . . Burz (Burj ?),[5] the kingly One[6] [of women] and the brilliant one, the Nāp (the navel)[7] of Waters; and I invite (all) the waters made of Aūharmazd.

(16) And, celebrating, I invite . . . . aivīsrūsrim, the aibigayā.[8,9]

[1] The Ratu is here most appropriately mentioned, as the ritual depended strictly upon the sacred fixed times of the day. Nēr.'s yā would again seem to refer to his last-mentioned chieftainship (so), 'she who was active in the midst of men who were religious chiefs or teachers, the gurus.'

[2] The Fire is introduced in consequence of the especial mention of the Ratu; and Arša vahišta was guardian. Nēr. 'punyaṁ (ritualistic merit) utkṛṣṭataram agnimča hormijdasya.'

[3] Nēr. aparāhnaḥ saṅd'yām. It was from the beginning of twilight till the stars appear.

[4] Or simply of the 'herbad'; so the Parsi-Pers. MS.; or it might be safer to render 'the interior master'; the person in charge of public instruction. Nēr.'s b'alāpana (*sic*) I regard as purely Parsi, and in no sense Sanskrit. It refers to the reading girpat so (K[5] Spiegel), and means 'the heights—protecting' (chiefs).

[5] So by error for berezatō = lofty; Nēr. follows.

[6] Nēr. jalamayaḥ apparently = rovešn (so) ī apān. He continues: 'kila, mūlast'ānaṁ nirmalāṅgam ctasmāt nāb'iḥ svayaṁ apām evaṁ.' But rūšan' is closer.

[7] Nēr. refers to 'fine horses,' the idea being associated with nafeδrō apām (Apáṁ nápāt) as the lightning—possibly 'of the swift horses,' so, not in the Ṛk.

[8] That is, the aivisrūθrema aibigayā. Ner. pūrvārdd'arātrasaṅd'yāṁ . . . . the first half of the night. It was from the appearance of the stars till midnight.

[9] Aibigayā may be explained as 'conducive to life.'

The Amenities of Civilisation are called to mind.

(17) Celebrating, I invite Frehdātar-harvišp-hūzāyešnīh (Frādat-vīspām-hujyāiti, the Furtherer of all Amenity), root and fruit, and the Zaraθuštrōtema, the holy Chief of Arša (as the Ritual), and I invite [the man occupied within the active duties of the Mobed of the Mobeds[1]].

The Fravašis are bidden to the Sacrifice.

(18) And, celebrating, I invite the Fravašis of the Saints, of the women who have groups of sons (lit. 'men'; see the original and Nēr., whose forms might be so rendered), [even the wise, 'thus' (xrat' aē) fravašis of men].[2]

The Good Luck of the Year is summoned.

And, celebrating, I invite the Snātān Hūmānešnīh (the Household Prosperity of the Years, the Yāirya Hušiti). [When (or 'if') it is desirable to live in prosperity and correct progress (straightforward progress) throughout the year it is by way of him, this genius (whom we invite).]

(19) And, celebrating, I invite Amāvand (i.e. Ama, Forceful Power), the handsome and the tall (lit. 'the well-formed' or 'well-grown'), and Victory, also made by Aūharmazd, and even the conquering One with (its consequent) Predominance. [This is the Yazat Verehrām (Vereθraγna); some also say (that is, 'some texts add') the Yazat Aštāt, i.e. Arštāt = Justice (in addition)[3].]

[1] See Nēr., who, however, as usual, connects his satkārvinī with the last-named godlet by means of a yā, manušyešu moibadešu, etc. This Mobed of the Mobeds was evidently the Zaraθuštrotema, the person holding office as the Head of the Community, whichever community might be meant. The reason why he is mentioned is obvious. Let it be noticed that these culminating influences, Frādatvīra and Frādat-vīspām-hujyāiti, appear toward the close of the day; see also below.

[2] Or, perhaps better, 'the Fravašis of the men who grow the corn (ārd aē fravart).' So reading this gloss and so understanding it, we should refer it to an alternative rendering above, as, for instance, 'the fravašis of women and that of the man with flocks [the corn furthering fravaši of men].' 'Singular for plural' should never trouble us in these difficult texts, which were continually worked over by successive generations of well-meaning teachers. Moreover, Persian usage is peculiar in this respect.

[3] Nēr. properly omits this last.

(20) And, celebrating, I invite Aušahīn (that is, Ušahina),[1] the holy Chief of Arša (Aša ?).

(21) And, celebrating, I invite Būrjih (that is, Berejya), the Spirit Co-operative with Aušahin, who increases the masses of grain[2]; and Nmānīg also (i.e. Nmānya), the holy Chiefs of Arša (Aša ?); [and I invite the person within the active function of the Dastūr (here doubtless regarded as an administering justice in matters agricultural)[3]].

Sraoša and Rašnu.[4]

(22) And, celebrating, I invite Sroš the holy, the stately, and the handsome, whose is the consideration[5] (that is to say, 'the reward'), Sroš the Victorious, the promoter of the settlements (or 'of the world').[6]

(23) And, celebrating still on, I invite Rašn (i.e. Rašnu) the most just [his being named 'Rašn' is because from him there is justice and truth]; and I invite Aštāt (i.e. Arštāt, Rectitude), promoter of the settlements, even the protector[7] of the Countries (not necessarily 'of the worlds'; see Nēr.).

[1] Nēr. apararātrasaŋd'yām, from midnight to dawn, or till the stars disappear.

[2] Nēr. inserts a gloss, 'active among men, who are administrators of the laws of towns.'

[3] Nēr. Namānanāmnīñča, who is active in the midst of men concerned with indoor occupations. Notice that in the glosses, at 8, 11, 14, and 17, in mentioning these functions Nēr. always uses yā, referring to the last-named Chief, so missing the point of his original.

[4] That is to say, 'Obedience and Justice,' well cited at the close of a righteous day.

[5] Nēr.'s b'aktiçīlaṁ shows that he did not regard Aši and tarsāgāsīh as merely equalling 'property' here in this place.

[6] So again Nēr. recalls the original meaning of Sraoša as ādeçapatim, the (Spirit) Chief of Obedience, too often lost in the later meaningless personification.

[7] I was inclined to ventura upon a vaharesn = baharešn = 'sharing' for the otherwise difficult vārešn = 'protection' to 'var'; but I think on the whole that the long ā in a vārešn must be a mere irregularity, and that we have indeed a varešn = 'protection' to 'var.' Should we take Nēr.'s pušti- in the sense of 'care,' 'pflege,' and so 'protection'?; this would seem to be straining a point, yet recall that Nēr. was a Parsi and familiar with the Persian 'puštī' . . . Does his b'ūsaṁb'uti = 'landed estate,' lit. 'the thriving of the place'? Notice that Nēr. by no means renders gēhān' as 'worlds.' Obedience and Justice fitly end the good characteristics of the Day-Chiefs; but was Sraoša here mentioned because he also guards at night?

The Month-chiefs of the Ritual.

(24) And, celebrating, I invite the Māhya (Moon Chiefs) of Arša (Aša?), the Moon within (the crescent moon, not yet spread out), the holy Chief of Arša (Aša?), the first fifth.

(25) And, celebrating, I invite the Full moon, which is also the vīšapatas[1] (i.e. the scatterer of night),[2] also the holy Chief of Arša (Aša), the second and the third fifths.

The Yāiryas recalled in the Gāsānbārs.

(26) Celebrating, I invite the Šnat (festivals, i.e.) the (yearly) Gāsānbārs[3] and first Mēdōk-zarem,[4] the holy Chief of Arša (Aša?).

(27) And, celebrating, I invite Mēdyokšēm,[5] the holy Chief . . .

(28) and Paitišhah,[6] the holy Chief . . .

(29) And, celebrating, I invite Ayāsrim,[7] the holy Chief of Arša (Aša), who comes in upon the past summer-time of the shedding of the seed of males.

(30) And, celebrating, I invite Mēdyār[8] (that was Maiδyāirya).

(31) And, celebrating, I invite Hamaspadamaidšēm,[9] the holy Chief of Arša.[10]

[1] The apparently unfolding moon-disc was divided into sections of fifths. Nēr. adds 'the good' possibly because all things that 'increase' were considered 'good.'

[2] I hold 'the night scattering' to be an attribute of the full moon, and not a separate phase. What has become of the last two fifths?; were they disliked here because of their 'decreasing'?

[3] The six festivals commemorating the stages of the Creation.

[4] That is, the maiδyōzaremaya. Nēr. 'the creation-time of the sky.' It continued from the 11th to the 15th of Ardibahišt (April).

[5] That is, Maiδyōšema. Nēr. 'the creation-time of waters.' It fell upon the 11th–15th of Tir (June).

[6] That is, Paitišhahya-, 'the creation-time of the earth.' It fell upon the 26th–30th of Shaharevar (August).

[7] That is to say, Ayāθrema. It commemorates the creation of plants, and is observed from the 26th–30th of Mihr (September). Nēr. 'the creation-time of trees, the season which reverts upon the past summer-time, and the seed-deposit time of animals. That is, the deposit of the seed of horses and herds takes place in the middle of it.'

[8] That is, Maiδyāirya; it was celebrated on the 16th–20th of Bahram (January). Nēr. 'the creation-time of cattle.'

[9] That is, Hamaspatmaeδaya celebrated on the five intercalary days at the end of Spendarmad, February, the last of the Parsi months.

[10] Nēr. has 'the creation-time of men of the ten tribes (*sic*) and of all creatures' (above the cattle). These commemorative seasons, according to their number at

The Year Chiefs (in their entire number).

(32) And, celebrating, I invite the Year Chiefs,[1] the Holy Lords of Arša (Aša?).

All the Ritual Chiefs as a company.

(33) And, celebrating, I invite all those chiefs who are (i.e. who constitute) the Chieftainship of Arša (Aša?, as the sacramental Fire), the thirty-three[2] which are nearest around about Hāvani, which appertain to Arša (Aša?) Vahīšta, concerning which Aūharmazd taught Zartūšt, and as to which Zartūšt declared how one must (so) perform (their offices).

The Heavenly Bodies are invited.

(34) And, celebrating, I invite the Lord[3] Mihr, Miθra,[3] the lofty, the everlasting, and the stars also which are the creations of Spenta Mainyu.[4]

(35) And, celebrating, I invite the Star Tīštar,[5] the radiant, the glorious, and the Moon which has the seed of

least, bear an analogy with the account in Genesis i, and a Semitic influence has been here traced. We should like indeed to concede it, as the debt to Iran is, on the other hand, so vast. It must, however, be noticed that the resemblance is not close, and there is nothing said about 'six days' nor even about 'seven.'

[1] Nēr. samvatsarān puṇyagurūn.

[2] Who, or what, were these xxxiii? Some hold that they were utensils used in the sacrifice; so the Parsi-Pers. MS.; see the mention of Arša vahišta as 'the Fire.' But it would be a pity not to recognise here a round number for the mass of sub-divinities (the Gods of the entire Year): compare the same number xxxiii to which the Indian Gods were brought up; see the passage cited by Haug, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, iii, 22, p. 67 of his edition; Atharvaveda, x, 7, 13, 22, 27.

[3] Though we might welcome another instance where the word 'Ahura' is rendered 'Lord' without reference to the Supreme good Deity, yet here we have a mistake. Ahuraeibya miθraeibya are 'to Ahura and Miθra; cf. Mitrāvāruṇā.' Two stars may, however, possibly have been here understood, though Miθra was hardly a star in the Avesta proper. He was elsewhere, however, much associated with the Sun, and doubtless re-enters here from some such reason.

[4] Nēr. adds 'created by Mazda,' seeming to note that Spenta Mainyu was a personified attribute of Ahura. It seems, in the opinion of the traditionalists, to have been, like the Demiurge of Socrates, a creative emanation from Ahura.

[5] Tištrya, commonly held to be Sirius. Nēr. adds the vṛṣṭinakšatraṁ. The rain-star. Tīr was the name of June.

cattle (in its beams),[1] and the Sun of the rapid steeds, the Eye[2] of Aūharmazd and Mihr, (again) also as the Governor of Provinces apart from the Amešaspends, the Great One as king over the Yazats[3,4] of the world.

The particular Day of the Sacrifice is recalled to memory.

(36) Celebrating, I invite (the day) Aūharmazd,[5,6] the radiant, the glorious.

(37) And I invite the Fravašis of the saints (this for the month of the sacrifice).[7]

The Fire actually present is invited or consecrated.

(38) And, celebrating, I invite Thee the Fire, Aūharmazd's Son, Thee who art here present in this especial sacrifice; together with all the Fires.[8]

The particular Holy Water used at the moment is solemnly invoked, and the beneficial Plants are invited and so consecrated.

(39) Celebrating, I invite the good waters, name by name,[8] with the Zōhar[9] and all the waters made by Aūharmazd, and

[1] The Moon, influencing the seed of cattle, seems to have some displaced reference to cattle menses.

[2] Recall R.V. 1, 115, 1, čáksur Mitrásya, Váruṇasya, Agnés.

[3] Nēr. has grāmāṇām, as above; would he emend Yazatān' to matāān? He probably simply omits yazatān.

[4] The frequent recurrence of Miθra may be somewhat due to the powerful Miθra-cult which prevailed so widely in the East, as in the West, at the time of the early redactions of these Pahlavi texts. As the Divinity representing contracts, he was naturally associated with political rule.

[5] See note upon (1).

[6] Or the actual day of sacrifice. As Nēr. shows, this Aūharmazd, the name of the first day of the month which he omits, merely stands for the particular day on which the sacrifice is offered, in cases where it did not take place on the day.

[7] The word Fravašinām, for 'Fravardin,' the name of the first month, is here to be replaced by the name of the month in which the particular Yasna is celebrated, unless that month happens to be Fravardīn. Nēr. omits the word again.

[8] This stands for a curtailment; the Parsi-Pers. renders 'nām-bih-nām.'

[9] Nēr. does not mention the Zoaθra water, but speaks of that antar vanaspatch within the tree (i.e. the sap of plants). Was he thinking of the Barsom as holding holy water?

[with this (separate) single mention in the sacrifice]; and also all the plants by Mazda made[1] [with a single ritual word[2]].

The Holy Books are spiritually recalled.

(40) Celebrating, I invite the Mānsarspend (i.e. the Māθra Spenta, the Holy Lore[3]), the desire[4] as regards the Lord,[4] [that is to say, that its desire is in intention right in accordance with the Lord.

Some say that (the meaning) is, that they would make persons thus right in regard to the Lord[5]]. And, celebrating, I invite the Law against the Demons (the Vendīdād), and the Law of Zartušt (the Gāthas?), both as One,[6] and (its) long-enduring predominant currency (its canonicity (?) in tradition), (the Law) of the August Spirit, (the word 'spēnd' referring back to 'spenta,' in the words Māθra Spenta); and I invite the good Dēn of the Mazda-worshippers [in (this) especial single mentioning].

Mount Ušidarena is mentally invoked.

(41) And, celebrating, I invite Mount Hūšīhdātar[7] by Aūharmazd made, which is possessed of the glory[8] of Arša (Aša?), and all the mountains which have the glory[9] of Arša (Aša?), having much glory, and Mazda made.

[1] As opposed to those made by Aŋgra Mainyu.

[2] That is, with an especial mention.

[3] Cf. 'the Bible.'

[4] A curious error, var = 'to choose,' having been seen in verez- and aŋhu in -aŋha-; Nēr. follows it; for the correct rendering see S.B.E. xxxi, p. 199.

[5] The translation is uselessly expanded owing to the error noted.

[6] Nēr. omits the words 'both the two (as) one.'

[7] Ušidarena was the mountainous region from which the Iranian kings were supposed to have derived their origin.

[8] I see little warrant for Nēr.'s opinion that hūš- here means 'Understanding.' The Parsi-Pers. MS. adds no such idea. Nēr. amplifies 'the glory which by study with the āčārya (i.e. Mobeds), by zealous effort and study, it is possible to make one's own.' I should say, however, that the ideas in the gloss show that his impression was the general one among the traditionalists of his time.

[9] We might be tempted to render 'delectable mountains,' but the following expressions point rather to glory as illustrated by a mountain bathed in the sun.

The Glory of the Iranian Kings.

(42) And, celebrating, I invite the Kayan glory which Aūharmazd made, and that also which is the unseized[1] glory which Aūharmazd made [(the official) functions of the priests. Its 'unseizedness' is this, that it is necessary to make it one's own by learning; (it is not given through instinct or inspiration like the 'asn-χrat')].

The Prosperity of the People is invoked.

(43) Celebrating, I invite Aharīsvang (Asi vaŋguhī) the blessing of Property[2] and the Good Tact, that is, Cisti and Res (i.e. Ereθe) Honesty, also the good, and the way[3] of standing[4] which Aūharmazd made; and I invite both the Glory and Useful Advantage which Aūharmazd created.

The Pious Offerings and the Typical Saint.

(44) And, celebrating, I invite the Afrīn of the pious and the good (as punctually offered); and I invite the pious man himself, and also the holy and the heroic, the

[1] 'Unseized' for 'unconsumed' may possibly look back upon the ultimate sense of hvar, as something 'seized,' 'twisted,' and so 'masticated.' The Parsi-Pers. MSS. read the sign as 'herbad' by a curious mistake. The activity of the Priests is here associated with the Royal Glory to emphasise still more the claims of the sacerdotal caste.

[2] Nēr. understood lakšmīm, evidently in the sense of 'wealth.' Enlarging upon it and its 'goodness,' he has uttamatā-. "The 'good' of it is this, that it effects the protection and friendly succour of the property of all the good who hold their property through the possession of Hormijda and with profit for the good. From these He (H.) holds the adversaries afar," so intending to remove all trace of sordidness from the idea of 'Property' as a religious personification.

[3] Erroneously for rasāstāt, which has little to do with either 'way' or 'standing.' Res seems here to have recalled a ras = rās.

[4] χaditūnesn is not probable. Perhaps having in mind Y. 49, 4, 'whereby the prayerful may stand upon the path.'

doughty[1] pious one[2,3] who is eminently intelligent,[4] the Yazat.

The Homes, the Fields, the Water Beds, etc.

A summing up.

(45) And, celebrating, I invite (the commemoration of) those (various) places (where the Offerer lives), the rustic districts (groups of hamlets), and the meadows (farm fields), and the dwellings, and the drinking pools, and the (running) waters, and the plants, and this Earth and yon Heaven, and the holy Wind and the Stars, the Moon and the Sun, and even that also which is of endless light, the self-disposed[5] One [that is, its self-disposedness is this, that every single person (so self-controlled) must himself[6] act for himself]; and I invite all the creatures who are of the creation of the August Spirit, the holy creatures as Chiefs of Arša (Aša? in the Sacrifice, the Ritual, and the Law).

The Holy Liturgy itself as Sacrosanct.

(46) And, celebrating, I invite the Ritual Law (itself), the Lofty, even the holy Chieftainship of Arša (Aša?), and the Chieftainship which is the ritual genius presiding on this especial (day, i.e. of this) Asnya. And I recall (these) Māhya (Month Chiefs in particular) and the Gāsānbār (of

[1] The 'Curse' is not seen by the Pahl. Trl. Nēr.'s çāpam ity artʻaḥ is properly gloss. This 'Curse' probably refers to uγrahya, which he may not really render. Nēr. has, "The Blessing 'Afrīn' of the good is twofold, one with the thought and one with speech, and the blessing with speech is very powerful, and the curse with thought is also very powerful. The Blessing of the good soars over all the terrestrial world, three times in all the nights, for a guard; and the property which they gain by honesty, of that the Blessing of the good is the guardian."

[2] I retain the i's in the text to express the genitives of the original; but we must not forget that some accusatives understood are to be supplied there; see even āfritōiš.

[3] The 'dahm' which I felt constrained to print was not impossibly meant for a dā(ā)m = dāmōiš.

[4] I would now read 'mēnešn.'

[5] 'Fixed stars,' or the Sun as self-determined.

[6] Nēr. would seem even to have understood 'to make himself' ātmānam ātmanā çaḳyate kartum. But this might mean less.

this season) and of the (now present) Year, which are (all that) Chieftainship of Arša (Aša ?) which is the chieftainship at (this time of this) Hāvani.

The Fravašis again recalled, and here more fully.

(47) As I celebrate, I invite the Fravašis of the Saints, the heroic, the victorious, those of the saints of the Early Lore, and the Fravaši of the next of kin,[1] (of those) of the (officiating Zaotar), and that of (my) own (or of my client's) soul.

Conclusion, here.

(48) And, celebrating, I invite all which is (that is, which constitutes) the Chieftainship of Arša (Aša ? as our ritual rule).

(49) And, celebrating, I invite all the Yazats, the good-giving ones of the Heavenly World, and of earth, who are meet to receive our sacrifice and our praise in accordance with Arša (Aša ?) Vahišta (that is, according to the faultless ritual plan). [Also an uštāfrīt'[2] is to be performed to them.]

The Day Chiefs of the Ritual are addressed with Deprecations.

(50) O Hāvan (i.e. Hāvani), Chief of Arša (Aša), and (51) Savang (its companion, Sāvanghi), (52) and Rapiθvīn (Rapiθvina), (53) and Auzayeirīn (Uzayeirina), (54) and Aivisrūsrim (i.e. Aivisrūθrema) and Aibigayā (its companion), (55) and Aūšahin' (i.e. Ušahina), holy Chiefs of Arša (Aša ?), (56) where by me thou art (that is to say, where by me any one of you is) offended; [the meaning is (that each several person then attendant upon the sacrifice,[3] so far as he has offended is supposed to utter these words);

[1] Nēr. explains even to the first nine degrees of kinsmanship.

[2] Hardly an usefrit. Was an 'uštā ahmāi yahmāi,' i.e. uštafrīt (*sic*) intended? or, finally, was it intended to cite a phrase beginning 'and ye are stalwart'?

[3] We might suspect that 'each several divinity' was intended, or rather, 'any one of the divinities'; but the word 'officially,' 'dastōbarihā,' 'in the capacity of Dastūr,' points rather to the worshipper. Nēr. omits the gloss.

that is to say, this thing is said by him, the Dastōbar, officially as a priest (for a penitent, not that he, the Dastōbar, here acknowledges offences committed by himself)].[1]

(57) When by thought, or when by word, or when by deed, (58) when with will (and with intention), and when against my will [and through carelessness (lit. 'remissness') I have offended thee] (59) I praise thee on (the more) ardently, and I invite thee on (the more for this), [that is to say, I would make it double (lit. do it twice) again. (I would doubly make it up)] when by me thou art offended[2] (as to) what (is thy) sacrifice and praise.[3]

Reiteration of the Deprecations inclusively addressed to all the Chiefs.

(60) O chieftainships of every great (One), the holy Chiefs of Arša (Aša); (61) when Ye are offended, (62) whether by thought, or word, or deed; (63) if with my will, or against my will, (64) I praise you forth on; (i.e. I praise you on the more continuously), and invite you on the more for this, if ye are offended as to (a stint of) sacrifice and praise.[3]

Conclusion.

(65) I pronounce the Mazdayasnian Creed of Zartūšt [that is, I interdict[4] the Evil Ones, abjuring them]. I declare it to be the (D(a)ęva)-demon[5]-severed Law; [that is to say, associated with it the Demons are not].

[1] Notice that Nēr., as usual, transposes the passive forms yadi tvām babād'e, etc.

[2] Substantially correct, but literally a blunder; the outward form of (u)rūraoδa; see S.B.E. xxxi, p. 202, suggested rānak- as a denominative form rāna, or it suggested ranj; Nēr. pratyask'alayam, 'I stumble against.' These words are, of course, less awkward where avā (u)rāraoδa is correctly understood as 'I have stinted this sacrifice and praise.'

[3] This deprecation is intended as an exhortation to the worshippers to be just in their support of the sacrifice in accordance with their means.

[4] Nēr. 'I declare it among the evil sinners'; reading 'andarg ī,' one might so render the Pahl.

[5] Literally, 'the Vendīdād,' vī-d(a)ęva-dāta.

(I declare it to be) Aūharmazd's religious System, [that is to say, his (Zartūšt's) Religion is Aūharmazd's]. (66) (I proclaim it) for the sacrifice, praise, propitiation, and continuous āfrīn-offering of Hāvan (i.e. Hāvani), the Holy Chief of Arša (Aša ?), (67) for the sacrifice, praise, propitiation, and continuous āfrīn-offering of Savang (i.e. of Savanghi) and of Vīs (i.e. of Visya), the holy Chiefs of Arša (Aša ?), (68) for the Chief of the Day (this Day), even of the time (i.e. of this Asnya), and for the Month Chiefs (of this Month), of this Gāsānbār, and for the Year (Chiefs for this Year), for (their) sacrifice, praise, propitiation, and continuous āfrīn-offering.

XXIX.

A NOTE ON ONE OF THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MATHURA LION-CAPITAL.

By J. F. FLEET, I.C.S. (Retd.), Ph. D., C.I.E.

PANDIT BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI'S readings and translations, edited and in some details improved by Dr. Bühler, of the inscriptions, in Kharōshṭhī characters, on the Mathurā lion-capital, have been published in this Journal, 1894, pp. 525–540. One of these records, designated P., was thus treated (page 540) :—

Text.

Sarvasa Sakastanasa puyae.

Translation.

"In honour of the whole Sakastana."

The explanation was given that the word *Sakastana* stands for *Śakasthāna*, with the use of the dental *s* for the palatal *ś*, and with omission of the aspiration in the *th* (page 528). The word was thus taken to mean 'the country of the Śakas,' with, however, the observation that "the insertion of the "whole country of the Śakas in this list is remarkable, as "a similar case is not known" (page 530). And the deduction was made that the princes mentioned in these records, including the *Mahachhatrava* Rajula and his son the *Chhatrava* Śuḍasa, were "Śaka Satraps of Mathurā" (page 531).

The Pandit's interpretation of the record seems to have been communicated to General Sir Alexander Cunningham before publication. At any rate, on the strength of that

supposed meaning of the record, there has been introduced into the early history of Northern India the idea,— (see, for instance, Cunningham, *Coins of the Sakas*, 1890, p. 21 f.; Bühler, *Indian Paleography*, § 10, 3, § 19, A, B, German text, 1896, pp. 25, 40, 41, English version in *Indian Antiquary*, 1904, pp. 25, 40; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, 1898, §§ 32, 33; and Vincent Smith, JRAS, 1903, p. 43 f.),— that, at a shorter or longer time before the Kushana king Kanishka, there was in the Pañjāb and at Mathurā a dynasty of Śaka rulers, some of the members of which were, in one line, at Taxila, the *Chhatrapa* Liaka-Kusuluka and his son Patika of the so-called Taxila copper-plate of the year 78 (EI, iv, p. 56), the latter of whom is mentioned as the *Mahachhatrava* Kusulaa-Patika in the Mathurā lion-capital inscription G., and in another line, at Mathurā, the *Chhatrava* Śuḍasa of the Mathurā inscriptions B. and M., and his father the *Mahachhatrava* Rajula of the Mathurā inscriptions A. i, and B.

In connection with these last two persons, it is to be noted that there are other records which mention them. At Mōra or Mōramēyi, about five miles on the west of Mathurā, there was obtained an inscription, in Brāhmī characters, which mentions the father as the *Mahakshatrapa* Rājavūla (ASI, xx, p. 48 f., and plate 5, No. 4). And at Mathurā itself there were obtained two inscriptions, both in Brāhmī characters, one without date (JRAS, 1871, p. 188, and plate 3, No. 29, and ASI, iii, p. 30, and plate 13, No. 1, and see IA, 1904, p. 149, No. 24), and the other dated in the year 72 (EI, ii, p. 199, and plate, No. 2, and see vol. iv, p. 55, note 2), which mention the son as the *Svāmin* and *Mahākshatrapa* Śoḍāsa.

There is no question about the correctness of the published reading of the Mathurā inscription P. An inspection of the original stone, and of an excellent photograph taken by General Sir Alexander Cunningham and lent to me by Professor Rapson, shews that the important word is certainly *saka-stanasa*. In the second syllable, indeed, at the foot of the *ka*, there is a very clearly defined stroke, projecting to

the right, which might justify our reading *kra*. But the word *sakra* would not give any suitable meaning. A stroke of precisely the same kind is clearly visible in the *ka* of *bhakavata*, inscription A. ii, line 7, and again in the first *ka* of *nakarakasa*, inscription N., line 1, and also in the *shi* of *agramaheshia*, inscription A. i, line 2 (figured in *Indian Paleography*, plate i, 35, viii), and in the *śa* of *chatudiśasa*, inscription A. ii, line 9–10; and it may perhaps be found in also a few other syllables. In these four words, the stroke cannot possibly denote a subscript *r*, but can only be another form of the horizontal base-line, projecting on both sides, presented in some of the Kharōshṭhī characters on the Indo-Grecian coins (see *Indian Paleography*, § 12, 1, and for an instance from a Kushana inscription see plate i, 6, x, *ke*), or of the curve to the right which appears sometimes in the *d* of the Kharōshṭhī versions of the edicts of Aśōka (see *id.*, § 11, A, 8, and plate i, 22, ii, *di*). And the reading *saka* is, therefore, to be accepted. The possible *krd* is only an optional form of *ka*.

To finding in the first component of the word *saka-stana* a reference to the Śakas, there would not be any objection in respect of the occurrence of the dental instead of the palatal sibilant. It may, indeed, be the case that one of the Nāsik inscriptions describes Ushavadāta, son-in-law of Nahapāna, as a Śaka (ASWI, iv, p. 101, No. 7, line 2, and plate); using, in that case, the palatal sibilant in a very exceptional and pointed manner as compared with the orthography of the remainder of the record. And it may be the case that, in the same series of early records, one or two other instances are found of the use of the palatal sibilant in the same word (*ibid.*, p. 103, No. 12, and p. 114, No. 1). But the Nāsik inscription dated in the nineteenth year of king Puḷumāyi distinctly presents the word as Saka, with the dental *s* (*ibid.*, p. 108, No. 18, line 5, and plate). And it is highly probable that the original Indian adaptation of the foreign name was made with the dental sibilant, and that it only became customary in later times to write it always with the palatal sibilant.

But, to interpreting the whole word *saka-stana* as equivalent to *Saka-sthāna* and as meaning 'the country of the Sakas,' there is, in the first place, the objection that no authority can be found for the use, at any rate in any early period, of the Sanskṛit word *sthāna*, 'position, place, locality, abode, site, station, office,' etc., in the sense of 'country.'

On the other hand, it might be argued that the second component of the whole word represents, not the Sanskṛit *sthāna*, but the Iranian *stān*, which, ultimately the same in origin, does possess the meaning of 'country' in such terms as Hindustān, Afghanistān, Baluchistān. And it might further be claimed that the term Sakastān itself, 'the country of the Sakas,' from which we have the modern Sēistān, Sējistān, Sīstān, or Sijistān, seems to be carried back to about the beginning of the Christian era, that is to the very time of these Mathurā inscriptions, by the mention by Isidorus of Charax of *Σακαστανὴ Σακῶν Σκυθῶν*, "Sakastanē, or Sakastānē, of the Sakas, Scythians."[1]

Apart, however, from the meaning which has been placed upon the Mathurā inscription P., no grounds have been obtained for believing that the Śakas ever figured historically in Northern India. There has, indeed, been found a reference to them in one of the Mathurā Brāhmī inscriptions, referred to perhaps the first century B.C., which records that a tablet of homage was set up by Śimitrā, of the Kōśika *gōtra*, wife of Gōtiputra, and has been understood to describe Gōtiputra as "a black serpent for the Poṭhayas and Śakas" (EI, i, p. 396, No. 33, and plate), with the meaning that "he "fought with the Poṭhayas and Śakas and proved to them "as destructive as the black cobra is to mankind in general" (*ibid.*, p. 394). But, even if the words of the record, and the meaning attached to them, were certain, there is nothing in the statement to justify any such deduction as that Gōtiputra was a warrior-prince who fought against a tribe of Śakas settled near Mathurā.

[1] I quote the words, which appear to be in *Σταθμοὶ Παρθικοί*, § 18, from M. Boyer in JA, 1897, ii, p. 140, note. The exact date of Isidorus of Charax seems to be not known: but he is quoted by Pliny, A.D. 77; see M'Crindle's *Ancient India*, p. 109.

There is no mention of the Śakas in any other of the records on the Mathurā lion-capital, or in the Taxila plate, or in the Mōra and Mathurā inscriptions of Rājuvūla and Śoḍāsa, or in any other known early northern record. And there is no reason for thinking that the Śakas, or those foreigners to whom the Hindū astronomers of later times gave the name of Śakas in fixing an appellation for the era, established by them, when it was taken into astronomical use, ever figured as invaders and rulers of India, except in so far as that, in or just before A.D. 78, coming from the neighbourhood of Sēistān in Persia down towards the coast, they passed across the lower course of the Indus into Kāṭhiāwār, where they acquired a kingdom that included those parts of Gujarāt which lie on the north of the Narbadā, and the western and southern parts, as far as Ujjain and Mandasōr, of the territory now known as Mālwa, and also, at first, a considerable extent of territory on the south of the Narbadā in the directions of Ṭhāṇa and Nāsik, and established a dynasty which endured for more than three hundred years.

We find the real meaning of the record by following the guidance of what we actually know about the Śakas, and by looking to literature for the explanation of the doubtful word.

There is no question about *stana* being equivalent to the Sanskṛit *sthāna*, of which, we have to note, another form, in Pāli, is *ṭhāna*, which in composition becomes after a short vowel *ṭṭhāna*.

The word *saka* is well known in Pāli as the equivalent of the Sanskṛit *svaka*, 'one's own.' It is too well established to need proof. The following instances, however, may be cited. In the *Suttanipāta*, ed. Fausböll, p. 101, line 8, we have *sakō assamō*, "his own hermitage." In the *Khuddaka-kapāṭha*, ed. Childers, JRAS, 1870, p. 319, verse 1, we have *sakaṁ gharaṁ*, "(*each*) to his own house." In the *Dīpavaṁsa*, ed. Fausböll, 6, 73, we have *saka-nivēsanē*, "in his own residence." In the *Mahāvaṁsa*, ed. Turnour, p. 35, line 8, we have *sak-ārāmaṁ*, "to his own monastery."

These analogies would be sufficient for our purpose. But we find in the *Jātakas* the very word itself that we

require. Thus, in the *Mahāmōra-Jātaka*, the fowler, converted by Buddha as the golden-coloured peacock and having so attained the condition of a Pachchēka-Buddha, wishes to arrange that all the birds kept in captivity in his house, from which he himself is far distant, shall be set free. The peacock advises him to make the solemn declaration of his conversion (*sachchakiriyā*), with the intention that the effect of it shall be that all captive creatures in the whole of Jambūdīpa shall be liberated. The fowler accordingly proclaims the *gāthā*:— "And all the many hundreds of "birds which are confined in my residence,— to them also "I to-day give life and liberty; they have arrived each at "its own abode (*sakaṁ nikētaṁ*)!" And thereupon (*Ten Jātakas*, ed. Fausböll, p. 120, line 19 f., and *The Jātaka*, vol. iv, p. 342, lines 1, 2):— Ath=assa sachchakiriyāya . . . . . sabbē bandhanā muchchitvā tuṭṭha-rāvaṁ ravantā saka-ṭṭhānam ēva gamiṁsu; "then by his solemn "declaration all (*those birds*) were freed from captivity, and, "singing songs of satisfaction, went (*each*) straight to its "own place (*saka-ṭṭhānaṁ*)." So also in the *Mahājanaka-Jātaka* we have (*The Jātaka*, ed. Fausböll, vol. vi, p. 61, lines 19, 20:— Taṁ sutvā Migājinō appamattō hōh=īti raññō ōvādaṁ datvā saka-ṭṭhānam ēva gatō; "having heard that, "Migājina admonished the king to be not wanting in "zeal, and went straight to his home (*saka-ṭṭhānaṁ*)."[1] And this expression *saka-ṭṭhānam ēva gatō*, "went straight home," is no isolated one; a glance through only a portion of the same volume shews it again on page 21, line 7, 32, line 19, 37, line 19 (*gatā*, fem.), 58, line 28, and 73, line 4–5.

The word *saka-stana* of the Mathurā inscription P. is the exact equivalent, in the dialect of the records, of the *saka-ṭṭhāna* of the Pāli *Jātakas*. There is no reference to Śakas, either here, or in any other of the records on the lion-capital, or in any of the connected records. And the inscription P. is simply a record which some person or persons, to be

[1] I am indebted, for this last reference, to Professor Rhys Davids, who gave it me about a year ago.

probably found named in one of the adjacent records, caused to be engraved "for the worship of the whole of (*his*, *her*, or *their*) own home;" that is, in honour of his, her, or their whole household.

The period to which we must really refer these inscriptions on the Mathurā lion-capital, with the Taxila plate and the other connected records, lies, not about B.C. 105 to 90, but closely about A.D. 14 to 20, between, on the one side, Kanishka, Vāsashka, and Huvishka, and, on the other side, Vāsudēva and the Kadphises group of kings. This point will be examined on another occasion.

XXX.

INDEX TO THE FIRST WORDS OF THE SLOKAS OF THE DHAMMAPADA,

MADE BY THE LATE PROFESSOR E. B. COWELL, AND EDITED FROM HIS MS. OR. 358 IN THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY AT CAMBRIDGE

By C. MARY RIDDING, M.R.A.S.

[The readings in italic are in all cases those of the second edition.]

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asubhānupassī- (*asubhānupassiṃ*), 8.
assaddho, 97.
asso yathā, 143*b*.
ahaṃ nāgo va, 320.
ahiṃsakā ye, 225.

Ā.

Ākāse padaṃ (*ākāse ca padaṃ*), 254, 255.
ārogyaparamā, 204.
āsā yassa, 410.

I.

Idaṃ pure, 326.
idha tappati, 17.
idha nandati, 18.
idha modati, 16.
idha vassaṃ, 286.
idha socati, 15.

U.

Ucchinda sineham, 285.
uttiṭṭhe na-ppamajjeyya, 168.
uṭṭhānakālamhi, 280.
uṭṭhānavato, 24.
uṭṭhānen', 25.
udakaṃ hi, 80, 145.
upanītavayo va, 237.
uyyuñjanti, 91.
usabhaṃ pavaraṃ, 422.

E.

Ekaṃ dhammaṃ, 176.
ekassa caritaṃ, 330.
ekāsanaṃ, 305.
etaṃ kho saraṇaṃ, 192.
etaṃ daḷhaṃ, 346.
etaṃ visesato, 22.
etaṃ hi tumhe, 275.
etaṃ atthavasaṃ, 289.
etha passath', 171.
evaṃ bho purisa (*evaṃ bhoposa*), 248.
evaṃ saṃkārabhūtesu, 59.
es' eva maggo, 274.

O.

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K.

Kaṇhaṃ dhammaṃ, 87.
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kāmato jāyatī, 215.
kāyappakopaṃ, 231.

kāyena saṃvaro, 361.
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kāsāvakaṇṭhā, 307.
kin te jaṭāhi, 394.
kiccho, 182.
kumbhūpamaṃ, 40.
kuso yathā, 311.
ko imaṃ paṭhaviṃ, 44.
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Kh.

Khantī paramaṃ, 184.

G.

Gambhīrapaññaṃ, 403.
gataddhino, 90.
gabbham eke (*gabbhaṃ ek'*), 126.
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C.

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cattāri, 309.
candanaṃ, 55.
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carañ ce, 61.
caranti bālā, 66.
cirappavāsiṃ, 219.
cutiṃ yo, 419.

Ch.

Chandājāto, 218.
chinda sotaṃ, 383.
chetvā nandhiṃ, 398.

J.

Jayaṃ veraṃ, 201.
jigacchā, 203.
jīranti ve, 151.

Jh.

Jhāya bhikkhu, 371.
jhāyiṃ virajam, 386.

T.

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taṃ vo vadāmi, 337.
taṇhāya jāyatī, 216.
tatrābhiratiṃ, 88.
tatrāyam ādi, 375.
tato malā, 243.
tasiṇāya purakkhata, 342,343.
tasmā piyaṃ, 211.
tath 'eva katapuññam, 220.
tiṇadosāni, 356, 357, 358,359.
tumhehi kiccam, 276.
te jhāyino, 23.
te tādise, 196.
tesaṃ saṃpannasīlānaṃ, 57.

D.

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dantaṃ nayanti, 321.
divā tapati, 387.
diso disaṃ, 42.

dīghā jāgarato, 60.
dukkhaṃ, 191.
dunniggahassa, 35.
duppabbajjaṃ, 302.
dullabho, 193.
dūraṅgamam, 37.
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Dh.

Dhanapālako, 324.
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dhammapītī, 79.
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N.

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n'atthi rāgasamo, 202, 251.
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n'etaṃ kho, 189.
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na antalikhe, 127, 128.
na kāhāpaṇa-, 186.
nagaraṃ yathā, 315.
na cāhu, 228.
na jaṭāhi, 393.
na taṃ kammaṃ, 67.
na taṃ daḷham, 345.
na taṃ mātā, 43.
na tāvatā, 259.
na tena ariyo, 270.
na tena thero, 260.
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na tena bhikkhū, 266.
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na naggacariyā, 141.
na paresaṃ, 50.
na pupphagandho, 54.
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na muṇḍakena, 264.
na monena, 268.
na vakkāraṇa-, 262.
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na santi puttā, 288.
na sīlabbata-, 271.
na hi etehi, 323.
na hi pāpaṃ, 71.
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P.

Paṃsukūladharaṃ, 395.
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paṭisaṃthāravutt', 376.
paṭhavīsamo, 95.
pathavyā, 178.
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paravajjānupassissa (*para-vejj-*), 253.
parijiṇṇam idam, 148.
pare ca na, 6.
pavivekarasaṃ, 205.
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pubbenivāsam, 423.
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Ph.

Phandanaṃ, 33.
phusāmi, 272.
pheṇūpamaṃ, 46.

B.

Bahuṃ pi, 19.
bahuṃ ve, 188.
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Bh.

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M.

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manujassa, 334.
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Y.

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yathāpi mūle, 338.
yathāpi rahado (*-rhado*), 82.
yathāpi ruciraṃ, 51, 52.
yathā bubbulakaṃ, 170.
yathā saṃkāra-, 58.
yadā dvayesu, 384.
yam esā, 335.
yamhā dhammaṃ, 392.
yamhi saccaṃ, 261.
yamhi kiccam, 292.
yassa accanta-, 162.
yassa kāyena, 391.
yassa c'etaṃ, 250, 263.

yass' indriyāni, 94.
yassa gatiṃ na, 420.
yassa c'etaṃ, 250, 263.
yassa chattiṃsatī-, 339.
yassa jitam, 179.
yassa pāpam, 173.
yassa jālinī, 180.
yassa pāraṃ, 385.
yassa pure, 421.
yassa rāgo, 407.
yassālayā na, 411.
yassa āsavā, 93.
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yāvaṃ hi, 284.
yāvajīvaṃ pi, 64.
yāvadeva, 72.
ye ca kho, 86.
ye jhānapasutā, 181.
ye rāgarattā-, 347.
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yesaṃ sambodhiaṅgesu, 89.
yesañ ca susamāraddhā, 293.
yo appadutṭhassa, 125.
yo imaṃ, 414.
yogā ve, 282.
yo ca gāthā, 102.
yo ca pubbe, 172.
yo ca buddhañ ca, 190.
yo ca vantakasāv', 10.
yo ca vassasataṃ, 107, 110–115.
yo ca sameti, 265.
yo daṇḍena, 137.
yo dukkhassa, 402.
yo 'dha kāme, 415.
yo 'dha taṇham, 416.
yo 'dha dīgham, 409.
yo 'dha puññam, 267, 412.
yo nibbanato (*nibbanatho*),344.
yo pāṇam, 246.
yo bālo maññati, 63.
yo mukha saññato, 363.
yo ve uppatitaṃ, 222.
yo ve taṃ sahatī (*yo c'etaṃ*), 336.
yo sahassaṃ, 103.
yo sāsanaṃ, 164.
yo have, 382.

R.

Ratiyā yāyatī, 214.
ramanīyāni, 99.
rājato va, 139.

V.

Vacīpakopam, 232.
vajjaṃ ca, 319.
vanaṃ chindatha, 283.
varam assatarā, 322.
vassikā viya, 377.
vācānurakkhī, 281.
vāṇijo va, 123.
vāri pokkharapatte va, 401.
vārijo va, 34.
vitakka pamathitassa, 349.
vitakkūpasame, 350.
vītataṇho, 352.
vedanaṃ pharusaṃ, 138.

S.

Sace nēresi, 134.
sace labetha, 328.
saccaṃ bhaṇe, 224.

sadā jāgaramānānaṃ, 226.
saddhāya sīlena, 144.
saddho sīlena, 303.
santakāyo, 378.
santaṃ tassa, 96.
sabbattha ve, 83.
sabbadānam, 354.
sabbapāpassa, 183.
sabbasaṃyojanaṃ, 397.
sabbaso, 367.
sabbābhibhū, 353.
sabbe tasanti, 129, 130.
sabbe dhammā, 279.
sabbe saṃkhārā, 277, 278.
saritāni sinehitāni, 341.
salabhaṃ, 365.
savanti sabbadhi (*-sabbadā*), 340.
sahassam api, 100, 101.
sādhu dassanaṃ, 206.
sāraṃ ca, 12.
siñca bhikkhu, 369.
sīladassana-, 217.
sukarāni asādhūni, 163.
sukhaṃ yāvajarā, 333.
sukhakāmāni, 131, 132.
sukhā matteyatā, 332.
sukho Buddhānaṃ, 194.
sujīvam ahirikena (*-ahirī-kena*), 244.
suññāgāram pavitṭhassa, 373.
sudassaṃ vajjaṃ, 252.
sududdassaṃ, 36.
suppabuddhaṃ, 296–301.
subhānupassī- (*-passiṃ*), 7.
surāmerayapānaṃ, 247.
susukhaṃ vata, 197–200.
sekho pathaviṃ, 45.
selo yathā, 81.
seyyo ayogulo, 308.
so karohi, 236, 238.

H.

Haṃsā ādiccapathe (*haṃsādicca*), 175.
hatthasaññato, 362.
hananti bhogā, 355.
hitvā mānusakaṃ, 417.
hitvā ratiṃ, 418.
hirīnisedho, 143*a*.
hirīmatā ca, 245.
hīnaṃ dhammaṃ, 167.

[Completed by Professor Cowell, November 22nd, 1894.]

XXXI.

SOME UNIDENTIFIED TOPONYMS IN THE TRAVELS OF PEDRO TEIXEIRA AND TAVERNIER.

By COLONEL G. E. GERINI, M.R.A.S.

WHILE going over Messrs. Sinclair and Ferguson's able translation of the "Travels of Pedro Teixeira," recently (1902) published by the Hakluyt Society, I have noticed that several names of places on the Indo-Chinese Peninsula have been left unidentified. As they all are important for historical geography, I venture to hope that the following short notes on them may prove acceptable to those who take an interest in the subject.

1. **Olanion**, a kingdom producing benjoin (p. 227). It is perfectly clear to me that this toponym, at first sight so queer and puzzling, is merely the transcript into Spanish (the language in which Teixeira's work appeared) of the Portuguese *Lanjão* with the prefixed article attached, thus: *O Lanjão* = *Olanjon, Olanion.* This is Bocarro's *Lanjão*,[1] corresponding to the kingdom of the *Langioni* of the Italian Missionaries,[2] and to the *Lan John* of early English travellers.[3] The realm meant is that of *Lān-c'hạ̄ng*, which then had its capital at Wīeng Chan on the Middle Mè-Khōng, and in the northern districts of which the benjoin known hitherto as "Siam benjoin" is produced.

2. **Polé**, a river near the [Old] Strait of Singapore (p. 2). This is the *Pulai* River (*Sungei Pulai*), flowing from the

[1] "Decada 13 da Historia da India" in "Colleccão de Monumentos Ineditos," etc., p. 117.

[2] E.g., Marini, "Delle Missioni," etc., Rome, 1663, p. 448.

[3] See Yule & Burnell's "Hobson-Jobson," 2nd ed., London, 1903, p. 503.

homonymous mountain range (*Gūnong Pulai*) into the Sea of the Straits, into which it debouches between *Tanjung Bulus* Cape and the western entrance to the Old Singapore Strait. I am glad to find this toponym recorded by Teixeira—who is, to the best of my belief, the first Western writer to mention it—as I had been led by my researches into the ancient geography of Indo-China to connect the River *Pulai* and its basin with one or other of the States (so far unidentified, at any rate satisfactorily) *P'o-li*, 婆利, and 蒲利, *Po-li*, of the Chinese records of the Sui and T'ang dynasties (A.D. 581–617 and 618–906). The occurrence of the term *Polé* (= *Pulei*, *Pulai*) in Teixeira's valuable work on or about A.D. 1600 argues for it a far higher antiquity than one might have otherwise supposed, and thus makes its identity with either *P'o-li* or *Po-li* (preferably the former) much more probable.

3. **Pate**, a seaport (and district, or small state) on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula between Siām and Patāni (p. 3).[1] I take this to be the same as Tavernier's **Bata**,[2] one of the places where rich mines of tin had been discovered some years before this traveller's visit to the Archipelago.[3] This *Bata*, contrary to the opinion expressed by Tavernier's recent English translator, undoubtedly stood on the Malay Peninsula, and very probably on the eastern coast of the same, since it is referred to with other places on that coast in the enumeration: "*Delegore* [= Ligor], *Sangore* [= Senggora, Singora], *Bordelon* [= P'hattalung],

[1] Not to be confounded with the other kingdom (or seaport) of *Pate* alluded to in the same book, Introduction, pp. v, xiv, about the location of which nothing is said. This is the same as the *Patta* of Hamilton and other writers, which was a place on the east coast of Africa, near Mombassa. Another *Pate* or *Paté*, frequently mentioned in Portuguese works, was a town and seaport on the coast of Kambāy, at twelve leagues from Diu (see Correa's "Lendas da India," t. ii, Lisbon, 1860, p. 461). Neither toponym has, strange to say, been noticed in "Hobson-Jobson," and, as regards the first, no explanation is offered in Danvers' "Portuguese in India" (see vol. ii, pp. 14, 62, 69; and Index, p. 534), thus leaving the reader greatly perplexed.

[2] See V. Ball's "Travels in India by Jean Baptiste Tavernier," London, 1889, vol. ii, p. 162.

[3] This took place in 1648, so that the discovery of the tin-mines in question may be put down to about 1640.

and *Bata*."[1] Now, Ligor, Singora, and P'hattalung all lie above Patāni, between the 7th and 9th parallels of Northern latitude, and between the last-named State and Siām, the very position assigned by Teixeira to his *Pate*. Hence, there seems to be no doubt as to the identity of this with Tavernier's *Bata*, although it is not easy to suggest with absolute certainty the actual place both authors had in view. It can be inferred, nevertheless, and with good reason, that the same cannot be far off from the other three townships, or districts, mentioned along with it in the passage just cited from Tavernier's work. Proceeding by elimination of toponyms similar to either *Pate* or *Bata* that occur in that vicinity on the early maps, and which appear unsuitable either because applied to insignificant localities or to places too far inland,[2] we are left to grapple with three names of districts and seaports on the coast, viz., *Patanor* (= Bān-Dōn),[3] *Bardia* (= C'hum-p'hōn),[4] and

[1] For these the translator suggests the queer and absolutely impossible equivalents: "Delli (?), Salangor, Billiton, and Banka (?)." Suffice it to point out that—(1) tin is so far unknown in Deli, although worked lower down the east coast of Sumatra, in the Kampar district; (2) the Bangka mines were discovered, as Marsden informs us, as late as 1710, i.e., a good many years after the first edition of Tavernier's travels, wherein the names in question appear (A.D. 1676); (3) that *Bordelon* is the form occurring in most early writers for P'hattalung; and (4) that *Sangore* is evidently Singora, and not Selangor.

[2] A place called *Bataon* is marked on the map appended to Valentijn's work (1726) immediately south of Patāni, and within the homonymous landspit terminating at Cape Patāni; but from its position to the south of Patāni it cannot evidently be Teixeira's *Pate*.

[3] *Patanor* occurs in Du-Val's "Carte du Royaume de Siam," Paris, 1686, above Ligor, in 10° N. lat.; also in Van der Aa's map of "Les Indes Orientales" attached to Mandelslo's work (Amsterdam, 1727), pp. 8–9, in the same position. On the above-cited map in Valentijn it is marked *Palanor*, a little distance above *Cornena* (Carnom Point) and facing *Pulo Sangori* (*Sancori* or *P'hangi* Island, now known as Koḥ P'hang-ngan), in 9° 30′ N. lat. There can thus be no doubt that *Patanor* refers either to Bān-Dōn or to its river-mouth, known as *Pāk-thāng-Khūhā*. Less likely it may mean *Pāk-thā-rūa*, a little further up the coast (9° 35′ N. lat.). As final *k* is not pronounced by the Siāmese of the Malay Peninsula just like the Malays, and the aspirates are never taken notice of by foreign travellers, *Pāk-thāng-Khūhā* may easily assume with these latter the forms *Pa-tang-kua* or *Patang*, whence *Patano*, *Patanor*. So may *Pāk-thā-rūa* become *Pa-ta-rua*, or simply *Pata*. As regards the form *Bata*, I might refer to *Patāni*, spelled *Battani* by John Coen, 1623 (Anderson's "Engl. Intercc. with Siam," p. 86); and *Patan* by Floris, Schouten, and others.

[4] *Bardia* is the seemingly Malay corruption of *Mattrā*, the name of an islet (*Koḥ Mattrā*) lying E.S.E. of C'hum-p'hōn Bay; but formerly misapplied by

Patyu, *Pateo*, or *Pateeo* (= Pathìu),[1] lying in 9° 5′, 10° 27′, and 10° 53′ N. lat. respectively. As I am unable to trace the name *Pathìu* in any Western book or map earlier than 1820, and the term *Bardia* earlier than 1745, I must conclude for the present in favour of *Patanor*, i.e. *Bàn-Dōn*, as being most likely the place that both Teixeira and Tavernier had in view. That tin was already worked in their time in the districts in question and adjoining territories is conclusively proved by the license granted by Siām to the Hon. East India Company, on the 6th November, 1675, to trade in tin in *Champone* (C'hump'hōn), *Chaia* (C'haiyā), *Pompin* (P'hūn-pin, in the Bān-Dōn district), and *Tattung* (Thā-Thōng, in the same district).[2]

Although it may seem strange, it is not improbable that the State of *P'o-ta*, 婆達, referred to in the annals of the Chinese First Sung dynasty as having sent envoys to China in A.D. 435, 439, and 451,[3] was the same as the latter-day *Bata* or *Pate* of Tavernier and Teixeira. At all events, I am satisfied from circumstantial evidence, which would be too long to adduce here, that the *P'o-ta* State in question stood, like *Bata* or *Pate*, on the Malay Peninsula, and that if not actually identical with the last-named, cannot have been situated very far from it.

foreign navigators also to *Samet* (*Koh Samet*) islet, just opposite to the mouth of the C'hump'hōn River, as well as to the river itself and to the district (of C'humphōn) through which it flows. See, e.g., the map attached to Prévost's "Histoire générale des Voyages," t. ix, Paris, 1751, p. 62, where there are marked an island *Bardia*, a *Bardia* city on the coast opposite, and a river *Bardia* flowing past it. The name *I. Bardia* appears a little earlier on Belliu's map in t. ii of the same work, Paris, 1746, p. 102. The islet is still spoken of as *Bardia* (*Pulo Bardia*) as late as 1842 in Neale's "Narrative of a Residence in Siām," London, 1852, pp. 119–120.

[1] *Patyu* appears, for the first time I believe, in John Walker's map of Siām and Cochin-China appended to Crawfurd's "Embassy to Siam and Cochin-China," London, 1830, vol. i.

[2] See Anderson's "English Intercourse with Siam," pp. 124–125. Tin at *Legoor* (Ligor) is mentioned on p. 428 of the same work in (George White's) "Report on the Trade of Siam written in 1678." There can thus be no doubt as to the location of the tin-mining districts mentioned by Tavernier and identified by myself above.

[3] See Ma Tuan-lin, in Hervey de Saint-Denys' translation, t. ii, "Méridionaux," pp. 506, 508.

4. **Sabam Strait** (p. 2). Though not situated on the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, but in the Straits below it, I have nevertheless thought it useful to offer a few remarks on this toponym, now apt to be misunderstood, as it but seldom appears in contemporary books and maps. It is the Strait of *Sabão* of the Portuguese,[1] and stretches, almost parallel to the better known Durian Strait, between the Karimūn-Kundur group of islands and those bordering the east coast of Sumatra. It was not named, as Mr. Ferguson seems to imply (note 3 to p. 2), from a town *Sabam* on the coast of Sumatra, but from *Sabon* or *Sabong* (more correctly *Sābung*) Island, the name formerly applied collectively to the cluster of islands lying to the south of the Great Karimūn, viz., Pulo Kundur, Pāpan, Belat, etc. This may readily be seen by comparing recent with former maps.[2]

[1] See, for instance, "Tombo do Estado da India" (A.D. 1632), in "Collecção de Monumentos Ineditos," etc., t. v, Lisbon, 1868, p. 105: "estreitos . . . . de *çinquaapura* [Singapore] e *sabão*."

[2] *Pulo Sekupong* is the name still applied in some maps and marine charts to the group formed by Pāpan and Belat islands, but this does not seem to have any connection with *Sābung*. This last may have been a former name for Kundur Island, adopted from some hamlet on its west coast.

XXXII.

LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIP OF THE SHAHBAZGARHI INSCRIPTION.

By G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt.

IN the discussion lately held as to how far Sanskrit was a spoken language, I drew attention to the points of resemblance which existed between the so-called 'Dard' languages and the language employed by Aśōka in the Shāhbāzgaṛhī inscription. During the past few months I have been examining all these languages with considerable minuteness, and hope to publish the results of my studies after a reasonable period. In the meantime I have been pressed to give further details regarding the connection between 'Dard' and Shāhbāzgaṛhī. I therefore submit the following list of phonetic parallels. I have taken the Shb. examples entirely from M. Senart's analysis of the Kapur di Giri inscription in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxi (1892), pp. 8 ff. As for the 'Dard' examples, I intend them to be taken as preliminary to my more extended account which I hope to publish at a future date. I must therefore ask leave to make a few explanatory statements in anticipation. Miklosich and Pischel[1] have shown reasons for assuming that these 'Dard' languages are modern representatives of the old Paiśācī Prākrit described by Hēma-candra. My researches have amply corroborated this suggestion, and I now call these languages, not 'Dard' (which is an unsuitable name), but 'Modern Paiśācī.' It will be noticed that I sometimes refer derivations to the Avesta, and sometimes to Sanskrit. I must defer the proof of the correctness

[1] See Miklosich, *Ueber die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's*, ix, 4, 28; *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeunermundarten*, i, ii, 15 ff., iv, 51; Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, 28.

of this procedure to a future occasion. Here it must suffice to say that I consider these Modern Paiśācī languages, and hence Paiśācī Prākrit, as Aryan, but as neither distinctly Indian nor distinctly Eranian. I would class them as Aryan languages which branched off from the common stock after the Sanskritic languages had branched off, but before the remainder had developed *all* those peculiarities which entitled it to be called Eranian. The speakers settled in the wild inaccessible country immediately to the south of the Hindū Kush, and have maintained original distinctive peculiarities of their tongue to a really remarkable degree. This is principally due to the typical Paiśācī retention of unprotected single medial surd consonants, which has resulted in the preservation of words that had already disappeared even in Classical Sanskrit, and which could hardly have existed in Indian Prākrit.[1]

In the following list I have, with a few exceptions, included all the phonetic resemblances that I have noted between Modern Paiśācī and Shāhbāzgaṛhī, even those which occur in Indian languages, and which are not peculiar to Paiśācī. The only omissions are a few extremely common phonetic changes that are found in both Eranian and Indian, and from which no lesson could be derived. I have not noted cases in which I have found the phonetic rules of Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Modern Paiśācī to be different, because there are very few instances of these, and because each case is doubtful owing to paucity of available examples in Modern Paiśācī. For instance, in Shb. *sr* remains unchanged, as in *sahasrani*. In Mod. Paiś. I have come across only one example of this compound (Av. √ *srav*; B., K. √ *san*, hear), from which it is not safe to draw a general conclusion.

The Modern Paiśācī languages fall into three groups, a Western, or Kāfir, group, an Eastern, or Dard, group, and a central language, Khōwār, spoken in the Chitrāl country, and occupying a somewhat independent position. In the Dard group, three languages, Kāśmīrī, Gārwī, and

[1] E.g. Vedic Skr. *kṛkavāku*, K. *kakawak*, a fowl.

Maiyā (the last two spoken in the Indus Kōhistān), are not true Modern Paiśācī. They have a Dard basis, but, owing to their situation on the frontier of India proper, they have been influenced by Sanskritic languages, and are now mixed forms of speech. Regarding all these languages see my paper in J.R.A.S., 1900, pp. 501 ff.

The following is a list of the contractions employed :—

Avesta	Av.	Pašai	P.
Sanskrit	Skr.	Gawar-bati	G.
Paiśācī	Paiś.	Kalāšā	K.
Cūlikā Paiśācikā ..	Cū. Paiś.		
Modern Paiśācī ..	Mod. Paiś.	Khōwār	Kh.
Persian..	Prs.		
Shāhbāzgaṛhī ..	Shb.		
		Dard Group.	
		Šīnā	Š.
Kāfir Group.		Kāśmīrī	Ks.
Bašgalī..	B.	Gūrwī	Gār.
Wai-alā	W.	Maiyā	M.
Veron	V.		

Shb. $a > u$ (*ucavuca*, *ōṣuḍhani*, *muta*, etc.). This is common in East Eranian (see *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie* (GIP), I², 295). In some dialects of Paštō every $ā > ō$. As for Modern Paiśācī, cf. B. *kur*, ass; K. *gurdō-gḫ*; Š. *kūn*, ear; B. *duśt*, hand; B. *ušp*, horse, and many others.

Shb. prothesis of *i* (*istri*°). This, of course, occurs in *tatsamas*, before compound consonants, in all North Indian dialects, and in Prākrit, but it is quite common in Eranian and in Mod. Paiś., even before a single consonant. There can be no question of tatsamas in most of these Modern Paiśācī dialects. Cf. K. *istri*, woman; V. *isi* (for *sū(rya)*), sun; B. *cō*, V. *iša*, kid.

Shb. $u > a$ (*garunaṁ*, *pana*). Cf. Skr. *kukkuṭa*, Š. *kankōrō-cō*, a fowl; Av. *būza*, W. *wasei*, a she-goat. In Paštō $ū > a$ before nasals and *r* (GIP. I², 208).

Shb. $k = k$ (*lahuka*). In Mod. Paiś. medial *k* is always preserved. Thus Skr. *krkavāku*, B. *kakak*, V. *kakokū*, K. *kakawak*, a fowl.

Shb. $kr = k\mathring{r}$ (*parakramati*). Cf. K. *kṛe*, purchase (K. often changes *r* to *ṛ*). Cf. Skr. *krōḍa*, K. *gro*, breast, in which the *r* is also preserved, though the *k* is softened to *g*.

Shb. $kh > k$ (*ku* for *khu*). Skr. *khara*, B. *kur*, ass; B. *myuk*, face; Š. $\sqrt{ka}$, eat.

Shb. *g=g* (*mrugō*, etc.). Cf. (for final, original medial, *g*) M. *ḍāg*, back; V. *buṭog* (Skr. **vaṇṭaka*), share.

Shb. *ġ* > *k* (*maka*). Cf. Prs. *lagām*, Kś. *lākam*, a bridle. This is the rule in Cū. Paiś.

Shb. *gr=gr* (*agra°*). Cf. K. *grōm*, village.

Shb. medial unprotected *t* is preserved (examples *passim*). So in Paiś. and in non-Prs. Eranian (GIP. I², 416). So also in Mod. Paiś., as in Skr. *tāta*, *tata*, B. *tōt*, W. *tata*, father; Av. *kata-*, Kh. *khata-n*, house.

Shb. *t* > *ṭ* occasionally (*prati* > *paṭi* or = *prati*). In Mod. Paiś. *t* and *ṭ* are convertible. The fact seems to be that there is really only one *t*, a semi-cerebral as in English, which is written *t* or *ṭ* according to the personal equation of the scribe. Thus the Š. word for 'house' is written *gōt* by one scribe and *gōṭ* by another.

Shb. *tm* > *t* (not *p*) (*ata°*). So W. *tanu*, P. *tāni-k*, Kh. *tan*, and other similar forms for 'self.'

Shb. *ty* > *ti* (*ēkatiē*). Cf. Skr. *nṛtyati*, B., P. √ *nat*, dance.

Shb. *ty* > *c*. Cf. Kś. √ *naṭs*, dance.

Shb. *tr=tr*. Cf. Skr. *putra*, K. *pūtr*, son; B., K. *treh*, W., Š. *tre*, three.

Shb. *tv* > *t*. Cf. Av. *caθwārō*, B. *štō*, four. (The change of *c* > *š* is Eranian.)

Shb. *dy* > *j*. Cf. Skr. *vādya*, Kh. *baše-ik*, music. Kh. changes *j* > *š*.

Shb. *dv* > *d* (not *b*) (*diyaḍha*). Cf. P. *dwās* (for *divasa-*), M. *dis*, Gār. *dōs*, Š. *des*, day; Skr. *dvăr-*, Av. *dvar-*, K., Kh. *dŭr*, house. In Eranian *dv* > *d* in Prs., but not elsewhere.

Shb. medial *p* > *v* (*avatrapēyu*). So Av. *ăp-*, B. *ōv*, water.

Shb. *pt* > *t* (*naṭarō*). Cf. B. *sut*, V. *sete*, W. *sōt*, Kh. *sŏt*, P., G., K., Gār., Š. *sat* (no compensatory lengthening), seven.

Shb. *pr=pr*. Cf. Av. *fra* (*pra*) + √ *dā*, B., W. √ *prē*, give. Skr. *prēṣita-*, W. *prešya*, sent.

Shb. *b* > *p* (*paḍhaṁ*). Cf. Arabic *bābat*, Kś. *bāpat*, concerning. This is the regular rule in Cū. Paiś.

Shb. *br=br* (*bramaṇa*). Cf. B. *brōh*, Kh. *brār*, G. *bliaia*, brother.

Shb. *rn* > *ṁn*. Cf. Skr. *svarṇa*, B. *sūn*, gold.

Shb. *rt* > *ṭ* (*anuvaṭiśaṁti*). In Mod. Paiś. *ṭ* > *ḍ* > *ṛ*. Cf. Skr. *mṛta*, Av. *mereṭa*, dead; B., W. √ *mṛa*, die. So B. *karā*, done.

Shb. *ry* > *riy* (*anaṁtariyēna*). So in Mod. Paiś. *ry* > *rĭ*. Thus, Skr. *sūrya*, K., Š. *sūri*, G. *suri*, Kś. *sirī*. Cf. Paiś. *bhāriyā*, a wife.

Shb. *rṣ* > *ṣ* (*vaṣa*). Cf. Skr. *śīrṣa*, K., M., Š. *šīš*, *šiš*.

Shb. *ēvaṁ* > *yō*. So Šighnī (Eranian) *zēv*, Kś. *zeo*, tongue.

Shb. prothesis of *w*, *v* (*vacati*, etc.). So Av. *ā* + √ *ay*, Š. √ *wā*, come; Prs. *angušt-ar*, V. *wōgikh*, a finger-ring; Av. *stawra-*, V. *wištar*, great; Skr. √ *iṣ*, Kh. √ *weš*, send.

Shb. *ś* > *s* (*anusōcanaṁ*). This is the rule in Paiś. Pr., as also in most modern Indian languages. So Skr. *kēśa*, G. *khēs*, hair.

Shb. *śy* > *śiy* (*prativēšiyēna*). Cf. Eranian change of *šy* > *š* and Skr. *naśyati*, K. √ *nāš*, die; Skr. *paśyati*, Š. √ *pāš*, Kh. √ *poš*, M. √ *paš*, see.

Shb. *ṣ* > *ś* (*manuśa*). So W. *manaš*, G. *manuš*, etc., man; Skr. *ṛṣabha*, Kh. *rešu*, bull; Skr. *prēṣita*, W. *prešya*, sent; Skr. √ *iṣ*, *ēṣati*, G. √ *ša*, Kh. √ *weš*, send.

Shb. *ṣ* > *s* (*arabhiyisu*, *yēsu*, *abhisita*). Cf. V. √ *es*, send (see above).

Shb. *ṣṭ* > *st*. Cf. Paiś. *kasaṭa* for *kaṣṭa*. In Mod. Paiś. *ṣṭ* generally > *šṭ*, *št*, the compound being treated as if it were Eranian *št*. Thus B., W. *ošṭ*, Kh. *ošt*, K., Š. *ašṭ*, P., G. *ašt*, but (cf. Shb.) V. *aste*, eight. In Shb., however, in this particular word we have *aṭha*.

Shb. *s* > *ś* (*anuśaśanaṁ*). This is typical of non-Persic Eranian dialects (GIP. I², 416). Av. *sarah-*, B., W. *šei*, G. *šau-ṭa*, a head. This word is here of Eranian origin, as will be shown when the subject is discussed at greater length.

Shb. *s* > *h* (*hacē*). So Kś. *hīr*, head (see above).

Shb. *st* = *st* (*saṁstuta*). This is Eranian. Cf. Av. *ast-*, Kh. *astī*, bone; Av. *zasta*, O. Prs. *dasta*, V. *lust*, hand; Skr. *hasta*, K., P. *hāst*, G. *hast*, hand; Av. *stawra*, Kh. *istōr*, horse; Skr. *nasta*, P. *nāst*, Kś. *nast*, nose; Av. *star-*, Kh. *istāri*, star.

Shb. *str* = *str* (*striyaka*, *istri*). So K. *istri*, woman. There can be no idea of this being a *tatsama*.

Shb. *sm* > *s*. So Skr. *asmākam*, of us; V. *as*, we. The intermediate stage exists in Kh. *ispa*. Cf. Av. *asman-*, Prs. dialect *asbān*, heaven.

Shb. *sy* > *siy* (*siya* for *syāt*). So Skr. *āsya*, G. *hãsi*, Kś. *ās*ᵗ, face.

Shb. *sv* > *s* (*sagaṁ*). So G. *sase*, P. *sūi*, Š. *saḥ*, sister.

Shb. *sv* > *sp* (*spasunaṁ*). Cf. Skr. *aśva*, Av. *aspa*, horse; Skr. *śvan*, Av. *span*, dog. So Kh. *ispusūr*, Tirhai (a dialect related to P.) *spaz*, Gār. *išpo*, sister.

Shb. prothesis of *h* (*hia*, *hida*, *hēdiśa*). So. Skr. *aṅgāra*, Š. *hagār*, fire; Av. *añtare*, K. *handūn*, house; Skr. *āsya*, G. *hũsi*, mouth.

Shb. metathesis of *r* in compounds (*dhrama, draśana, pruva, krama, srava*, etc.). So Skr. *karṇa*, K. *krō*, ear; Skr. *parṇa*, K. *pron*, leaf; Skr. *karman-*, Š. *krom*, work; Skr. *dīrgha*, K. *driga*, long. A more extreme case is Av. *star-*, B. *raśta*, star. This will show that the Shb. spellings are not necessarily 'orthographic tatsamas' badly spelt. They represented a real pronunciation.

One or two other points may be noted. The long vowels are not marked in Shb. Thus *vyāpṛta* is written *vapaṭa*, not *vāpaṭa*. It is necessary to warn against the possibility of supplying a long mark on the analogy of Indian Prākrits. For instance, in Prākrit, when a compound consonant is simplified, the preceding vowel is lengthened in compensation. It is not to be assumed that, therefore, in Shb. the vowel before a simplified consonant is necessarily long. *This compensatory lengthening does not take place in Lahndā or Sindhī*, the two modern Indian languages spoken nowadays in North-Western India. Moreover, compensatory lengthening is rare in the Modern Paiśācī languages. Indeed, it is only met with commonly in Gārwī, Maiyā, and Kāśmīrī, which are those languages of the group that are on the Indian border, and that show signs of direct Sánskritic influence.

In the other languages of the group compensatory lengthening is very rare indeed. Take, for instance, the various words corresponding to the Av. *uštra* (Skr. *uṣṭra*), a camel. These are B. *štyur*, V. *ištiur* (here, of course, there is no compensatory lengthening required), W. *uk*, G. *ukh*, K., Kh. *uṭ*, Gār. *uṭh*, Kś. *wũṭh*, but only M. *ūkh*, Š. (probably borrowed from Hindōstānī) *ūṭ*, camel. So Skr. *pakṣin-*, a bird, K. *pachīy-ek*, G. *pici-n*, Gār. *paši-n*, and only Kś. *pākhī*. Finally, let us take the word for 'eight,' which also occurs in Shb. These are B., W. *ošṭ*, V. *aste*, P., G. *ašt*, K. *ašṭ*, Kh. *ošt*, Gār. *aṭh*, Š. *ath*, and only M. *āṭh*. We should hence refrain from assuming that Shb. *aṭha* should properly be written *āṭha*, as we should expect from the analogy of Prākrit.

Another small point may be noted. Hēma-candra (iv, 324; i, 219) notes that in Paiśācī Prākrit the *d* does not become *r* in numerals. It is preserved, and then by the general Paiś. rule becomes *t*. Thus 'eleven' is *ēkātasa*, not *ēāraha*. Similarly, in Shb. the *d* is not changed to *r*. We have *badaya*, twelve; *tidaśa*, thirteen.

XXXIII.

NOTES FROM THE TANJUR.

By F. W. THOMAS, M.R.A.S.

6. *The Jātakamālā of Haribhaṭṭa.*

AHITHERTO, I believe, unknown collection of Jātakas, bearing the above title, is to be found in the Tanjur (*Mdo*, xcii, foll. 1–229). It is, as may be seen, a work of considerable extent, though the number of the stories is no more than thirty-five, in three decades *plus* five. The detailed examination of this probably not uninteresting work may be left to those who devote special attention to this class of writings. But I may here collect the facts recorded concerning the author, and append the commencement of the book, the titles of the stories, and the colophons, together with as adequate a translation of these as I can provisionally present. The folio numbers given in the margin refer to the India Office edition and (when in brackets) the 'red' edition of St. Petersburg.

Of Haribhaṭṭa nothing seems to be known from other sources. It is true that the Subhāṣitāvalī includes some verses by a poet of this name. But none of these verses have been traced elsewhere, and there is at present no evidence connecting the writer either with Bhartṛhari or with our author. The latter is described in the colophon as an ācārya and a king's son, as learned in grammar and in the Word of Buddha (points of contact with Bhartṛhari), and as the moon of later poets; and we are told that he left Kashmir owing to troubles, and threw away his life in the Himālaya mountains. He himself, using a tone of modesty, though confessing apparently to the name of poet, tells us at the commencement of the work that, without pretension to compete with the Jātakamālā of Śūra, he might find a yet unoccupied sphere for himself in the glory of

knowing tradition. He also speaks of his work as a fit companion to his commentary on the Sūtra-piṭaka (*Mdo . sde*), which, however, appears to be unknown.

The comparison of the stories with those found elsewhere[1] will be no doubt a work of some labour, as the titles are in these cases not always an adequate guide.

What is told us concerning the translators may be seen in their colophon.

| Rgya . gar . skad . du | Ha . ri . baṭṭa . nā . ma . dzā . ta . ka . mā . lā | bod . skad . du | seṅ . ge . żabs . *h*briṅ . pa*h*i . skyes . pa . rabs . kyi . phreṅ . ba . żes . bya . ba |

| *h*jam . dpal . gżon . nur . gyur . pa[2] . la . phyag . *h*tshal . lo |

1. | gaṅ . żig . ma . lus . pha . rol . phyin . pa*h*i . stobs . kyis . thob . gyur . ba*h*i |

(*2a*) | żi . ba*h*i . go . *h*phaṅ . gis . ni . me . tog . tog . can . sdug . bsñal . mdzad |

| rnam . par . dag . pa*h*i . yon . tan . *h*od . zer . dkyil . *h*khor . can . rmoṅs . la |

| mun . pa . sel . bar . mdzad . pa*h*i . thub . pa . de . la . phyag . *h*tshal . śog |

2a. 2. | slob . dpon . dpa*h* . bos . mdzad . pa*h*i . skyes . pa*h*i . rabs . kyi . rgyud . rnams . daṅ |

| gżan . dag . mñam . pa . ñid . du . rjes . su . *h*gro . phyir . byed . nus . min |

| bsil . ba*h*i . *h*od . kyis . ku . mu . da . ni . so . sor . byed . nus . kyi |

| skar . ma*h*i . tshogs . gżan . gcig . tu . bsdus . kyaṅ . ma . nus . pa . ñid . de |

3. | sñan . dṅags . mkhas . chen . rnams . kyi . sñan . dṅags . ñid . ni . *h*di . śes . pas |

| śin . tu . luṅ . la . mkhas . par . grags . pa . ñid . du . dag[3] . *h*gro . ste |

[1] For a bibliography see Akademiker d'Oldenburg's well-known article, J.R.A.S., 1893, pp. 301–356 (English version).

[2] *Sic*, I.O. and Pet.

[3] Pet. *ṅag*.

| byaṅ . chub . sems . dpa*h* . spyod . par . grags . pa . la . ni . de . ltar . yaṅ |

(*2b*) | raṅ . don . *h*dod . la . mkhas . pa . bdag . gis . *h*di . dag . ṅes . par . sbyar |

2b. 4. | gal . te . *h*jig . rten . bya . ba . la . rgod . bdag . la . *h*dir . skyon . gaṅ |

| *h*on . kyaṅ . ṅo . tsha . med . pas . smra . na . bden . par . brjod . med . kyi |

| raṅ . don . bsgrub[1] . par . *h*dod . pa . yon . tan . dag . la . srid . pa . gaṅ |

| thams . cad . bzod . pa*h*i . skyes . bus . *h*byuṅ . ba*h*i . phyir . na . rig . pa . ste |

5. | zas . gtsaṅ . sras . kyi . rig . pa . daṅ . po . bdag . ni . smra . ba . na |

| ṅes . par . yon . tan . grags . pa . la . mkhas . bdag . gyur . cig |

| goms . pa . bsags . pa*h*i . mkhas . pa . ñid . kyis . rnam . par . dag . pa*h*i . blos |

| ri . mo . mkhan . gyi . gzugs . ltar . *h*jam . po . ci . żig . mi . *h*dri . *h*am |

6. | lus . daṅ . ṅag . daṅ . yid . dag . gis . kyaṅ . dge . ba . yi . ni . las |

| skyes . bu . le . lo . can . gyi . yid . kyis . thob . par . nus . ma . yin |

| me . tog . du . ma . don . gñer . *h*bad . med . gal . te . *h*gyur . ba . na |

| me . tog . las . byuṅ . sbraṅ . rtsi . buṅ . bas . *h*thuṅ . bar . mi . *h*gyur . ram |

7. | kye . ma[2] . rgyal . ba*h*i . yon . tan . brjod . pa . chuṅ . yaṅ . dge . ba*h*i . phyir . mi . nus |

| de . slad . sñan . dṅags . mkhan . ni . su . żig . gus . pa . lhod . par . byed |

| rñed . pa . chen . po . rnam . par . mthoṅ . nas . gtoṅ . ba . chuṅ . bas . ni |

| blo . ni . rgyu . chen . ldan . pas . tshoṅ . phyir . thogs . par . mi . rigs . so |

[1] Pet. *bsgrubs*.

[2] These two words are apparently extra-metrical.

8. | de . phyir . rnam . pa . gaṅ . gis . mi . lus . thob . pa . rtogs . byas . nas |
| bstan . pa . *h*di . yaṅ . draṅ . sroṅ . gi . ni . rab . rib . gsal[1] . mdzad . de |
| yun . riṅ . pos . kyaṅ . mi . *h*dra*h*i . bstod . pa . rdul[2] . gyi . khyab . pa . yi |
| tshig . ni . saṅs . rgyas . rtogs . pa . brjod . pa*h*i . chu . rnams . kyis . ni . bkru . bar . bya |
| gaṅ . gi . phyir . chos . kyi . gtam , la . mkhas . pa . *h*di . ni . mdo . sde*h*i . rjes . su . brjod . pas . phyis . byaṅ . chub . sems . dpa*h*i . skyes . rabs . rjes . su . brjod . de . ri . mo . bris . pa*h*i . khaṅ . ba . la . mar . me*h*i . *h*od . daṅ . *h*dra . bas . bde . blag . tu . gsal . bar . ñan . pa . po*h*i . skye . bo*h*i . yid . la .
(3*a*) dga*h* . ba . lhag . par . skyed . par . byed . la | khams . gsum . du . skyes . pa*h*i . sems . can . rnams . kyi . sdug . bsṅal . gyi . rgud . pa . bsal . bar . bya . ba*h*i .
2*b*. phyir . smon . lam . chen . po . yaṅ . dag . par . bskyed . pa*h*i . bcom . ldan . *h*das . kyi . spyod . pa . rjes . su . brjod . par . gyur . b[3]a*h*i . gñid . rmugs . pa*h*i . skyon . bsal . nas . yid . mñam . par . bžag . pa*h*i . ñan . pa . po . rnams . kyi . bdud . rtsi . bžin . du . *h*thuṅ . bar . *h*dod . rnams . kyis . *h*khor . ba*h*i . sdug . bsṅal . du . ma . *h*dzad . pa*h*i . phyir . du . yaṅ . dag . par . myaṅ . bya*h*o |
9. | rnam . pa . sna . tshogs . ñon . moṅs . sprul[4] . lta . bu*h*i |
| srid . tshogs . sa . *h*og . nas . ni . *h*gro . don . phyir |
| saṅs . rgyas . ñid . phyir . smon . lam . rgya . chen . po |
| bdag . ñid . che . min . rnams . la . *h*byuṅ . ba . min |

| *h*di . ltar . rjes . su . thos . te | etc.

[1] Pet. *bsal*.
[2] Pet. *bstod* . *brdul*.
[3] *p*, I.O. and Pet.
[4] Text (I.O. and Pet.) *sbrul*, 'snake.'

The ends and titles of the several jātakas occur as follows:

A.—i. 9*b* (9*b*). Rab . sñan (Pradyota).
ii. 14*a* (14*a*). Rgya . śug . gi . gliṅ . du . *h*gro (Badarīdvīpagamana ?).
iii. 20*a* (19*b*). Chos . *h*dod (Dharmārthi ?).
iv. 25*a* (25*a*). Ri . boṅ (Śaśa).
v. 30*a* (29*b*). Zla . *h*od (Candraprabha ?).
vi. 35*a* (34*b*). Gzugs . ldan . ma (Rūpiṇī ?).
vii. 41*a* (40*b*). Tshoṅ . dpon (Baṇij).
viii. 46*b* (46*a*). Padma . can (Padmavat ?).
ix. 51*b* (50*b*). Tshaṅs . pas . byin (Brahmadatta).
x. 55*b* (55*a*). Phan . *h*dod (Hitārthi ?).

B.—i. 61*a* (61*a*). Ri . dwags (Mṛga ?).
ii. 72*a* (72*b*). Rma . bya (Śikhaṇḍi).
iii. 76*b* (77*b*). Draṅ . sroṅ (Muni or Ṛṣi).
iv. 82*b* (84*b*). Sṅo . bsaṅs (Śyāma).
v. 86*a* (88*a*). Draṅ . sroṅ . lṅa (Muni- or Ṛṣipañcaka).
vi. 90*b* (93*b*). Ka . śi . mdzes (Kāśibhadra ?).
vii. 94*a* (97*a*). Dka*h* . thub (Tāpasa or Yati).
viii. 103*b* (107*a*). Dga*h* . ba*h*i . sdom . chaṅs . can.
ix. 108*a* (112*a*). Glaṅ . ba . che (*Mahādanti ?*).
x. 114*b* (118*b*). Zla . ba (Candra).

C.—i. 117*b* (121*b*). Dar . da . ra (Dardara).
ii. 123*b* (128*a*). Ri . dwags (Mṛga).
iii. 135*a* (139*b*). Gser . gyi . go . cha (Kanakavarma).
iv. 137*b* (142*a*). Brtse . ba . can (Maitrībala ?).
v. 166*a* (170*b*). Mi . *h*am . ci . mo . daṅ . nor . bzaṅs (*sic*) (Kinnarī and Vasubhadra ?).
vi. 169*a* (173*a*). Draṅ . sroṅ . *h*bar . ba . can (Ṛṣi Ujjvala ?).
vii. 179*a* (183*a*). Sred . med (Virāga ? *Pet.* Srid . med = Abhāva).
viii. 184*b* (188*b*). Rkaṅ . rjes . śes . pa (Pādānujñāta ?).
ix. 189*a* (193*b*). Dpe . med . ma (Anupamā ?).
x. 194*b* (198*b*). Me . loṅ . gi . gdoṅ . can (Darpaṇa-mukha ?).

D.—i. 197*b* (201*b*). Ded . dpon . rab . *h*gro (the Sārthavāha Yayu ?).

ii. 206*b* (210*a*). Seṅ . ge (Lion).
iii. 213*b* (217*a*). Brgya . byin (Śatakratu).
iv. 220*a* (224*a*). Khra . can (?, minister of the king of Benares).
v. 228*a* (233*b*). Don . kun . grub . ldan (Sarvārthasiddhimat = Siddhārtha).

Fol. 228*b*.

1. | yaṅ . dag . rdzogs . pa*h*i . byaṅ . chub . *h*dod |
(233*b*)| byaṅ . chub . sems . dpa*h*i . spyod . pa . ni |
| seṅ . ge . żabs . *h*briṅ . pas . byas . *h*di |
| chos . *h*dod . rnams . kyi . phreṅ . ba . byas . pa . *h*di [1] |

2. | skyes . pa*h*i . rabs . kyi . phreṅ . ba . byas . pa . yi [1] |
| dge . ba . cuṅ . zad . gaṅ . żig . bdag . gi . bsams | [2]
| de . yis . *h*gro . ba . *h*di . ni . bde . gśegs . kyi |
| *h*dod . pa . la . dmigs . thar . pa*h*i . phyir . gyur . cig |

3. | rab . *h*gro . gña*h* . ral . can . brgya . byin |
| khra . can . don . kun . grub . ldan . pa |
| lṅa . yis . lhag . pa*h*i . sum . cu . *h*dir |
| thub . pa . chen . po*h*i . skyes [3] . rabs . rnams |

4. | rig . pa . sgra*h*i . bstan . bcos . cha . ni . rnam . pa . maṅ . po . śes . nas . saṅs . rgyas . kyi . yaṅ . gsuṅ [4] |
| phyi . ma*h*i . sñan . dṅags . mkhan . gyi . zla . bas . sa . ni . sñan . ṅag . *h*od . rnams . kyi . ni . rab . gsal . byas |
| kha . cher . ñe . bar . *h*tshe . ba*h*i . skyon . gyis . rnam . par . gduṅs . pa . śes . nas . phyi . rol . *h*gro . *h*dod . pas |
| ri . dbaṅ . kha . ba . can . la . seṅ . ge . żabs . *h*briṅ [5] . las . ni . srog . rnams . dor . nas . mtho . ris . bsoṅ |

[1] In these two lines the text (I.O and Pet.) is corrupt. In the second place Pet. has again h*di*.
[2] *Sic* (I.O. and Pet.) for *bsags*.
[3] Pet. here inserts *pa*h*i*.
[4] A syllable wanting. I.O. has *rnams* for *rnam . pa*.
[5] h*briṅs*, Pet.

| rgyal . po*h*i . sras . slob . dpon . seṅ . ge . żabs . *h*briṅ . pas . mdzad . pa*h*i . skyes . pa*h*i . rabs . kyi . phreṅ . ba . rdzogs . so ||

5. | dge . sloṅ . dpal . ldan . blo . gros . *h*byuṅ . gnas . żes . bya . mkhas . pa . ni |
| sems . can . rnams . la . chos . daṅ . zaṅ . ziṅ . kun . nas . *h*god . mdzad . ciṅ |
(234*a*)| tshad . ma . daṅ . ni . luṅ . daṅ . rgyud . rnams . ḍu . ma . la . *h*dris . pas |
| *h*gro . ba*h*i . mṅa*h* . bdag . gi . ni . spyod . pa . *h*di . la . gñis . po . dag |

6. | gżal . du . med . ciṅ . dri . ma . med . pa . kun . nas . bsags . te . de . las . *h*di[1] |
| ñon . rmoṅs . żes . bya*h*i . sgrib . pa*h*i . dri . ma . cho . ga . bżin . du . myur . spaṅs . sṅon . du . *h*gro . ba . ni |
| de . daṅ . de*h*i . skyes . rabs . yoṅs . bzuṅ . *h*gro . ba . sdug . bsṅal . rgya . mtsho . las . ni . ga . don . byas . te[2] |
| mthar . yaṅ . thub . dbaṅ . rnams . bżin . mtha*h* . dag . bya . byas . saṅs . rgyas . khams . gsum . du . ni . khyed . *h*byuṅ . śog |

7. | lcaṅ . lo . can . gyi . bum . pa . żes . bya . mkhas . daṅ . lhan . cig . *h*di . ñid . du |
| gaṅ . żig . tshul . khrims . *h*byuṅ . gnas . skad . gñis . pas . ni . *h*di . ltar . cho . ga . bżin |
| bdud . las . rnam . par . rgyal . ba*h*i . spyod . pa . śin . tu . rnam . dag . yaṅs . pa . ni |
| skye . bo . ma . lus . pa . la . phan . pa*h*i . don . du . de . yis . yaṅ . dag . bsgyur |

| rgya . gar . gyi . mkhaṅ . po . paṇḍi . tā . laṃ[3] . ka . de . ba*h*i . żabs . daṅ | `bod . kyi . lo . tsā . ba .

[1] Four syllables wanting.
[2] One syllable wanting. Pet. has *gdon* for *ga* . *don*.
[3] *lam*, Pet.

śākya*hi* . dge . sloṅ . tshul . khrims . *h*byuṅ . gnas . sbas . pas . dpal . gyi . sgye*h*u . ri*h*i . rtsa . chos . skor . dben . sa*h*i . gtsug . khaṅ . du . bsgyur ||

Translation.

In the Indian tongue: *Haribhaṭṭanāmajātakamālā.*

In the Tibetan tongue: *Seṅ . ge . zabs . hbriṅ . pa*h*i . skyes . rabs . kyi . phreṅ . ba.*

Hail to Mañjuśrī as Kumāra!

1. To him, who makes suffering flower-crowned with the eminence of acquiescence won by the strength of all the pāramitās,
   Who, having a halo of light in virtues utterly pure, dispels the darkness in the deluded—to that sage hail!
2. With the string of Jātakas composed by the ācārya Śūra others are without power to follow on an equality.
   Though the cool-rayed [moon] may rival (expand?) the lotus, not surely may the other constellations, even united.
3. Since—for we know this the poetry of great poets—only the fame of learning in tradition remains open,[1]
   It is, clearly, as being skilled in the fame of the lives of the Bodhisattva, and, moreover, in desiring my own advantage, that I shall compose these things.
4. If the world laughs at the attempt, what fault is there here in me? Or though through shamelessness I speak not truly in my narrative,
   What place there is among virtues for a desire to accomplish one's own advantage, an all-patient person knows by reason of his origin ('from birth'? 'from the beginning'?).

[1] I translate *dag . h*gro (*śuddhagati*), not *ñag . h*gro (*vāggati*). Perhaps 'since our author (*h*di) knows the poetry of great poets' is better than what we have given.

5. In celebrating the supreme knowledge of the son of Śuddhodana may I, at any rate, become skilled in extolling virtue!

   Does not a mind purified by skill acquired through practice, like the painter's drawing, trace out something winning?

6. With body, voice, and mind alike no meritorious work can persons of indolent character achieve.

   By the bee, if he exerts not himself in the seeking of various flowers, the honey coming from the flowers is not quaffed, is it?

7. Though unable, alas! through poverty in merit to celebrate[1] the virtues of the Jina, what poet for that reason refrains his homage?

   Since, on descrying a great gain, a small one is abandoned,[2] the mind engaged with a great matter knows not how to suffer hindrance for gain.

8. Therefore, after consideration of every advantage in whatever way, as this teaching verily illuminates[3] the darkness of sages,

   Speech, long saturated with the dust of the praise of unequal persons, shall be washed with the water of the avadānas of Buddha.

   Since this author, learned in stories of dharma, in expounding the Jātaka of the Bodhisattva after expounding the Sūtrapiṭaka, makes illumination most happily as with the light of a lamp in a room adorned with pictures, causing in the minds of his hearers the acme of delight, it is to be tasted, with a view to the waning of the divers sorrows of existence, by those who desire to drink the ambrosia, as it were, of those who listen with minds set at rest by the abolition of the sin of oblivion of the celebration of the acts of the holy one who made the great vow to abolish the

[1] Or, 'so far as merit is concerned, to celebrate even a little'?
[2] Or, 'since, in comparison with the great gain, what is abandoned is little.'
[3] Or 'has dispelled' (*bsal*).

affliction of the sorrow of the beings born in the three worlds!

9. That all creatures may pass away from the earth below (? hell),
Like phantoms (snakes?) tormented in divers fashions,
This great prayer for Buddhahood
Arises not in such as have not great souls.

Thus is it recorded, etc., etc.

(*Fol.* 228*b*.)

1. In desire for complete Bodhi, composed by Haribhaṭṭa, may this story of the Bodhisattva . . . . [1] of those who love righteousness.[2]
2. What little merit has been gathered by me, by composing a wreath of Jātakas, thereby may this world, in love for Sugata, be at the end of its illusions.
3. 'Good-goer,' 'Neck-tearer,' 'Hundred-sacrificer,' 'Citrin' (?), 'All objects effected'—thirty, with these five added, are here the Jātakas of the great sage.[3]
4. After studying treatises on grammar in many points, and also the word of Buddha, the moon of later poets, having illuminated the earth with the rays of poetry, experiencing in Kashmir distraction through the fault of mischief-makers,[4] Haribhaṭṭa, through desire for the outer world, casting away his life on the king of mountains, Himālaya, went to heaven.

End of the Wreath of Jātakas composed by the Ācārya Prince Haribhaṭṭa.

[1] Text corrupt, see above.

[2] Dharma.

[3] Probably the Sanskrit was—

Yayuḥ / Aryā } kaṇṭhīravaḥ śakras citrī (?) sarvārthasiddhimān.* |
pañcaitānyatra triṃśac ca jātakāni mahāmuneḥ ||

The word *kaṇṭhīrava* is certain, since the colophon of the Jātaka in question gives *seṅ . ge*, 'lion.'

* = Siddhārtha.

[4] *ñe . bar . htshe* ? = *uparodhi*: perhaps we should read *ñe . bar . tshe* = *upajīvi*, 'dependants.'

5. Whereas the learned Bhikṣu Śrīmat Matisambhava (Buddhyākara ? Prajñākara ?), composing from Dharma and every matter . . . . for the creatures, being acquainted with logic and tradition and tantra, for this life of the Lord of the world—has these two,

6. The unequalled and the pure, gathered from every source,[1] herefrom may you, receiving him who goes before, abandoning in the right way the dirt of the darkness called affliction, and also his Jātaka, achieve your object so far as the ocean of suffering of existence is concerned, and finally with all your work accomplished, like the lords of sages, be born in the world of Buddha!

7. Whereas, together with a learned man named Bum . pa[2] of Lcaṅ . lo . can,[3] this same, who is Śīlasambhava, knowing the two languages, has corrected *in extenso* this so constituted story of the Conqueror of Māra, thereby may it serve for the purpose of the good of all creatures.

By the feet of the Indian teacher Laṃkādeva and Tibetan translator the Śākya Bhikṣu Śīlasambhavagupta, translated in the Chos . skor . dben . sa monastery at the foot of Mount Sgye*ḥ*u.

[1] The text is here imperfect. We might render 'has here gathered the life of the Lord of the world, which is both unequalled and pure.' Dr. F. H. Stcherbatskoi, who has kindly read this paper in proof, suggests that a sentence ended with the imperfect line *a* of v. 6, the sense then continuing 'may you, released (gdon . byas) from the ocean of the miseries of existence by receiving him and his jātakas, preceded by (sñon . du . *ḥ*gro) abandonment . . . . and finally with all your *karma* exhausted, etc., etc.'

[2] Bum . pa = 'vessel.'

[3] A place in Tibet, see Lexx.

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS.

Sanskrit as a Spoken Language.

In connection with Professor Rapson's paper on the employment of Sanskrit as a spoken language, published in the last number of this Journal (pp. 435–56), and the debate to which the paper gave rise (pp. 457–87), the following passage from the Mahābhārata may be quoted as confirming the view that the use of the language in conversation was characteristic of high society. It occurs in the Ādi-Parvan lxxviii, 12–14, in the course of a conversation between Devayānī and the mythical king Yayāti.

Devayāny uvāca:

sarva eva nṛpaśreṣṭha vidhānam anuvarttate |
vidhānavihitaṃ matvā mā vicitrāḥ kathāḥ kṛthāḥ ||
rājavadrūpaveṣau te brāhmīṃ vācaṃ bibharṣi ca |
ko nāma tvaṃ kutaś cāsi kasya putraś ca śaṃsa me ||

Yayātir uvāca:

brahmacaryyeṇa vedo me kṛtsnaḥ śrutipathaṃ gataḥ |
rājāhaṃ rājaputraś ca Yayātir iti viśrutaḥ ||

Devayānī said:

"Everyone, my lord, complies with fate. Deeming the thing ordained by fate, make no elaborate speech.[1] Royal is your form and raiment, and the Brāhma speech you wear; by name who are you, whence are you, and whose son—this tell me."

[1] = 'inquire no further.'

Yayāti said:

"As a student all the Veda has come to my hearing, and a king I am, and son of a king, Yayāti — by that name known."

The commentator calls attention to the inversion whereby Yayāti gives first the reason for his use of Sanskrit, namely, his education; and, secondly, the reason for his royal appearance, namely, the fact that he was really a king. The two evidently go together, and Yayāti speaks Sanskrit for the same reason that most people speak correct English, namely, because he had received a good education. From this use of the word Brāhma, as applied to speech, may we make any inference concerning its application to a form of writing?

May I add a remark concerning the words *prākṛta* and *saṃskṛta*? The former, as an adjective from *prakṛti*, the crude unelaborated state (δύναμις) of anything, is a good equivalent for our word 'natural' in the sense of 'unsophisticated' or 'uncultivated'; whence it comes to have also the sense of 'vulgar' or 'low.' It is thus applicable to the language either of a peasant or of a plebeian. *Saṃskṛta* is, as has been explained, that which is made pure by correctness. But the word bears a curious analogy to a term well-known to modern Anglo-Indians, namely *pakka*, literally 'cooked' (or 'ripened'); for Pāṇini speaks of cooked food as *saṃskṛta*.

It is noticeable that the same sense reappears in the root *sādh* (*sidh*), whence come *sādhu* and *siddha*, both also applied to language and to persons. So persistent has been the connection between the ideas of perfection and of cooking (ripening)!

As regards the application of the term Pali to the dialects of the Aśokan edicts, to which Professor Rhys Davids regretfully yields (above, p. 459), I cannot believe that it will ever be sanctioned, especially after Professor Pischel's recent paper on the Canon of the Northern Buddhists

(Berlin *Sitzungsberichte*, 1904, No. xxv, pp. 807–27), showing that there once existed a Māgadhī text, presumably the most ancient version.

The occurrence of the word *viheṭhaka*, 'malicious,' in the fragments published (*ibid.*, p. 817) is a new illustration of the lexicographical connection between the Mahābhārata and early Buddhism. The word occurs Mbh. I, v. 3076, and, with *viheṭhā viheṭhana*, in Buddhist Sanskrit texts (*see* B. & R.).

F. W. THOMAS.

'Ορβανός = RĂVAṆA?

In the *Handbuch der Geschichte der Medizin* (Jena, 1901), the author of the article on Indian Medicine, Dr. Iwan Bloch, has pointed out (p. 126) that an Indian physician is named by Galen as the originator of a recipe for easing childbirth. The passage runs as follows:—

ἀντίδοτος ἡ 'Ορβανοῦ λεγομένη τοῦ 'Ινδοῦ, πρὸς τὸ τὰ ἐντὸς βρέφη ἐκβάλλειν Ϟ σμύρνης < ιέ. κρόκου < ιστ'. νάρδου 'Ινδικῆς < ιστ'. κανναμώμου, κασσίας πάνακος, ἀνὰ < ιγ'. ἀμώμου < ή. σκορδίου < κέ. ἐν ἄλλῳ < έ. σχοίνου ἄνθους < ή. μήου ἀθαμαντικοῦ < γ'. ῥόδων χύλου < ιβ'. ὀβολοὺς γ'. φοῦ < έ. ὀβολοὺς γ'. ὑπερικοῦ < έ. ζωγιβέρεως < στ'.

The identity of this *'Ορβανός* has not been established. Arjuna, the shorter name of Nāgārjuna, had occurred to me as a possibility. But have we not rather an equivalent for the Sanskrit *Rāvaṇa*? An old Indian tradition qualifies as a physician the ten-headed enemy of Rama, the demon king of Laṅkā. This is not an Indian version of the world-wide witticism against the profession of medicine, although that is fully attested in Sanskrit, the Subhāṣitāvalī giving among other lines this couplet (No. 2319):—

vaidyanātha namas tubhyaṃ kṣapitāśeṣamānava |
tvayi saṃnyastabhāro 'yaṃ kṛtāntaḥ sukham edhate |

For a medical work entitled *Arkaprakāśa*, consisting of a dialogue between Rāvaṇa and his wife Mandodarī (!), is

known in manuscript and in print (Lucknow, 1887); and Dr. P. Cordier, in a recent work (*Récentes Découvertes de MSS. médicaux Sanscrits dans l'Inde*), reprinted from *Muséon*, cites (p. 30) a Buddhist treatise on medicine, bearing the name *Rāvaṇakaumāratantra*. Considering the date of Galen, it would be interesting to learn whether any trace of his recipe is to be found in the literature of what we may call the *Rāvaṇa* (or *Ravaṇa*) school. We may note that some of the ingredients, e.g. ginger, Sk. *śṛṅgavera(ka)*, from the town *Śṛṅgavera*, are of Indian origin.

F. W. THOMAS.

THE NEW HISTORICAL FRAGMENT FROM NINEVEH.

Dr. Pinches is to be congratulated on the acuteness he has displayed in the discovery of the nature of Mr. Quinn's cuneiform fragment, and the skill he has shown in making clear its historical bearings. There is one line (5), however, in the British Museum tablet where I think he has misapprehended the grammatical construction, and thereby obscured the meaning of the Assyrian text. My own translation from line 2 onward would be: "Now why are your words like those of a great king? For your messenger said: 'One day (only) didst thou wait for me in the city of Zaqqalû at the time of sending the weak and the strong.' He (your messenger) and the . . . servant of Assur-sum-lisir, whom they had driven away along with his lord, came to this country, and my father gave him help and restored him to his own country. Ever since you, O Kharbi-sipak the Khabirite, give the order he remains in your presence and keeps away from here. [Yet you] say: 'I am angry (?); for one day (only) did he wait for us in the city of Zaqqalû.' (But) who among you dares to give orders like the king? May [Bel] the lord of the world fall (on him) and may the words of Assyria be like those of the great king." In line 9 we should probably supply: "In-aristi-tukulti-Assur whom to his sovereignty [they had raised]," and understand that when Assur-sum-lisir had been 'driven'

from the throne the crown was seized by In-aristi-tukulti-Assur. The latter would appear from Mr. Quinn's fragment to have been originally a priest and seer like the Belesys of Greek legend. From an inscription published by Scheil we learn that the Khabirites were a Kossæan tribe of Elam, and Kharbi-sipak seems to have given assistance to the Assyrian rebels.

Dr. Pinches is doubtless right in seeing in Bel-kudur-utsur the Assyrian king who preceded In-aristi-pal-esar, and was the last of the old dynasty. In-aristi-tukulti-Assur and Assur-sum-lisir will accordingly be his immediate predecessors, and the fall of the dynasty will not have been due only to the defeat of Bel-kudur-utsur by the Babylonians, but also to internal troubles, which had already led to the interference of Babylonia in Assyrian politics.

The change of dynasty is known to the classical writers. According to Agathias (II, 25, p. 119), Belêtaras, who had been the former king's gardener, was the successor of Beleous, the son of Derketades, and a descendant of Semiramis. This account Agathias derived from "Bion and Alexander Polyhistor." In the Synkellus (p. 359 c) the names are written Belitaras and Delketades. Derketades is simply 'the descendant' of Derketo or Istar, the goddess of Nineveh, and therefore Semiramis under another form.

In Ktesias Beletaras appears as Balatores, corrupted into Bellepares by Eusebius, and his predecessor is Belokhos II, written Bellothos by Eusebius. Rawlinson long ago saw that Beletaras or Balatores is the Assyrian 'pileser,' though he erroneously identified the King with Tiglath-pileser III, instead of In-aristi-pileser. Belokhos, still further contracted into Beleous, and called Belimus by Kephalion, must be a popular abbreviation of Bel-kudur-utsur. Such contractions of proper names were common in Assyrian, as we learn from the cuneiform inscriptions, and just as Belêtaras for (In-aristi-) pal-esarra is paralleled by Belesys or Balaśu for (Marduk-) balaśu-(iqbi) or something similar, so Belokhos for Bel-kudur-utsur is paralleled by Tabnêa for Nabu-tabni-utsur or Ardia for Arad-Istar.

The two immediate predecessors of Belokhos II are said to be Amyntes and Askatades. Amyntes is merely the Greek translation of *utsur* or rather *natsir*, and Askatades, further changed into Astakadis in the text of Eusebius, is shown by the quotation from "Bion and Polyhistor" to be a corruption of Derketades. Belokhos is made the second of his name in accordance with what I have long ago pointed out is a characteristic of Ktesias in his lists of the kings of Assyria and Media—the duplication of the royal names. Belokhos I already occurs in an earlier part of the Assyrian list, where he is followed by Balaios and Altadas. Balaios bears the same relation to Balatores that Beleous does to Belokhos, and Altadas, corrupted into Sethos by the Synkellus, must go back to either Askatades or Delketades. Such forms illustrate the extent to which the names of the Assyrian kings given by Ktesias have been corrupted by the copyists who have handed them down to us.

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NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia. Vol. II. By R. C. Thompson, M.A. (Luzac, 1904.)

The first volume of this work has already been noticed in these pages (January, pp. 122–125), and attention was called to its importance for students of comparative custom and folklore. The present volume is no less interesting, and the curious information which Mr. Thompson has collected and edited will repay careful consideration. The cuneiform tablets which are here published are transliterated and translated, with notes and a vocabulary of the rarer words. In the course of an extensive introduction the writer touches upon the various interesting features of the magical tablets, illustrating them now and again by means of parallels and analogies from Egypt and Syria. Thus we find that the wizard regards himself as the mouthpiece of the god, and, armed with exorcisms and "words of power," proceeds to obtain that knowledge of the supernatural enemy which will enable him to come off victorious. For this the exorciser must show that he is acquainted with the *name* of the particular demon whom he would overthrow or cast out. The ceremonies which are used to accomplish this end are of the usual kind, well known in all parts of the world: animals (especially the hair), magical loaves and wax-figures, knots, and the rest of the magical paraphernalia.

The animal-victim, which plays an important part in the magic ritual, is regarded now and again as a substitute for the human being. In certain cases of sickness "a white kid of the god Tammuz" is employed in the belief that the

evil power which holds the man will pass into the carcase of the animal. Thus we read:—

"The kid is the substitute for man,
The kid for his life he giveth,
The head of the kid for the head of the man he giveth,
The neck of the kid for the neck of the man he giveth."

In another case a sucking-pig is employed, and the ritual proceeds:

"Give the pig in his stead,
and give the flesh as his flesh,
the blood as his blood."

The evil influence thus takes up its abode in the pig, and Mr. Thompson not unnaturally finds a parallel in the story of the Gadarene swine in the New Testament, and makes the correct inference that the pig was not held to be an unclean animal by the Assyrians and Sumerians. Passing on, we find also that the tapu or taboo, so familiar among primitive communities, was not wanting in Assyria. A man could become tabu in the most unlooked for manner, not merely by contact with 'unclean' objects, e.g. a bewitched woman, but even by touching a holy libation, or by intercourse with another who was tabu. The technical term for this in Assyrian was *uṣurtu*,[1] and it is interesting to notice that the root appears to be used in Hebrew with precisely the same signification. The curious Hebrew proverbial phrase *'âṣûr we-'âzûb* (עצור ועזוב), according to Robertson Smith,[2] means "he who is under a tabu and he who is free," and the same scholar also pointed out that the natural interpretation of Jer. xxxvi, 5, is "I am restrained by a tabu (or ceremonial impurity, *'âṣûr*) from entering the sanctuary." It does not follow, however, that the Hebrew term is derived from the Assyrian, since the root is applied in Arabic in a special sense.[3] In like manner, in spite of

[1] Scarcely 'barrier,' as rendered on p. 119; see rather p. xli, note 1.
[2] *Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed., p. 456.
[3] *mo'sir*, loc. cit.

the relation between the Hebrew *kipper*, 'to atone,' and the Assyrian *kuppuru*. Mr. Thompson's suggestion that the Hebrews took over the Babylonian idea during the Captivity is one that does not commend itself entirely. That the natives of Chaldea left behind them a reputation for all forms of magic and sorcery no one denies—*kaldâyûthâ* (Chaldee-ism!) is the well-known Syrian term for magic generally; but for the present, at all events, it is not quite obvious that because the Sumerian incantations are undoubtedly older than the Priestly Code, the Jews were indebted to Assyria and Babylonia for their idea of 'atonement.' With some scholars bidding us look to the ancient civilisation of Arabia, and others inviting our attention to Mesopotamia for the origin of Jewish cult, the ordinary reader may prefer to refrain from making up his mind too hurriedly.

What Mr. Thompson has to tell us of the magic and demonology of Babylonia supplements in some important respects the extremely valuable account of Babylonian ritual which Dr. Joh. Jeremias has given in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*.[1] More recently Dr. Fries has directed attention to an incantantion edited by Zimmern, where we read:

> "Has he slept in a tabooed bed?
> Has he sat on a tabooed chair?
> Has he eaten out of a tabooed spoon?
> Has he drunk out of a tabooed vessel?"

These, as Fries suggests, are the four symbols of hospitality, and he ingeniously associates the series with a certain well-known fairy-tale, where the four-fold idea has been increased to seven.[2]

It is extremely striking to observe from Mr. Thompson's philological notes how frequently obscure terms appear to find their only explanation from Syriac or some other Aramaic dialect. For obvious reasons this is only to

[1] Art. "Ritual," vol. iv.

[2] It will suffice to quote from it one question only: "Who has slept in my bed?" See Fries, *Rheinisch. Mus.*, 1904, p. 222 sq.

be expected, but it certainly suggests that a careful survey of Aramaic literature ought to reveal numerous traces of actual Babylonian magic and demonology. The Syrian lives of saints not seldom refer to contemporary superstitions (tree-worship, miracle-working dust, etc.) in such a way as to show the hold they had upon all classes. One recalls, for example, the story of the holy man who unconsciously repeated snatches of a refrain which he had heard sung, with the result that he was suddenly embarrassed by the appearance of certain devils which came to him to ask for his instructions.[1]

We have left ourselves no space to refer to the many other interesting points with which Mr. Thompson's texts deal. We cannot refrain, however, from a reference to a unique version of the Legend of the Worm, with its ancient recipe for curing toothache. "After Anu had created the Heavens" (so the text evidently ran) "the Heavens created the Earth, the Earth the Rivers, the Rivers the Canals, the Canals the Marshes, and finally the Marshes created the Worm." Then came the Worm before Shamash and Ea to ask for food. "Let me drink among the teeth, and set me upon the gums (?), that I may devour the blood of the teeth, and of their gums destroy the strength; *then shall I hold the bolt of the door.*" To this quaint account is appended the prescription: "So must thou say this: 'O Worm! may Ea smite thee with the might of his fist.'" The "Incantation of the Sick Mouth" then follows, couched in these terms: "Thou shouldest do the following: Mix beer, the plant SA-KIL-BIR, and oil together, repeat thereon the incantation thrice; put it on his tooth." Whether the gnawing worm is descriptive of toothache or not, the striking expression "hold the bolt of the door" cannot fail to remind the reader of a verse in that remarkable passage in Ecclesiastes xii, where the decay of nature and the crepitude of old age are so vividly expressed. Here,

[1] *Thomas of Marga*, p. 84 (ed. Budge). The story tells how the holy man employed them (unprofitably enough) to pile up stones in a heap, which stones, says the old writer, "are known to this day."

in verse 4, Koheleth speaks of the approach of senility when "those that look out through the lattice-windows (the eyes) shall be darkened, and the doors (lips) shall be closed in the street." The Babylonian parallel to this metaphorical use of "door" is noteworthy.

Magical texts of this kind naturally teem with obscure and unintelligible expressions, which fulness of knowledge in the future may be expected to elucidate. Their chief value lies, as we have said, in the material they provide for the study of comparative religion and folklore, and even the comparatively small number of texts which have already been studied by Mr. Thompson and others have revealed many valuable sidelights upon the heathenism of the ancient Semitic world. As the contents of fresh texts are made known from time to time, it will be interesting to reconsider in the new light of Assyriology the copious material relating to the heathenism of Ḥarrân which lies entombed in Chwolsohn's great work.[1]

S. A. Cook.

I. Giudizî di Dio. By Dr. V. Rocca. (Livorno, 1904.)

The extensive prevalence of ordeals as a regular element in judicial proceedings no doubt constitutes one of the most striking features of the ancient laws of India. The little work under notice, the first Sanskritic publication of a rising Italian scholar, a pupil of Professor Formichi, is a useful contribution towards the history of divine tests in India. It consists of an unpublished Sanskrit text, in Roman characters, that is to say, the section on the administration of ordeals from the Vyavahāracintāmaṇi of Vācaspatimiśra,

[1] On p. xv, line 9, read (presumably) 'Magan'; on p. 157, note *a*, read Mühlau. On p. 13 *ki-i-ri* is doubtfully rendered 'pitch'; since it occurs with *u-tu-nu* (rendered 'coal-pan'), one is tempted to associate it with the Hebrew *kûr*, which, like *attûn*, is used of a furnace of some kind. That *ruštu* is to be connected with the Jewish-Aram. *riḫûš* (p. 43 n.) is doubtful; see Jastrow, who explains it in his Dictionary (p. 1474) as 'a jelly-like pastry.' *Šûlu limnutu*, p. 51, is doubtfully rendered 'evil cough'; comparing the Mand. שילית (שוליתא), one is inclined to suggest 'they are the evil *brood*.'

together with a careful Italian translation and copious notes. It may be compared to Bühler's valuable translation of the chapter on ordeals from the Vyavahāramayūkha, in the thirty-fifth volume of the Asiatic Society of Bengal's Journal (1866), with this difference, that Dr. Rocca, who had to work entirely on unpublished materials, has given us the Sanskrit original along with his Italian version. He has performed his task of establishing a correct text from three indifferent MSS. in a very creditable manner, deriving some additional help, as far as the numerous quotations of Smṛti passages are concerned, from the printed editions of the Smṛtis of Nārada, Viṣṇu, and others. The Introduction contains an elaborate discussion of the date of Vācaspatimiśra, an eminent writer of the Mithilā school of law, who appears to have lived at the court of a prince of Mithilā (Tirhut) in the fifteenth century A.D. Dr. Rocca's learned note on a peculiar sort of fire and water ordeal mentioned in this work (p. 13 seqq.) is specially interesting.

J. Jolly.

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